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AUTHORIZED REPORT  
OF  
The Proceedings  
OF THE  
CHURCH CONGRESS

HELD AT  
NORWICH,  
ON TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY, AND THURSDAY,

OCTOBER 3RD, 4TH, AND 5TH,

1865.



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## P R E F A C E .

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IN presenting their Report of the Congress of Members of the Church of England, which was held in the autumn of last year at Norwich, the Executive Committee, to whom all the arrangements incident to such Congress were entrusted, desire to offer a few prefatory remarks.

The Norwich Church Congress of 1865 was the fifth meeting of that kind which has been held during the last few years; and many persons, arguing, it may be presumed, from the existence of so much diversity of opinion in religious matters among the various parties in the Church of England which especially marks the present times, did not hesitate, prior to the meeting of the Church Congress, to express their belief that the fifth Congress of Members of the Church would be but meagrely attended, and must certainly be the last attempt at an assembly of the kind. To such over-fearful prophets therefore, and to the whole body of faithful Churchmen, the Executive Committee feel sure it will be a matter of unaffected rejoicing to learn that, whether as regards mere numbers of visitors, or as regards the interest attached to the subjects chosen for discussion, or as regards the writers and speakers selected, the success which attended the late gathering in Congress of members of the Church, both lay and clerical, has been far beyond the expectations of the most sanguine, and will bear favourable comparison with any one of the four preceding Congresses. Very much of this success is due to the kind and judicious conduct of the Bishop of the Diocese, as Chairman of the various "General Meetings" that were held during the Congress, and to the cordial and earnest interest which, so soon as it was decided that "the Church Congress" for 1865 should be held at Norwich, his Lordship took in the numerous and intricate plans and arrangements which were required for the organization of the Congress; and the Committee gladly avail themselves of this opportunity of declaring their grateful sense of his Lordship's services, and of tendering him their hearty thanks for his valuable, kind, and courteous assistance in the work of the Congress, and also for his liberal hospitality both to visitors at the Congress and to the Committee themselves. To his Lordship also the Executive Committee owe the great benefit of having obtained the consent of the Most Rev. the Lord Archbishop of York to preach the inaugural Sermon, for which they desire to render their sincere thanks both to his Grace and to his Lordship.

Briefly to explain the machinery that had to be set in motion, in order to organize the Congress: so soon as it was determined that Norwich should be the place of meeting for 1865, an Executive Committee was formed, comprising forty members, one half lay, and the other clerical, and four Secretaries, two lay and two clerical, with one Acting Secretary; of this Committee Canon Heaviside was unanimously elected Chairman, and the Committee owe him a deep debt of gratitude for his unremitting labours in presiding over *every* meeting which was held, for his strict impartiality, his kindly and cordial manner, which smoothed over many difficulties which might otherwise have arisen, and which added materially to the harmony with which the proceedings of the Committee were conducted.

To this Executive Committee was entrusted, among other duties, that of selecting the subjects for discussion; but with a view to a better division of labour it was found desirable to appoint two Sub-Committees out of this large Committee, the one to select the writers and speakers, the other to arrange the numerous matters of detail connected with the places for holding the various meetings, with the arrangements to be entered into with railway companies, and with the reception of visitors.

The Executive Committee, after long discussion, decided to have five General and six Sectional Meetings, in order the better to deal with the variety of subjects which were pressed on their attention. Difference of opinion existed with respect to the advisableness of holding Sectional Meetings at all, and much may be said on both sides of the question. No doubt it is disappointing and perplexing to many to find two or more subjects discussed at the same time claiming an equal interest; but on the other hand, by thus enlarging the programme the Committee were enabled to secure the attendance of a larger number of men of distinction to take part in the discussions, and it is believed that their list of eminent names contributed in the greatest degree to the success of the Norwich Congress; this however is a subject which must be left to the decision of each successive Congress; the Committees of such future meetings adopting Sections or not as experience shall pronounce on their usefulness, or as circumstances shall direct.

With the view to ensuring a thoroughly authentic Report of all the Proceedings of Congress, the Committee engaged *special Reporters*, and appointed a responsible Editor (one of their Secretaries, the Rev. Hinds Howell) to superintend the passage of the Report through the press; and the writers and speakers have had the important advantage afforded to them of correcting the proof sheets of their particular subjects. This advantage, however, while it ensures to the Report a correctness which it could not otherwise have had, has led to very serious delay in its publication, the proof-sheets having been retained in many cases longer than the Editor expected.

At the suggestion of persons experienced in the working of former Congresses, the Committee ventured, as an experiment, to introduce a

Conversazione on one of the evenings, and the experiment is generally acknowledged to have been very successful.

It is a matter of regret to the Executive Committee that the Rules which were drawn up by a Sub-Committee appointed by the General Committee, "for the carrying on of Congress from year to year" were not passed. This arose chiefly from want of time to consider and discuss these rules on the last evening; certain alterations having been made in the regulations which were forwarded and recommended to the Norwich Committee by the Secretaries of the previous Congresses. (Appendices A., B., and F.) These alterations, however, the Executive Committee feel were justified by the line of conduct which had been specially marked out for the Norwich Congress. The Committee would however express an earnest hope that the York Committee which has been appointed for the organization of the Church Congress proposed to be held during the present year, may be more fortunate, and that a body of General Rules, not too stringent in their construction, may be drawn up for the guidance and direction of future Congresses. The Executive Committee would however observe that in accordance with the recommendations of the Sub-Committee, (see Appendix A.) a Board of Reference was appointed at Norwich, to whom communications for information or assistance might be addressed by the promoters of the Congress in 1866.

The Executive Committee would here beg to offer their hearty and most sincere thanks to the large body of writers and speakers who so kindly and ably helped them; many coming from long distances, and some at very considerable personal inconvenience, to take the part which had been marked out for them: nor can the Committee refrain from paying a passing tribute to the memory of two distinguished men, (Canon Stowell and the Rev. Charles Oakley) who had consented to prepare papers to be read at the Congress, but whose earthly labours were suddenly closed by death!

The Executive Committee have also to tender their warmest thanks to very many of the inhabitants of Norwich and its neighbourhood for their liberal and hospitable reception of Visitors; and they would especially mention their high sense of the magnificent entertainment provided by R. J. H. Harvey, Esq., M.P., and Lady Henrietta Harvey, for all the members of Congress, on its last day of Meeting.

The thanks of the Executive Committee are also due to the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Norwich, for placing St. Andrew's Hall at the disposal of the Committee during the week that Congress was held.

The Executive Committee would also tender their most sincere thanks to the Worshipful the Mayor of Norwich, (C. E. Tuck, Esq.) to Sir John P. Boileau, Bart, and to Edward Howes, Esq., M.P., for their valuable services as Chairmen of the various Sectional Meetings.

The Committee further thank the Dean and Chapter for their arrangement of their services in the Cathedral, and also those parochial ministers who, in accordance with the wishes of the Committee, held special services in their churches to suit the convenience of members attending Congress.

The thanks of the Executive Committee are due in an especial manner to their Secretaries, Clerical and Lay, to the Rev. H. Howell, Rev. W. N. Ripley, F. E. Watson, Esq., H. Hansell, Esq., and to the Acting Secretary, T. W. Hansell, Esq., for their indefatigable exertions from the time the first Committee Meeting was held until Congress finally separated; and it is not too much to say that but for the kind exertions of these gentlemen, the arrangements could hardly have been brought to a successful issue.

Thanks are further more especially due to the Rev. Hinds Howell, who, in addition to the labours that devolved on him as Secretary during the preparations for the reception of Congress, has subsequently, as has been mentioned, devoted himself to the onerous and responsible duties of the Editor of the Report which we now present, and which, confiding in the ability and unwearied pains bestowed upon it, will, we trust, give general satisfaction.

Nor must the Executive Committee omit to mention in terms of strong commendation, the ability and the success with which the musical illustrations of Dr. Dyke's Lecture were given by the Cathedral Choir, under the superintendence of Dr. Buck and Mr. Bunnett.

The Executive Committee would only add, in conclusion, that they are sending forth the following Report in the certainty that, as a faithful record of truths, sincerely believed in, and nobly and earnestly insisted on, it will find a useful place amongst faithful Churchmen, and if it helps to teach them that they have a true and noble—a visible and real Church—a Church which has its hosts of loyal, brave, and distinguished followers, and which is at the present moment earnestly calling on all her members of every shade of opinion, and of every school of thought, not to press their differences, whether of ritual or doctrine, to be causes of offence to their brethren, but rather to unite together in seeking and teaching the truths which the Church by the agreement of all parties enforces as conditions of membership within her communion—then the Church Congress held at Norwich last autumn will have fully justified itself to all men.

LENT, 1866.

## SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

*(The figures in parentheses refer to the pages.)*

SERMON BY THE MOST REVEREND THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK. (1—9.)

OPENING ADDRESS BY THE HON. AND RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH (President.) (9—13.) Hearty welcome to the Members. Causes of absence of many. Invitation of Mr. and Lady Henrietta Harvey. Rules transmitted from Bristol Congress. Consideration by General Committee of a set of rules. Invitation from York to hold Congress. Thanks to Archbishop for his Sermon. What Congress is. Allusion to conditions on which his assent to the holding of Congress in Norwich was given. Rules by which all the Meetings will be governed.

### EDUCATION OF THE POOR, &c.

(1.) F. S. POWELL, Esq., M.P. (13—20.) Education in relation to Church and State. Apathy with respect to education. State of education previous to Revised Code. Comparison between 1860 and 1864. Divergent views between Education Department and promoters of schools. Jealousy about grants. Comparison of grants. The New Code. Impediments on account of Conscience Clause. The great question of certificates. Grants not sought because of regulations as to buildings. Apprehensions about training colleges and pupil-teacher system. Comparison of teachers in different years. Education cannot produce its full influence until domiciliary condition of the poor amended. Review of the various questions considered.

(2.) THE REV. H. MOSELEY, M.A., F.R.S., Canon of Bristol, Vicar of Olveston, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. (20—26.) The work of the Church covers the whole field of education; that of the State only its secular part. The action of the State tends, under the Revised Code, to lower the standard of secular instruction, and thereby hinder the work of the Church. The ages at which children leave elementary schools was miscalculated by the Commission of 1858. The low standard of the Revised Code is probably due to this miscalculation. Two higher standards should be added. The same Government grants should be made to these and also in respect to farmers' and small tradesmen's children. Grants on average attendance should be abolished. The expences of schools are partly the same in all, and partly they depend on number of scholars. Grants therefore should be similarly made up of a constant part, and a part dependent on numbers. The last condition is satisfied, as to the average, by payments on results. A great many parishes receive no grants. These are educationally destitute or backward—for this reason, impossible to the State to help these schools, but it is possible to the Church. A council of education should be established in each diocese. The Conscience Clause. The relation of the State to each school only that of a subscriber. The subscriptions of the State small as compared to the whole cost. By judicious management they have, however, been the means of greatly improving Church education.

(3.) THE VEN. G. A. DENISON, M.A., Archdeacon of Taunton, Prebendary of Wells, and Vicar of East Brent. (26—30.) Prefatory remarks. Church and State not one in England. The idea of a National Church. Religious liberty. What the National Church may give up and *not* give up. What Nonconformists may or may not give up. Weight of Government entirely on side of Nonconformists. Conscience Clause—seventeen reasons against it. The Church must steadily remonstrate against the wrong done to it.



(4.) THE REV. J. P. NORRIS, M.A., Canon of Bristol. (30—33.) Prefatory remarks on Revised Code; it will not be found to lower the standard of instruction; its main feature not *payment* for results, but the substitution of one simple *grant in aid* for the *personal bounties* of former codes. Paramount importance of co-operation of Church and State in education; compromise of some sort necessary, if we are to have two competing sorts of schools. Shall the Church accept State schools, or the State accept Church schools? Well worth while to pay the price of a Conscience Clause for the sake of this last solution. A Conscience Clause only necessary in small single-school parishes, where otherwise the few Dissenters would have no school to which they could go. Conscience Clause as proposed to National Society went further than is either needful or practicable. Proposed modification of it.

DISCUSSION. (33—40.) THE REV. ARTHUR WOODGATE, B.D., Hon. Canon of Worcester, Rural Dean, Rector of Belbroughton. (33, 34.) National Society's Rules carried out. Sir J. Coleridge's opinion as to rule of National Society. Conscience Clause has been an apple of discord. Opinions of masters as to the teaching of the Church Catechism. Mischiefs likely to arise through Liberation Society if Conscience Clause enforced. Religious dissenters have not asked for it. THE REV. ARTHUR GARFIT, M.A., Curate of Richmond, Surrey. (34—36.) A brief review of the Education question. The religious difficulty in 1839 and 1842. The adjustment of it by a compromise between Church and State in 1848, effected mainly by Lord Lansdowne and Bishop Blomfield. The rapid spread of education thereupon. The Conscience Clause suggested by the complaints of Churchmen. The Correspondence between Committee of Council and National Society. The principle of the Clause is a due recognition of parental authority; this principle may be fairly accepted by the Church. Three limitations suggested. THE REV. W. B. CAPARN, M.A., Incumbent of Draycot, Wells, Somerset. (36—38.) A strong plea for the rejection of the Conscience Clause on the part of the Church after such correspondence as he had with Committee of Council on the subject. The effect of Clause to make the Apostles' Creed a proscribed formulary in Schools receiving grants, and to prevent the Holy Scriptures, when read, from being explained to the Scholars. THE VENERABLE J. ALLEN, M.A., Archdeacon of Salop, Vicar of Prees, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lichfield. Intended to defend Conscience Clause, but after Mr. Caparn's speech no defence of it. A word in favour of Training Institutions. The effect of the Revised Code in them most injurious. The importance and value of Training Institutions. The general good conduct of those trained in them. THE REV. SIR HENRY THOMPSON, Bt., M.A., Prebendary of Chichester, Rural Dean, Vicar of Frant, Kent. (38—40.) Archdeacon Denison not more strenuous against the Conscience Clause now than he had been formerly against Government Inspection of Church Schools and the Management Clauses. The Archdeacon now cordially acquiescing in both these points. The Conscience Clause susceptible both of a friendly and satisfactory solution. The Baptismal Service itself seems to suggest the terms of a compact between the Church and the Privy Council Committee, which would be no compromise. The clergy may set the Conscience Clause at defiance by a daily visit to their parish schools, and by taking part in the religious instruction of the children in place of the daily service in parish church, now all but universally neglected. THE REV. HENRY MACKENZIE, M.A., Subdean of Lincoln, Rector of Tydd St. Mary, Lincolnshire, and Chaplain to Bishop of Lincoln. (40.) Desires to answer the remarks of Canon Norris and Mr. Garfit, both of whom spoke in favour of Conscience Clause. The Clause destructive of the denominational system. Secular religion rejected both by the Church and the sects. The Conscience Clause a new element introduced in the compact made with the State, and hence the Church bound to reject it.

## COURT OF FINAL APPEAL.

(1.) THE VEN. JAMES RANDALL, M.A., Archdeacon of Berks, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Oxford. (41—50.) Position of Established Church in regard to the State. Consequent right and duty of State to take cognizance of soundness of doctrine in the ministers of the Church. How far present Court of Final Appeal is, or is not, satisfactorily constituted for that purpose. Suggestions for its improvement. But neither the judgments of the present, nor of any improved Court ought to have the force of law as definitive declarations of doctrine. Conclusion.

(3.) **SIR ROBERT PHILLIMORE, D.C.L., Q.C., Queen's Advocate.** (50—58.) Difficulty of the subject. Conflicting opinions as to the remedy. The Church while unestablished, discipline in the hands of the Bishop. Difficulty introduced by the establishment of the Church and possession of Civil privileges and property. Appeal from Bishop to Metropolitan, How far the State interfered. Appellatio *tanquam ab abusu*. State caused justice to be done but did not interfere with adjudication upon the merits. True principle. Appeal from Metropolitan to the Pope always contrary to the law of England. Reformation of Henry VIII. Statute of Appeals. Court of Delegates capable of being so worked as not to conflict with ecclesiastical jurisdiction, properly so-called. William IV. New Court of Appeal from secular subjects of ecclesiastical jurisdiction—accidentally includes discipline over the clergy. Statute of Victoria insufficient remedy. Objections to the present Court—remedies proposed. Query, Would it not be better that no Bishop should be a member of the Judicial Committee?

(3.) **SIR WILLOUGHBY JONES, BART.** (58—62.) The Court defending truth, and not restricting freedom of thought, ought to be strong and popular. The present Court looked upon with distrust, because of the rules of procedure adopted in the recent judgment. Doctrinal appeals are essentially civil and not criminal—of the nature of breaches of contract. Differ altogether from cases of discipline, which are of a criminal nature. Objections to this view considered. Results that may be expected to occur unless the true nature of doctrinal cases is recognized.

(4.) **THE REV. MORRIS J. FULLER, M.A., Incumbent of Prince Town, Dartmoor.** (62—69.) Introduction. History of present Court traced through Saxon, Norman, and pre-Reformation times. Changes at the Reformation: further changes 1832, 33, 40. Court now on its trial. Twelve objections against present Court. Attempts at altering it in 1847, 48, 49. Matters of Doctrine Bill (by Bp. Blomfield,) 1850. Reasons why the bill did not pass. Discussion on the prerogatives of the Crown. Distinction between the Regale and Pontificale. Application of principles to "Court of Arches" and "Court of Last Appeal." Historical investigation of the ecclesiastical changes in the latter at the Reformation. Transfer of all appellate Jurisdiction from the Pope to the Spirituality, then to the King's Majesty. This prerogative exercised by the High Court of Delegates. Provision merely *ad interim*. Royal Commission on the subject in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Their recommendations embodied in the Reformatio Legum. Reasons why these recommendations did not become the law of the land. Construction of "Court of Final Appeal" recommended by the Royal Commission. Four objections to proposed Court answered. Its peculiar fitness. Details not insisted on, but only the adoption of the great constitutional principle, "ecclesiastical laws and causes by ecclesiastical judges." Conclusion.

**DISCUSSION.** (70—74.) **A. J. B. B. HOPE, Esq., M.P.** (70, 71.) Difficulty of the question. Not a question of this or that government or minister. Proved by the difference of opinions. Churchmen ought not to desire a hasty settlement. The present Court a real grievance, but requiring a very calm and judicious settlement. Once settled we must be bound to what may be done. Our present difficulties common to the Universal Church. We had better wait in patience for a time. **RIGHT HON. J. NAPIER.** (71, 72.) Distinction between orthodox doctrine and that which is judicially decided to be not unlawful. Such decisions made for the purposes of law, and in accordance with the rules of judicial procedure, and cannot be compared with the opinions of learned and pious men which have not been dogmatically declared by the Church, and are not established by law. The Court of Appeal regarded as a Court of Construction, deciding what is the lawful meaning of the Articles, and the dogmatical parts of the Book of Common Prayer, but having no authority to pronounce on doctrines not dogmatically declared by the Church established by the State. In order to keep the Church national the State must have power to decide on the laws by which the Church is governed, and that a mixed tribunal is the best. Dissent to the exclusion of the episcopal element. Suggestion that every Archbishop and Bishop who is a Member of the Council should be summoned to sit *de jure* in all cases affecting the Church. **P. F. O'MALLEY, Esq., Q.C., Recorder of Norwich.** (73, 74.) What clerical tribunals naturally are. Archdeacon Randall's view the most lawyer-like. Decision of Privy Council not final. May be reconsidered. How. Suggestions of Sir Willoughby Jones valuable. Procedure according to rules of Common Law Courts would meet

many of the difficulties complained of in Final Court of Appeal. The conclusion arrived at by Sir R. Phillimore most unsatisfactory. Difficulty of Court consisting of Bishops on account of difference of opinions among them. Lawyers better judges, because able to decide on questions without reference to private opinion.

## CATHEDRALS AND CAPITULAR BODIES, &c.

(1.) **THE VERY REV. HARVEY GOODWIN, D.D., Dean of Ely.** (75—81.) Introduction. Almost everything that can be said is to be found in the Reports of the Cathedral Commission. Reference to the letter of Lord Herbert of Lea to the Dean of Salisbury, and to a letter of the Bishop of Salisbury. Original idea of a Cathedral and Capitular Body—this idea cannot be literally reproduced. The cathedral to be regarded as the mother church of the diocese, and all changes to be made with this principle in view. Importance of increased canonical residence. Connection of the bishop of the diocese with the capitular body. Reference to opinion given by Sir R. Phillimore and Dr. Tristram. Musical importance of a cathedral. Help which may be given by cathedrals in the training of the clergy. This part of the subject only touched upon. Cathedral statutes—their revision necessary. Chief points for consideration by a commission appointed to revise cathedral statutes. Misfortune of the cathedrals in having been hastily and imperfectly reformed.

(2.) **THE REV. RICHARD SEYMOUR, M.A., Honorary Canon of Worcester, Rural Dean, and Rector of Kinwarton.** (81—86.) Why is an Honorary Canon asked to read a paper on this subject? In order to show what is the mind of the non-capitular clergy on the present working of the cathedral system. Capabilities of our cathedrals. Rationale of the cathedral system—how exhibited in practice? Acts of Parliament in 1836 and 1840. Suppression of fifty-nine Residentiary Canonries, &c. Appointment of Hon. Canonries—object of this. Have Deans and Chapters turned their Prebendaries and Hon. Canons to proper account? Practice of different cathedrals very different. Provision for Prebendaries at Exeter. General impression that cathedrals are not so useful as they ought to be and might be. Attendance of Canons at cathedral services should be greater. The rubric less exactly observed in cathedrals than in some parish churches. Suggestions for improvement. The Dean and Chapter should make more use of their Prebendaries and Hon. Canons. The services of the cathedral should be model services. The nave should be used for sermons. Cathedrals should always be open. The Canons should each reside for nine months at the least, and each have special as well as common duties—this recommended by the Cathedral Commissioners of 1852. A Cathedral Congress recommended. The revival which has taken place in the Church generally, specially needed in our Cathedrals.

(3.) **THE VEN. LORD ARTHUR C. HERVEY, M.A., Archdeacon of Sudbury, Rector of Ickworth and Horningsheath, Suffolk.** (87—92.) Distinction between the fundamental principles and the accidental uses of institutions. The former fixed, the latter fluctuating. The fundamental principles of Cathedrals and Capitular Bodies, concentrations of spiritual and intellectual forces, and communion of men—examples seen in the apostolic college abiding at the Mother See of Jerusalem, and in the early Church Missions, such as Augustine's to England. Further examples of St. Paul's, London, St. Chad at Lichfield, and Bede. Ancient statutes and charters of cathedral bodies. New statutes given by Henry VIII. Applications of the same principles, *first*, to the Cathedral—the cathedral to be opened to the multitude, and the services to be as impressive as possible—cathedrals to be schools of chanting and singing to the whole diocese—ordinations and special services to be held in them—its services the model for the whole diocese and the cathedral the centre of unity; *secondly*, to Capitular Bodies. Simultaneous and continuous residence, for communion and common action—leisure for learning—joint theological and literary labours—courses of theological lectures to the clergy—secular lectures in the diocese. Interesting account of monks of Croyland in twelfth century as lecturers. Use of members of chapter in preaching in the diocese, as diocesan inspectors, as managers of cathedral schools and training institutions, as the bishop's council. Canon Selwyn's True Principles of Cathedral Reform, and the Report of the Cathedral Commission Peroration.

(4.) **A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq., M.P.** (92—95.) No worse political blunder than that of underrating one's position. Cathedrals always

popular. Between 1640 and 1660 an exception. Festivals at the Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford. Diocesan division by Counties. Cathedrals places of prayer, praise, &c. on a scale of grandeur. Time must confine the question to worship only. Englishmen like grandeur and magnificence, shewn in the splendour at the opening of Parliament, in new corporate bodies imitating the old bodies. The re-opening of Lichfield. The enthronization of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Congress in Bristol Cathedral. Choir Festivals becoming common. Cathedrals had fallen asleep, but have been roused, and now used frequently. Desire of several Minsters to become Cathedrals. Towns, not Counties, in the northern Province, must become Dioceses. Large churches in supplying the place of Cathedrals become parents of future Dioceses. Funds will not be wanting.

**DISCUSSION. (95—99.) THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY. (95, 96.)** Agreement generally with Dean of Ely. Differs in one point. No Canon should hold a benefice. Town benefices held by Canons equally mischievous. The main question, whether Cathedrals have or have not a definite work. If they have, keep them to it, and if funds are wanted, let them be provided. Difficulties of residence in some places. Action of Canterbury with respect to Honorary Canons. Cathedrals ought to be diocesan. Cathedrals *have*, in the widest sense, cure of souls. The Dean entirely ignored by Mr. Seymour. Difficulties in the way of a Cathedral Congress. If Cathedrals had funds enough and men enough no complaint would arise from failure of duty. The REV. J. W. L. HEAVISIDE, M.A., Canon of Norwich Cathedral. (96, 97.) Reason for speaking. Defence of Norwich Cathedral. General agreement with Dean of Ely's paper. Residence altered. Connection between Bishop and Chapter. Cathedrals examples of Choral Services. Difficulties in the way. Answer to Mr. Seymour about status of Honorary Canons. The EARL OF HARROWBY. (97—99.) Ecclesiastical Commission less unpopular than it was. Cathedrals never strong parts of the Church. Cathedrals have never contributed much to evangelisation. Difficulties connected with carrying out recommendations of Cathedral Report. Commissioners themselves unable to recommend any very definite plans. Cathedrals have not lost by the so-called spoliation of them. As efficient now as before. Difficulties as to choice of men, and as to residence. More distinct duties required, before legislation can be final or satisfactory. Recommendations for making each County a Diocese. Each Archdeacon a Canon. Their duties.

## THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS THE HOME POPULATION.

### ADDRESS OF CHAIRMAN (Mayor of Norwich.) (99.)

(1.) **THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF CHICHESTER. (99—105.)** Parochial System excellent in country parishes. Insufficient in towns. Missionary work required in towns. Missionaries should be appointed under an Archdeacon. The Archdeacon to be selected from one of the town clergy. Incidental advantages of the arrangement. Necessity of lay agency. Insufficient resources in the Church for an increasing clergy or paid lay agents. Voluntary lay assistance—how regulated. Not to be formed into societies. Laymen permitted to assist the clergy in almost every detail of ministerial duty. Ordination. Suggested that examination for orders should take place some months before ordination.

(2.) **THE REV. J. B. M'CAUL, T.A. of King's College, London, Hon. Canon of Rochester, Rector of St. Michael's Bassishaw, London, and Examining Chaplain to Bishop of Rochester. (105—111.)** Infidelity and Sectarianism the imminent dangers in 1800. Popery disabled for the time. The Church awakened. The magnitude of the work the perplexity of the present crisis. Secularism avails itself of the modern phases of unbelief amongst the clergy. The Church's vantage ground as the recognized teacher of the people. Not a mere popular educator or apostle of secular improvement. Her first duty to preach the gospel, regardless of the time-honoured reproach of the Cross. Civilization the handmaid of vital godliness. We need no apology for our spiritual distinctiveness. Dr. Chalmers' plan for the spiritual oversight of towns. Unreasonableness of the modern notions of the clerical office. The sermons of the clergy pointless, owing to lack of time for preparation. Pycroft's "Twenty Years

in the Church." Use of lay agency. The revival of obsolete orders unnecessary. Romish garb no essential accompaniment of the work of the diaconate. Zeal and humility the true guarantees of usefulness. Bishop Horsley's description of the functions of an evangelist. The Bishop of Rochester on clerical exclusiveness.

(3.) **THE REV. T. L. CLAUGHTON, M.A.,** Hon. Canon of Worcester and Vicar of Kidderminster. (112—116.) State of things in our rural parishes—in our mining and manufacturing districts—in our towns. Secular tendency of the education given in our schools. Insubordination of the young. Scepticism beginning to spread. Scripture Readers insufficient to cope with these evils. Remedy in reviving existing ordinances. Increase of bishops desirable. Education of the clergy. Much depends on their piety. Increase of their income desirable. Lay help. Extension of diaconate a question. Cathedral establishments too much weakened. Church assemblies.

(4.) **THE REV. JAMES BARDSLEY,** Rector of St. Ann's, Manchester. (116—119.) Need for sub-division of overgrown parishes. Mining and manufacturing districts living in entire contempt of the ordinances of the Church. Little accommodation made for the increasing population during close of last and beginning of present century. Account of population, and provision for them, during the three decades from 1800 to 1831. Effects of neglect. Comparison between the provision made by our forefathers up to the time of the Reformation, and what is required in the present times. Great freedom to be allowed to Churchmen. The differences of opinion between Churchmen not to be interfered with in the building of churches. What was done in the decade between 1841 and 1851. Number of churches built in the present century. The evangelistic work largely carried out by the churches built within the last thirty years. More clergy wanted—men devoted to the work of the ministry.

**DISCUSSION.** (119—123.) **J. M. KNOTT, Esq.** (119—121.) Consideration whether sufficient attention is given to Sunday schools. The greater proportion of daily education is in connection with the Church. According to Horace Mann in 1851, the Nonconformists numerically exceed us in Sunday school scholars. Fears lest the Baptists and Independents attract the Church's day scholars, on account of their more secular training, to their Sunday schools. Daily schools should be supplemented by Sunday schools, by institutes, &c. Dean Close's experience in 1839 of middle schools. Experience of a clergyman of a large town for thirty years. Personal piety and intelligence required in teachers. Religion impeded by state of dwellings of poor. The Rev. J. S. JONES, Perpetual Curate of Christ's Church, Liverpool. (121.) The duty to the home population done at present in a sectional way. Great need of economy of resources. A few words on financial economy, material economy, and moral economy. Plan for a better use of existing churches. Utilizing the resources we have in the employment of men and women willing to work. The Rev. CHARLES CATOR, Rector of Stokesley. (121, 122.) Long experience and work in and for the Church. The dream of the laity as to position of the clergy. The destruction of fines for the maintenance of canonries a benefit to the Church. Overwhelming population in manufacturing districts, and inadequate means in the hands of the Church to meet their requirements with spiritual ministrations. Laity bound to provide means. Need of other and fuller organizations. The Rev. CHARLES DEANE, D.C.L., Curate of Woolverstone. (122, 123.) Duty to home population not simply confined to sending out preachers and teachers, but also to remove hindrances that may be in the way. Such a hindrance in second Rubric of Baptismal Service. Reasons why this Rubric should be revised. The office of sponsor bought and sold.

## THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS FOREIGN CHRISTIANS.

(1.) **THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.** (123—133.) It is necessary first to know the true position of the Church if we are to do our duty, as churchmen, in relation to foreign Churches or Christians. This position to be learnt from Scripture and early Church history. Example of the Apostolic Church of Sardis (neither Popish nor Presbyterian.) Both sources of evidence point to a definite method of belief and practice, by the observance of which the precept of unity may be obeyed. The Catholic Creed and Catholic or threefold ministry constitute this method. Their

divine and therefore bending character confirmed by the mysterious sympathy which has been found to exist between the two. History of the world, first in the extension and then in the dismemberment of the Roman Empire, further indicates the nature and extent of the unity to be required. Christianity does not obliterate nationalities, but recognizes and accepts them. The claims of the papacy (as having no sufficient scriptural or primitive basis) thereby excluded. A twofold rule of unity, thus arrived at, will give the measure of our duty towards foreign Churches and Christians. *Firstly*, we should seek ourselves to be at one with them upon the simple basis on which all Christendom was originally at one, viz., the Catholic Ministry and the Catholic Creed. Cases in which this rule (it is hoped) might be at once applied and acted on. *Secondly*, we must encourage and assist them, as far as we can, to be at one among themselves upon the same principles; while at the same time as we claim for our own Church, so we recognize in other Churches a right to be more particular in the requirements either of belief or practice which they have seen, or may at any time see, occasion to impose upon their members, such additional requirement being not inconsistent either with the plain teaching of Scripture or with the two before-named bonds of Catholic unity. Consequences to which the application of this rule would lead. The substance of these remarks, though believed to be true, offered not dogmatically, but suggestively.

(2.) THE REV. F. S. MAY, M.A., Curate of Christ Church, Paddington. (133—140.) The restoration of intercommunion, so far as consistent with the interests of Gospel truth, one of our most bounden and immediate duties. The Church in Scandinavia nearest to us of all foreign Christendom—being not only Episcopal, but Reformed, and in origin mainly Anglican, her people also being mainly of the same blood with ourselves. Sketch of the Scandinavian Church's formation and reformation. (1) Labours of English missionaries in the north, both before and after Ansgar—most of the earliest bishops of Scandinavia Englishmen, or consecrated at Canterbury—Northern Church in the middle ages not pure, but purer and freer than were the Churches on the Continent. (2) At the Reformation, Sweden, including Finland, preserved the Apostolic Succession, but the present episcopal status of Denmark and Norway is a difficulty *sui generis*. Swedish successions to be admitted on the ground of a moral certainty, and so admitted ever in practice of English and American Churches, as well as in inquiries of Grave and Routh. Doctrinal position of Scandinavian Church. Synod of Upsal asserts her doctrine to be founded on Scripture and attested by fathers. Lutheran not an official title of the Swedish branch—Lutheran, "Liber Concordia," nowhere admitted. The three Creeds received as with us. The Rituals in origin and character like our own. Swedish ritual affirms episcopacy to be of Divine origin and perpetual obligation. Danish Ordinal also satisfactory, but for the Bugenhagian difficulty. The Augustan Confession the clerical test in the north, as the Thirty-nine Articles here, teaching neither Consubstantiation nor Solifidianism. The chief source of our Articles, and approved by our standard divines. Intercommunion of the Anglican and Scandinavian Churches already a fact as regards Sweden. Suggestion of Bishop Cexe for establishing a Swedish Episcopate among the Norse in United States, and of Bishop Wilberforce for rectifying the ministry in Denmark by Anglican assistance at episcopal consecrations. Temper in which the perfecting of Scandinavian intercommunion may be hopefully sought.

(3.) THE REV. LORD C. A. HERVEY, M.A., Rector of Chesterford. (140—142.) The Bishop of St. Andrews has laid the proper foundation. What our objects and duties are. Special state of Italy at the present time. The call of the people of Italy to help them. The political circumstances of that country having a likeness to our own. Desire for spiritual good spreading far and wide. The priesthood doing its duty. The priesthood calling on us to help, not by interference, but by more than an expression of sympathy. The purpose for which the Church was established. Difficulties in the way of making our sympathies practical. Our duty to Italy to let them know how we have done our work. The Church of Rome has not fulfilled her mission. Hence we ought not to withhold from Italy the light we possess. The simple duty of the Church in setting before them what they ought to aim at, not sufficient at the present moment. Something more than bare sympathy needed. Those favourable to reform better remain in the Church of Rome, so as to influence it.

(4.) THE REV. J. S. HOWSON, D.D., Principal of Liverpool College, and Examining Chaplain to Bishop of Ely. (143—145.) Changes in the appointed speakers. Difficulty arising from the various religious states of different countries.



Difficulty of fully appreciating the religious condition of any one country. Parties in Italy; the hierarchial party; the party of Passaglia; party represented by Esaminatore. Our duty to help, not to dictate.

**DISCUSSION. (145.)** THE REV. F. G. LEE, D.C.L. Advocated claims of the A. P. U. C. Pointed out that as regards dogma, except in reference to the Filioque, East and West are agreed. Laid down four canons in reference to dealing with foreign Catholic Christians. Instanced the progress and extent of the Re-union movement, and urged his hearers to support it. MR. O'MALLEY, Q.C., Recorder of Norwich. (145, 146.) As a layman of the Church of England desires that non-episcopal Churches should not be ignored. The Bishop of St. Andrews' basis of union. Episcopal or not episcopal orders ought not to cause separation between those who acknowledge one common Lord. A few words on the A. P. U. C. Protest against the views of that Association. Contrary to the Church of England. No intention to discuss the question. Different ways in which different persons would use the prayers of this Society. THE REV. F. MEYRICK, M.A., H. M. Inspector of Schools. (147, 148.) Church likened to contiguous oceans separated by narrow isthmuses. No risk to the Church of England in attempts to unite with foreign Churches, if those attempts are conducted on right principles. The only true principle of unity is unity in the truth. The only union possible is union in the faith and discipline of the Primitive Church. More likelihood of such union now than ever heretofore. In Italy there exists a desire to repudiate the authority of the Pope, and to return to primitive truth. Proofs of this from Turin, Florence, Naples, and Messina. Programme of the Società Emancipatrice. Duty of the Church of England neither to join in corruptions nor to set up a new Church, but to assist Italian churchmen in purifying their own Church: thus intercommunion possible. No real unity except in the truth. THE REV. W. FRAZER, D.C.L., Vicar of Alton. (148, 149.) Our duties to the Eastern Christians. *Sympathy* with their trials. *Charity* because there are so many points of agreement between us and them. *Intercommunion*, if possible, in order to fulfil our Lord's prayer. Contradiction from Belgrade of a statement made in the *Levant Herald*. THE REV. HENRY MACKENZIE, M.A., Rector of Tydd St. Mary, and Sub-Dean of Lincoln Cathedral. (149, 150.) Church of England deficient in duty. London at special times crowded with foreigners. No sufficient means taken for their religious instruction. A territorial Church ought to reach all within its boundaries. Lord C. Hervey, Rev. Nugent Wade, Dr. Camilleri, and others, formerly assisted in establishing an Anglo-French and an Anglo-Italian congregation in London. Great difficulties in attaining union with Foreign Churches illustrated by different divisions of Eastern Church—Russo-Greek Church, Orthodox Constantinopolitan, Hellenic National, Servian, Austro-Greek Servian. All attempts to be marked by patience, moderation, charity. Signs of union among Presbyterians. Church of England contains seeds of unity. These may be developed in future generations, even if they fail in the present. THE REV. F. GARDEN, M.A., Sub-Dean of Her Majesty's Chapels Royal, &c. (150.) Deep interest in this question. Sympathy with the prayer of the A. P. U. C., but objections to it from various causes. The same causes operating to-day in the discussion of the question before this section. Attempting too much at present. Our real duties to Foreign Christians at home and abroad. Unity exists and cannot fail. Hope for communion with those who may never be altogether the same with us. Prayer for the whole body of those who bear the name of Christ. THE REV. A. H. WRATISLAW, M.A., Master of Grammar School, Bury St. Edmund's. (151.) Offset of the Church in Bohemia. Wycliffe's writings the cause of Hussite wars. History of Bohemian Church at several important periods of her history. A strong plea for English Churchmen to sympathize with that Church.

## DIVISION OF SEES.

(1.) THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL NELSON. (151—156.) Members of an Episcopal Church indifferent to efficiency of the Episcopate. Clergy under the present deficiency becoming anti-episcopal. A Bishop should guide by personal influence more than by judicial decisions. In some dioceses the Bishop's influence is felt and appreciated. An increase in the Episcopate required for the real efficient good that will accrue to the Church therefrom. The benefits of more frequent ordinations and confirmations in the presence of our congregations. The best mode of carrying out the Church's work. Importance of Sunday confirmations. Large livings and pluralities

in some sort supplied the want of Episcopal guidance. The subdivision of these calls for more efficient Episcopal control. An increase of Bishops essential to mitigate the evils of class-educated clergy. The more frequent visits of Bishops to each parish productive of much good. Extensive jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. Revival of Suffragans. A Suffragan to each Parliamentary See. Subdivision of Sees. Called for by wealth and increase of population. Sees coincident with counties. Their endowment. The example of our present Episcopate. Analogy between the Church and the human frame. Our present Episcopate fully aware of the necessity of further aid. Work enough to be done. Our own fault if we do not compel government to give to the Church her full efficiency.

(2.) **THE REV. JOSEPH BAYLEE, D.D.,** Principal of St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead. (156—161.) Our Blessed Lord instituted the Apostleship as the fountain of the Church and of all missionary exertions. He did so a second time when a Gentile Church was to be formed. The Apostleship has never ceased. The present Episcopate is the Apostleship of Scripture. An efficient Episcopate produces a vigorous Church. An inefficient Episcopate enervates the Church. Three things essential to the efficiency of the Episcopate—heavenliness of mind, natural and acquired fitness, and a diocese of manageable size. Three functions of the Episcopal office shew the need of moderately large dioceses—provision of pastoral ministers, the due performance of confirmation, and the true exercise of discipline. Hence the great need of an increase of the Episcopate. Extensive reformatory measures be made gradually. The Episcopate might be safely increased by an enabling Act, giving to every large town a right to have a bishop, provided the inhabitants procured the necessary funds. The same principles might be applied to rural districts. Chorepiscopi and Suffragan Bishops an injurious complexity. The selection of new Bishops should be entrusted to joint action of the clergy, the churchwardens, and the Crown. Great blessings which would result from having a heavenly-minded and efficient Bishop in every large town. Evils of the present condition of towns without a resident Bishop. Why Cathedral towns are no example. Motives for energetic action.

(3.) **THE REV. FRANCIS HESSEY, D.C.L.,** Perpetual Curate of St. Barnabas, Kensington. (161—170.) Subject proposed. Its connexion with Church extension. Mistake of limiting that term to the multiplication of Priests and Deacons. Need of Bishops to control and direct the inferior clergy. Comparison of an army. Its insufficiency. Bishops being not merely superior officers, but channels of spiritual gifts. The work of a Bishop. Ordination. Intercourse with his clergy. Confirmation. Consecration of churches. Preaching. Visitation. Influence among the laity. Parliamentary duties. Impossibility of adequately discharging so many duties. Need of multiplying those who have to discharge them by subdivision of existing Sees. No new demand. Practice of the ancient Church. Law of the Church of England. Acts authorizing the foundation of new Primary Sees, and also of new Suffragan Sees. The probable result of such subdivision of Sees would be the multiplication of the parochial clergy. Similar result shown already in the case of the Colonial dioceses. Arnold's proposal to consecrate the Deans, and thus subdivide each See. Objections. Answers. Time the great remover of difficulties. No multiplication of spiritual peers contemplated. Power of the Convocation to suggest—of the Crown to approve—of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to carry out such a scheme. Advantage of such subdivision to the Bishops—to the Priests and Deacons—to the Laity. Instance of a manageable See—the Diocese of Man. Further need of Bishops for the regulation of Chaplains of English congregations on the Continent. A Bishop of Gibraltar already existing. Proposal to appoint a Bishop of Jersey and a Bishop of Heligoland. Needs of the Army and Navy. Conclusion. Comparison of the population at the Norman Conquest and at the present day—of the numbers of Bishops in England then and now.

(4.) **THE REV. EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D.,** Perpetual Curate of St. John's, Paddington. (170—174.) The popular view of a Bishop's functions contrasted with the Prayer-book view. Theory of the Prayer-book that the Bishop is the only "full Minister" of the Church. Reference to passages which indicate this agreement of the theory with Holy Scripture. In order to give effect to this theory, subdivision of Dioceses imperatively demanded. Probable happy results of the Bishop's appearing in each of his parish churches once a year, for the purposes of ordinary ministration. Limitation of the diocese which this would involve. Present dioceses unwieldy. Suggestion respecting our great manufacturing towns. Need of ecclesiastical organization, and episcopal superintendence for the Navy.

**DISCUSSION.** (174—181.) **MR. J. M. CLABON.** (174, 175.) The Episcopacy as now constituted ought to be retained; but the Bishops have not time to make personal visitations in each parish; and to aid them, the Canons of Cathedrals should be made Suffragan Bishops, with stipends of £1500 a year each and a house; the Dean, with occasional Chapter Meetings, being left to do the Cathedral work. The Archdeacons to be merged, in time, in the Suffragan Bishopricks. Objections stated and answered. **MR. F. S. POWELL, M.P.** (175, 176.) No desire to express any opinion on Suffragan or Coadjutor Bishops. The Bishops themselves must move in this matter. Lord Harrowby's allusion to Cathedral Commission. That report considered in its recommendation of a permissive act to divide certain Dioceses. Suggestions for providing funds. Certain difficulties met. All Bishops not Peers. New life imparted in dioceses by subdivision. Some aid to be looked for from Ecclesiastical Commissioners. **MR. MONTAGU BURROWS, M.A.,** Chichele Professor of Modern History, Oxford. (176, 177.) Would deal with one branch of the subject, the Navy. Preferred a Bishop, but asked for a Chaplain General. General desire. Objections raised by certain Captains. His own experience. Captains would gain. Moral agency has superseded force. Chaplain chief aid to discipline. Captains would be less annoyed by wrong-headed Chaplains. Foolish objection that a good man cannot be found. University men are prevented from serving by present no-system. Voice of Congress will have effect. **THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.** (178, 179.) A Bishop's work increased, not diminished, by penny postage and railways. Reasons for a moderate increase of the Episcopate. Confirmations. Personal acquaintance with the clergy. Preaching throughout the Diocese. Church-work in London. Time for study. Reasons why the increase should be only moderate. Evils of excessive subdivision. Of Bishops and Clergy having too little work. Political danger of multiplication of Bishops. Practical impossibility of a large increase. **MR. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.** (179.) Dr. Goulburn's proposition to create a See in every county. Not possible at present, but the point to be aimed at. Create Dioceses, and get Bishops as you can afterwards. Something more required in northern Province. All large centres of population should be Dioceses. State analogy. How Dioceses should be distributed. Bishops Peers of Parliament, potentially. A few Suffragans advisable. **THE REV. W. B. CAPARN, M.A.,** Perpetual Curate of Draycot. (179, 180.) Regret that so great a subject should be discussed in a Sectional meeting. The efforts made in past years in various localities to secure an increase of Bishops. Particularly to have Northumberland erected into a distinct Diocese. Efforts hitherto fruitless. Patience of the Church in this denial of an increase of her first order of the ministry. Urges on the meeting to claim an increase of the Episcopate wherever proposals for Church extension made. **THE REV. H. A. WOODGATE, B.D.,** Honorary Canon of Worcester, and Vicar of Belbroughton. (180, 181.) Practical view of the question. Differ with the Bishop of Lincoln on the question of funds. The subdivision of Exeter easy. Difficulty to obtain co-operation of Government. Case of Rochester. Social position of Bishops. Not to be reduced. No difficulty in getting Bishops even though new Dioceses were poorly endowed. **MR. J. L. HANLY.** (181.) A few words in behalf of the Lincoln Church Association for Augmentation of Poor Livings. Protest against using Queen Anne's Bounty for endowment of Bishopricks.

## THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THE RESEARCHES OF LEARNING, &c. (181—210.)

(1.) **THE REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.,** Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. (181—190.) Opposite dangers in attitude of believers to science; over hasty adoption of seemingly harmonious results, or suspicion of any possible legitimate results of science. Instance, the Deluge. Fewness of points of contest between Scripture and Science, and those mostly subordinate. Our interpretations of Scripture not to be confused by us with Scripture itself. Mutual helps of Theologians and Physicists. Physical discoveries may lead to exacter interpretations of God's Word. 1. History of the Creation. Other possible explanations. Absolute creation at the will of God, a mystery known of old to Moses alone; this, a guarantee that the details are right. 2. The flood; what is, and what is not, "of faith." 3. Unity of human race, "of faith;" not chronology. Analogy of our Lord's genealogy in St. Matt., which was purposely reduced. The alleged grounds for antiquity of man precarious as yet; (a) geological; (b) varieties within human species; (c) differences of language.

Other questions (as correspondence in the brain of man and the ape) wholly indifferent. Correspondance would only the more illustrate the immateriality of the soul. Right attitude of Theology, to await undisturbed the results of science. Exceeding mischief of uncertain and apologetic answers. Object and foundation of faith being supernatural, faith cannot be really affected by science, whose grounds and objects are natural.

(2.) **THE REV. T. R. BIRKS, M.A.**, Rector of Kelshall, Herts. (190—198.) Science applicable to study of Bible. 1. The signal triumphs of modern science due to inductive inquiry. How applicable to Scripture. The aim of science as distinguished from the aim of Christian theology. Comparison between inductive inquiry as applied to science and to Christian theology. The difference between the method by which truth must be sought in scientific pursuits and in the mysteries of revelation. 2. Cases of supposed divergence of science from Scripture. If science and Scripture contradict each other, one of them must give way. One of three alternatives. These described. Some observations as to the removal of the difficulty. 3. How may science enrich theology and add power to Scripture. All sciences only the handmaidens of Christian theology. Illustrated from the several sciences of astronomy, geology, chemistry, meteorology. Conclusion.

(3.) **THE VEN. JOHN SANDFORD, B.D.**, Archdeacon of Coventry, Hon. Canon of Worcester Cathedral, and Rector of Alvechurch. (198—201.) Nature and Revelation alike discoveries of God. To explore and explain both the duty of intelligent creatures. Any discrepancies but apparent. The spirit in which researches are to be conducted. Still the supreme aim is truth; and the province of both the man of science and the theologian is simply to interpret rightly the works and Word of God. Some incapacitated for such inquiries. Reverence and self-restraint required from all. But independence and truthfulness specially demanded of students and teachers. No discovery and no progress attainable without these and the conflicts to which they lead. Distinctions between true and false philosophy. Science and learning the handmaids of religion; and to discourage inquiry is to distrust and stigmatize truth. The true purposes for which the Bible was bestowed—on this the whole question turns. Evil of confounding essential verities with points on which inaccuracy is possible and differences are allowable.

(4.) **THE REV. E. GARBETT, M.A.**, Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Surbiton. (201—205.) Mutual misapprehensions of religion and science. Their injurious effect. Comparison of their mutual claims. 1. Truth the common object of them both. Science only an exact knowledge. All truth meets in God. Assistance rendered by science to religion. Assistance rendered by religion to science. 2. All branches of knowledge parts of a common truth. Mutual relations of knowledge to universal science. Not all comprehended in the science which is physical. No one branch of science has a right to claim the name and authority above other branches. No real contrariety between them possible. Apparent contradictions how to be treated. 3. Fallibility of all human investigation. What is the special sphere of a particular science. What is the common sphere of all reasoning. Mutual respect and deference. Religion and science united.

**DISCUSSION.** (205—210.) **THE REV. J. BAYLEE, DD.**, Principal of St. Aidan's College, and Perpetual Curate of Holy Trinity, Birkenhead. (205, 206.) The Bible is God speaking to man—therefore infallible on all points. Addressed to us in human language, it should be interpreted according to the laws of human language. That it has no scientific errors may be illustrated from geology, natural history, and ethnology. Geologists cannot account for the original state of the earth, the Bible does. "To create," means a divine act giving perfect existence. "Without form," therefore means ruined. Therefore the Bible statement is, God made the earth perfect, it became ruined. The six days' work was a restoration. Other Scriptures ascribe the origin of ruin to the devil, and this is the true key to geological ruins. In natural history and ethnology, the Bible statements are the only credible ones. Why are there no land animals south of the Equator which could not cross the Torrid Zone? Why no historic nation south of the Equator? Noah's ark explains. The boulder system and the drift can only be fairly explained by the Mosaic account of the causes of the flood. In interpreting Scripture—1. Do so according to its *usus loquendi*—2. Give no more than a conjectural acceptance to the statements of unsettled science—3. Believe the Bible to be true notwithstanding the objections of improved and continually changing

science. The Rev. J. S. HOWSON, D.D., Principal of College, Liverpool. (206—208.) Advice to young theological students to distinguish carefully between what is vitally important and comparatively unimportant. The mischievous tendency of the argument that, because we think we must give up something, therefore we must give up all. The wisdom of waiting patiently and confidently, while minor questions are necessarily in suspense. Illustration in the case of St. Paul's shipwreck of the light which science itself may throw on Scripture. Results to be expected from the "Palestine Exploration Fund." The Rev. WILLIAM KAY, D.D., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and late Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta. (208, 209.) Supposed oppositions between theology and science drawn mainly from outlying territories of knowledge, not yet appropriated by science; frequently disappear as soon as terms are defined. "Pre-historic" (used by Bishop Colenso in an argument about the Deluge) explained by Professor Ansted to mean "Pre-Roman." The "Ages" of stone, bronze, and iron, (which have been placed in antagonism to the received chronology) stated by Mr. J. Evans to have "nothing chronological" in them. The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF HARROWBY. (209.) A few words bearing on the question. Lord Lyndhurst's view of the prevailing discussions of the day. His entire faith in the truth of God's Word, coming from such a master of evidence, ought to satisfy us. The RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD. (209, 210.) Reference to a previous speaker, (Dr. Howson.) Positive wickedness to fling away any one truth. What was said by him, however, likely to mislead. What comes from God must be all true, although the whole revelation may not be accompanied with the same amount of clearness, either in its declaration, or in the power by which it is seized by man. The man of science bound to deal with revelation in the same manner as he would deal with a question in his own science.

## PREACHING: ITS ADAPTATION TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

(210—238.)

(1.) THE VERY REV. HENRY ALFORD, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. (210—217.) Preaching, deficient from want of training; ought to be suited to the condition of the hearers as regards the unity of religious thought; as regards local peculiarities; deficient from ignorance of the sacred text. License to preach might be less universally granted. *Written sermons*, how capable of improvement; 1, as to the text; 2, as to arrangement; 3, as to beginning and end. Desirable length of sermons. Duty of simplicity, but not of preaching down to the simplest hearer. Duty of genuineness. Good men often bad preachers. Why. Other hindrances. Unreal view of religious life. The spirit of party. Disingenuous treatment of criticism and science. Multiplication of charity sermons. *Unwritten sermons*; expository. Free extemporaneous discourse, its advantages and disadvantages. Solemnity of the preacher's office. Our duties as regards the Church; as regards unbelievers.

(2.) THE REV. DANIEL MOORE, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Camden Church, and Tuesday Morning Lecturer of St. Margaret's, Lothbury. (217—224.) Introduction. 1. *The present times*, characterized by great intellectual activity, by bold and searching inquiry, by an adverse attitude towards revealed religion; the consequent necessity of a cultivated and intelligent style of preaching; of meeting, fairly and fearlessly, different forms of sceptical objection; of according all honour to the results of scientific discovery. 2. *The duty of preachers*, to preach the Gospel fully, openly, and in its world-wide adaptations; to preach it systematically and in its relation to the whole scheme of revelation; to preach it earnestly, persuasively, and with a direct view to influence the conscience and the heart. 3. *Subsidiary hints*. Importance of studying variety in our discourses; anecdote, quotation, secular allusions. Necessity of attending to the proprieties of elocution. The recommendation to be natural. Advantage of cultivating the power of extemporaneous addresses. Solemnity of the preacher's office.

(3.) THE REV. EDWARD HOARE, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Trinity Church, Tunbridge Wells. (225—228) Peculiarities of the present times. Activity of mind; activity in religion; activity in error. Preaching must be addressed to the understanding, the heart, the conscience. Interest must be maintained. Instruction must be given. How to be conveyed. Preaching to the feelings. The effects of love. Reality. Sir T. F. Buxton's opinion about preaching. Conscience must be awakened, and must be satisfied. Dangers of scepticism, of Popery. Conclusion.

(4.) THE REV. E. H. BICKERSTETH, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Hampstead, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Ripon. (228—232.) The Christian evangelist's great commission, to preach Christ. The essentials of His message unalterable. But the same Gospel, and not another, may be so presented in different aspects as to supply the needful corrective or stimulus for the prevalent dangers or most prominent duties of our own times, of which times among the leading characteristics:—1. Incessant activity of thought. 2. Abounding wealth and scientific achievements. 3. Grievous attempts to remove the old landmarks of truth; and especially with regard to (a) Inspiration, (b) the Atonement, (c) the Christian Sabbath, (d) eternal punishment. 4. An excessive craving for excessive ceremonial. 5. Feverish excitement as to the future. In respect of all, preach Christ as our wisdom, our example, our authority, our priest, our quickly-returning Lord.

DISCUSSION. (232—238.) THE VEN. ARCHDEACON DENISON. (232, 233.) Dean of Canterbury's view as to fewer preachers. Impossibility of the mass of the clergy to attain all the requisites required by former speakers. Danger of overrating preaching. Differs in opinion from Dean as to written and extemporaneous preaching. Preaching should be specially adapted to the dangers of the present time. What these dangers are. The great remedy, knowledge of the Bible and Common Prayer-book. Preaching should be Scriptural, not learned nor scientific. Dangers threatening from ultra-ritualism. THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF EMLY. (233, 234.) Danger of exaggerated adaptation of preaching to supposed wants and tendencies of the age. Great safeguard in general good education of the clergy. Knowledge of Scripture. Power of applying the writers of Christian antiquity. Bossuet and Augustine. Foundation of a Chair of Sacred Oratory deprecated. The substance of our preaching must not be tampered with. The truth as received by our Church, sufficient for the wants of men. The Rev. J. S. B. MONSELL, LL.D., Vicar of Egham. (234, 235.) Preaching a spiritual work. Its success from faith as the sent in the Sender. 1. Apostolic faith. 2. Apostolic practice. 3. Apostolic preparation. The Rev. J. C. RYLE, B.A., Vicar of Stradbroke. (236, 237.) One department of the subject still to receive attention. Preaching to country or rural populations. The position they occupy. The people chiefly uneducated. The sermon the only means of instruction. Difficulties of a country parson. An educated man the best to deal with the poor. The Church of England clergyman and Prayer-book admirably adapted to the wants of the poor. Nothing new in the doctrine to be preached. How to illustrate our sermons. THE REV. WILLIAM WALLACE, M.A., Incumbent of St. Luke's District, Burdett Road, Stepney. (237, 238.) The subject of homiletic preaching. A letter from the Dean of Cork on this important subject, giving his views very fully. Duty of the preacher as to his congregation. The grand point. *The Word* in all its fulness and truth.

## THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH IN IRELAND.

(239—269)

THE REV. S. BUTCHER, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, &c. (239—247.) I.—Sketch of the Church in Ireland. Intimate connection between it and the Church in England since the time of the Reformation. The Treaty of Union, 1800, and its 5th article. Lord Castlereagh's statement. Maintenance of the Established Church in Ireland a fundamental condition of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, 1829. Mr. Blake's testimony. II.—Twofold function of the Irish Branch of the Church. Its first and most important function to provide for the spiritual and moral well-being of its own members. Its second and subordinate function is to propagate the principles of the Reformation among the Roman Catholic population. To interchange the places of these two functions is a very serious error. III.—How the Church in Ireland has discharged her *missionary* office. Reasons why her success in this work has been but partial. England herself has impeded the spread of the Reformation in Ireland. Missionary agencies at present in operation there. How the Church in Ireland discharges her duties towards her own members. Unfounded attacks of the *Times*. Proof of the healthy state and continued progress of the Church. Primate Beresford's Charge, 1864. The enormous revenues of the Church in Ireland. Lord Russell's statements. Their refutation by Mr. Whiteside and the Rev. A. Lee. Testimonies of the late Primate and of Archdeacon Wordsworth, to the vitality and



efficiency of the Church. Circumstances tending to paralyze her energy. IV.—Disastrous consequences of abolishing the Church Establishment in Ireland. Voluntary maintenance of the Church in full efficiency not to be hoped for. The landlords. Effect of the disendowment of the Church on the supply of candidates for the ministry. No effect on the social well-being of the rural districts. V.—How the abolition of the Irish Church Establishment would affect the Established Church in England. A principle and a precedent fraught with peril to the latter would thereby be established. Such a measure would tend to alienate the Irish Church Protestants from England, and so to weaken one of the strongest bonds of union between the two countries. Lord Plunket's warning words. Sir George Grey's opinion as to the danger of such a measure. Conclusion.

(2.) THE RIGHT HON. JOSEPH NAPIER, D.C.L. (248—255.)

The position of the Church in Ireland considered first as a branch of the Church Catholic; and next as an integral part of the National Church of England and Ireland. As to the former it stood on the same foundations. In both countries it was the Church of Christ in possession from the beginning. The same in doctrine, discipline, and government. Each has the same Scriptural and a like historical title. The Church in Ireland connected by strict continuity of succession with the early Church. The Papal Hierarchy intruded into Ireland after the Reformation. Connected neither by doctrine nor by Episcopal succession with the early Church or the constitution of England. The Irish Church now supported by its own property and voluntary help. No tax on any man's property in its favour. The property belonged to the Church in its corporate character, and was admittedly insufficient for its present emergencies. The grounds for the Union, 1800. How the United Church became the National Church of England and Ireland. The question of numbers must be now considered with reference to the whole, and to every part of the whole, and not to Ireland alone separated from England and Wales. Both parts of the Church rest on the foundation of prescriptive right, Catholic perpetuity, and constitutional compact. Any breaking in upon these foundations in Ireland must endanger the stability of the whole Church in both countries. The great social good of the clergy of the National Church in many places in Ireland. In a country where Ultramontaniam had set up its Church and State system in hostility to England in Church and State, the great necessity of upholding the reformed Church and the free constitution of England.

(3.) THE VERY REV. WILLIAM ALEXANDER, M.A., Dean of Emly, and Rector of Camus, Ireland. (255—259.) Circumstances which prevent the Irish Church from obtaining the cordial sympathy of English Churchmen. 1. Minority of Churchmen in Ireland; but that minority is influential. It has gained relatively, according to Census of 1861. Not exclusively by famine or emigration. Instance in Diocese of Derry and Raphoe. Probability of future increase from the tendency of the age. Anticipated by the late Sir Robert Peel. 2. Alleged stationary and unprogressive character of the Irish Church. Contrast between the Dioceses of Derry and Raphoe under Bishop King in 1693 and Bishop Higgin 1863. Statistics of Down, Connor, and Dromore. General Statistics. Increase of glebe-houses, and its importance. 3. Alleged undue neglect of the externals of religion. Partly true. Accounted for. Especially from the size of parishes. Improvement of late years. General indication of Church life. Character of Church people and emigrants. Theological School of Trinity College. Brief historical sketch, proving the intimate connection between the English and Irish Church. Prospects of the Church revival in Ireland. Unsatisfactory past history of the Irish Church in great measure due to England.

(4.) THE REV. G. SALMON, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. (260—263.) 1. Historical claims of Irish Church. This topic not available in Parliamentary discussions, but most important in enlisting the sympathies of English Churchmen. 2. Unfair ways of judging of the tone of Irish Churchmanship. 3. General efficiency of Irish pastoral work. 4. Misrepresentations as to Irish parishes which are said to contain no Protestants. 5. Answer to the assertion that a minority have got possession of funds intended for the religious education of the whole people. 6. No one wants the property which it is proposed to take from the Irish Church. 7. The claims of vested rights.

DISCUSSION. (263—269.) MR. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P. (263, 264.) The masterly way in which the subject has been considered. The subject from

a political point of view. Taking away the revenues of the Irish Church nothing less than confiscation. The same principle would hold with respect to Wales. The principle contrary to modern legislation. The Irish quite able to readjust the affairs of the Church in Ireland. A great revival in Ireland. Evidenced by the restoration of her cathedrals. The destruction of the Church in Ireland will content no body of religionists. **MR. JOHN M. CLABON**, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Church Institution. (264, 265.) The attention of the Church in England should be concentrated on three points. 1. The spoliation of the Church in Ireland will not be for the benefit of the people of Ireland. A liberal government would probably be the gainer, but the dying out of the clergy would leave a void difficult to estimate. 2. If the property of the Church in Ireland is seized, no property given for the purposes of religion or charity will be safe. The question thereafter would simply be one of numbers. 3. The battle of the Church in Ireland is to be fought in Parliament, and each Churchman should exercise his influence as an elector in petitioning and promoting petitions and in acting in and out of Parliament, so as to uphold the Church in Ireland as the outwork of the Church in England. **THE REV. J. S. JONES, M.A.**, Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Liverpool. (265, 266.) Reasons for speaking on this subject. Duty of visitors to Ireland. Ignorance at the root of the feeling towards Ireland. The valuable information contained in the Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette. The growth in the Church in Ireland real and great. The effects and character of Romanism in Ireland. **THE REV. CHARLES CATOR, M.A.**, Rector of Stokesley. (266, 267.) An advocate for the Irish Church thirty years ago. The Appropriation Clause. The folly of attempting to force the Bible in a language unknown to the people. History of translation of Bible in Irish tongue. Had this existed from first, probability that the people of Ireland would have been as good Protestants as ourselves. **THE EARL OF HARROWBY.** (267, 268.) The subject exhausted, but speak in deference to the wish of the Chairman. Always interested in the Irish Church. A very difficult question to deal with. An anomaly, because the Church of the minority. Still not doing a mischief, but the contrary. Tithe formerly the great grievance, not so now. The Romish Clergy opposed to State interference or alliance. Abolition of the Church the great point with Romanist. The folly of this. The feeling that Protestantism must spread. **THE REV. R. H. GROOME, M.A.**, Rector of Monk Soham. (269.) A few words of explanation. **THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON DENISON.** (269.) Differ with Lord Harrowby as to the Irish Church being an anomaly. The fact of an Established Church has nothing to do with numbers. The great question is whether the Established Church of a country teaches the truth in all its fulness. The Church in Ireland does this, and therefore ought to be supported by all who love the truth.

## THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS THE HEATHEN.

(270—290.)

(1.) **THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF GRAHAMSTON.** (270—276.) The process through which the Church should fulfil this duty, indicated in our Lord's last command. The several steps of the process, as expounded in the history of the Apostles. 1. The preaching of the gospel, i. e., of the facts by which man's redemption was accomplished. 2. Baptism, on a profession of faith and repentance. 3. The organizing of the spiritual body, by the laying on of the hands of the Apostles. 4. Ordination of elders and deacons. 5. The appointment of one, as of Timothy, to preside over the newly-formed society. Existence of miraculous gifts in the apostolic age, affects only the element of *time* in the organization of the body. The objection that modern missions fail in forming Churches with organic life of their own considered. It points to a real defect, viz. that our converts are not trained to be members of such communities. This defect to be remedied; first, by faith in the gifts of the Spirit to all Christians. Again, by educating our converts through the fellowship of Christ's Church. Suggestions as to such training.—1. Confirmation should admit the converts to rights and responsibilities in the society. 2. The principle of our Church, which connects the exercise of discipline with lay officers, should be applied and extended. 3. Ministrations by the converts amongst their fellow-countrymen, should be encouraged, and form part of the Church system; such ministrations to be unpaid. 4. Standard of qualifications for the native ministry to be suited to the attainments of the native Christians themselves. The English Church system sufficient for the purpose, when adapted to altered circumstances.

(2.) **THE REV. HENRY BAILEY, B.D.**, Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. (277--283.) Explanation of terms. Limits of the inquiry. The Bible on the duty of the Church to the heathen, and on the Church's fulfilment of it. The duty of the Church of England examined, partly in the light of past experience, and partly by means of suggestions for the future.—1. As regards the selection of the mission field, and the occupation of it. 2. As regards missionary agents, in need of prayer for finding them; pains for training them; direct assistance given them while in their work, in specified instances, through existing means, and by new agencies to be called into operation; besides other assistance indirectly rendered. 3. As regards the collection of funds and the means of enlarging them. Duty of the Church to promote measures combining with the preceding. Advantage of the views propounded, with further reasons and analogies for them. The Holy Spirit the light and the power of the whole.

(3.) **THE REV. WILLIAM KAY, D.D.**, Fellow of Lincoln College. (283--285.) The Church's duty involved in the doctrine of Redemption; in the whole tenor of Holy Scripture; in the Lord's Prayer; in the titles of the Church—*Catholic, Apostolic, Evangelical*. England's special duty most evident. The allegations of want of success.—1. *Not true*, when all the facts are taken into the estimate; 2. *If true*, would leave the duty just the same. Proposal that the period between Ascension-day and Whitsunday should have special missionary services.

**DISCUSSION.** (285--290.) **THE EARL NELSON.** (285, 286.) Want of faith in our heathen converts wrong. Case of Madagascar. Evidence of Bishop of Mauritius. Difference produced by lower state of morality amongst heathen and ourselves. Men may become true Christians without attaining to the level of morality produced by high civilization. Our work in India not on the best plan. The parochial system bad for missionary work. The collegiate system the proper plan. The Rev. **HENRY ROWLEY**, late Missionary of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel. (286, 287.) England's position to the heathen makes it the duty of England to work for the heathen. Characteristics of heathenism not now as in early ages of the Church. Mission work among the heathen promotes Christian unity. Missionary failure frequently owing to the isolation of the missionary, and not adapting external action to the natural characteristics of the people. The Rev. **J. WISE, M.A.**, Vicar of Stanford, (late Archdeacon of Colombo, Ceylon.) (287, 288.) The duty of Christianizing the heathen on the present agencies of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society, and Colonial Episcopate, which we have in Foreign Parts, and in the success which has attended our efforts. The Rev. **W. W. HERRINGHAM, M.A.**, Rector of Hawkeworth. (288.) Advantage of some practical suggestion. The great want of the missionary field, not funds, but men. The great need of training men for the special work required of them. A word for St. Augustine's College. **Mrs. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P.** (288, 289.) The real founder of St. Augustine's College—the Rev. **Edward Coleridge**. His own part in the foundation. Rejoice that the work done there is great. Making the students *College* men, and not seminarians. The training received at St. Augustine's. The Colonial Church at present under a cloud. The crisis will be overruled for good. The Church in Canada and Australia. Hopeful state of the future work in the Missionary Church. The Rev. **J. W. KNOTT, M.A.**, Fellow of Brazenose College. (289, 290.) Dr. Kay's description of the state of feeling in India. The need of men adapted to the work of Missionaries. Great want of sympathy. The Indian Female Mission Society. Ladies necessary for the work in some of the fields of missionary labour. Sympathy with Church Missionary Society. Experimental work at present as to what is the real truth. All agreed as to the one common disease of sin. The work in Madagascar. Mission work helps to heal divisions amongst those who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

## CHURCH MUSIC.

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## P R A Y E R S

*Used at the Opening of each General and Sectional Meeting.*

"O pray for the peace of Jerusalem : they shall prosper that love thee."

*Let us pray.*

Lord have mercy upon us.

*Christ have mercy upon us.*

Lord have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be Thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation : But deliver us from evil. *Amen.*

O Lord, arise, help us. *And deliver us for Thy Name's sake.*

Turn us again, Thou Lord God of Hosts. *Shew the light of Thy countenance, and we shall be whole.*

O Lord, hear our prayer. *And let our cry come unto Thee.*

The Lord be with you. *And with Thy Spirit.*

O Lord, we beseech Thee, let Thy continual pity cleanse and defend Thy Church ; and, because it cannot continue in safety without Thy succour, preserve it evermore by Thy help and goodness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O Almighty God, who hast built Thy Church upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the head corner-stone ; Grant us so to be joined together in unity of spirit by their doctrine, that we may be made an holy temple acceptable unto Thee ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Almighty and everlasting God, by whose Spirit the whole body of the Church is governed and sanctified ; Receive our supplications and prayers, which we offer before Thee for all estates of men in Thy holy Church, that every member of the same, in his vocation and ministry, may truly and godly serve Thee ; through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

1865.

## Proceedings of the Church Congress,

HELD AT NORWICH.

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TUESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 3rd, 1865.

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THE Church Congress, the fifth that has been held, commenced this morning at Norwich. Holy Communion was celebrated at the Cathedral, at 8 a.m., by the Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, assisted by the Rev. J. W. L. Heaviside, Canon in residence, Precentor Symonds, and several of the Honorary Canons. Holy Communion was also celebrated in many of the parish churches at the same hour. At 11 o'clock there was full Choral Service at the Cathedral, the prayers being intoned by Precentor Symonds, and the Rev. E. Bulmer, Minor Canon; the proper lessons were read by Canon Heaviside. The anthem was from *Handel*, "Fixed in his everlasting seat." The Inauguration Sermon was preached by HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

The Mayor, Magistrates, and Corporation of Norwich attended, and occupied their usual seats, and the only reserved seats were occupied by those gentlemen who had been invited to take part in the proceedings.

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## THE SERMON.

ISAIAH xxxiii. 20, 21.

"Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities; thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken:

"But there the glorious Lord will be unto us a place of broad rivers and streams; wherein shall go no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ship pass thereby."

A great and high promise for the chosen people is contained in these words. Jerusalem, the centre of their worship, of their religious affections, should be at peace. Her tabernacle should not be the tent of their old wanderings, but a fixed abode, with stakes that should not be removed, and cords that could not be broken.

No broad river as yet refreshed the thirsty Jerusalem; but the glorious God would make river and stream to flow, and these should cheer and enrich; but the war-ship should not find a passage over them to destroy. On Jerusalem, often wasted with misery and war, often careless about God, should shine all peace and blessing. She should be for ever a strong city, perfect in beauty, peaceful and secure.

That this prophecy is not to be limited to the visible city of Jerusalem, its own words show. The living river shall never flow nigh her, nor a tabernacle with cord and stake replace the firm foundations of the glorious temple that was her pride already. Nor did it ever find its fulfilment in the visible Jerusalem. That city fell to the warrior, was destroyed at last in war. Her sceptre has fallen out of her hands. Her fortifications, strong and steep, became as other prophets\* said they would become—sloping fields of waving corn. Her stakes are removed, and her cords broken; and no one can renew her landmarks, so that we might restore even for our imagination the fair city, the joy of the whole earth.

But all things urge us to give the whole section in which these words occur a larger scope. It is of a higher Zion that the prophet speaks; of a Zion that has a corner-stone elect, precious, which never was hewn with hands from the quarry; of Zion, of which it would be said, "Thine eyes shall see the King in his beauty; they shall see the land that is far off." (Chap. xxxiii. 17.) The King is surely the Anointed One for whom the nation sighed; and the land far off is the enlarging borders of that King's dominions, which embrace not Jewry only, but the distant places of the earth, all made subject to the one King of Zion. These promises, then, refer not to the kingdom of Hezekiah, but more truly to that Church where Christ is judge and lawgiver and king, and where the people, stricken with the sense of sin, look to Him alone, and say with the prophet, "He will save us." The prophet sees in the foreground a king and people delivered from the fear of invasion and captivity; and these have their place in his inspired strain of triumph. But his vision sweeps the space beyond, pierces into the ages that shall be, and a loftier throne and a more glorious temple, and a kingdom reaching over all the earth, grow upon his mind and claim his words. Directed by him the pious listeners would long for that better time which was never absent from their thoughts, which was so essential to their conceptions of God's glory and man's need. And thus, out of the temporary distress of Zion, and her rescue from the hand of Sennacherib, rises up a larger vision, beneath which the local groups and circumstances seem to grow less, and almost to disappear.

Will it remove all difficulty from this prophecy if we apply it

\* Jer. xxvi. 18. Mic. iii. 12.

to the Christian instead of to the Jewish Church? I think that at a meeting like this, we shall be reminded often of the same bitter contrast between those high promises which we inherit and our actual state, which must have depressed the spirit of the Jews, when the hosts of the enemy appeared in their borders. To our Zion, to the Church of Christ, are promised explicitly such gifts as these—unity, truth, and success. Of which of them, it may be asked, can we make our boast? Which of these precious gifts do we enjoy in that large measure in which they were all promised to us? And since he is faithful that promised, what are the faults in us that bar us from our birthright? These are questions of most serious import. Let us commence the proceedings of this week by turning our minds to them for a few moments.

1. The unity of the Church was to be one chief note of its divine origin. "That they all may be one; as thou Father art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." Here is no mere assumption that as a matter of prudence Christians will cling together; but their unity, of souls united by an interpenetrating love, is an image of the mysterious union betwixt the Father and the Son; nay, and the sight of that unity will make the world believe that the mission of the Son was true indeed. What is our state? Visible unity seems to be no more a mark of the Church of Christ. Of those whose faces are all turned one way, to the place where Jesus the crucified sits on the right hand of God, the east and west have been rent asunder, so that none can re-knit the torn garment of the Lord. And west and east are again divided, each within itself; and we that are but a section of the Western Church, are torn and torn again. It is not that men are careless to preserve their inheritance, and so suffer themselves to be separated from indifference about the value of union. It is that the good, the pious, the zealous, are unable to reconcile the claims of truth with those of love; are unable to draw the line between zeal and severity. It is sometimes that men doubt the power of truth in itself, and add their anger to it to give it weight. And this root of trouble is not of modern planting. The dispute of Paul with Barnabas, the error of Peter at Antioch when Paul withstood him to the face because he was to be blamed, show us that even men the holiest, the most fervid, the most devoted, were the first to shake a little the stones of the new wall that was rising about the New Jerusalem, the Church, and that they did it with the thought that they were doing God service. *We* dare not blame either side, since the one aimed at strict right, the other at charitable indulgence. But it is remarkable how fruitful of evil, down to this very day, was that open rupture of Paul and Peter on account of Peter's weakness at Antioch. The Ebionites founded on this their gravest accusation against Paul; as the Gnostics did their prejudice against Peter and the Apostles of the Jews. The Rationalists



argue from it against inspiration; and the so-called critical school of the present day have constructed upon it a theory of Church history which supposes a constant and avowed hostility between these two greatest Apostles, commencing at Antioch, never ending during their lives, the one preaching a gospel strictly connected with the old law, and the other desiring to emancipate the Church from all traces of the law. Of this theory, which pretends to discover a chasm dividing the New Jerusalem into two parts from the very first, I will only say here, that it was a great effort of imagination to construct it out of few materials, and in defiance of many obvious facts, and a great effort too to take such a dream for history. It is without any evidence; it is against evidence. But the sharp contention of Apostles shews us already what peril surrounds the Church, of permanent division. Yes: the great idea of an undivided Church, completely fused and compacted by love and by truth, came down from heaven; but the treasure was received in earthen vessels, which could not contain it: the vessels broke, and the treasure was lost. I know that the Church of Rome insists still that visible unity is a mark of the Church, and that she alone exhibits that mark, and that no other Christian body, separated from her, can claim the title of a Church, because it wants one of its essential notes. But such pretensions cannot be admitted. The mirror in which the ascended Lord was to be visibly reflected to an admiring world, has been broken to pieces. Every fragment still reflects, but more or less perfectly, the Lord of glory. To take up one of the pieces, much defiled by the earth on which it has fallen, and to set it in a gaudy frame, and to say "This fragment is the mirror, and all the rest are nothing," this may deceive some who yearn so much for unity, that they would rather admit than sift the claim. But earnest hearts sicken at the vain pretension. From east and west, in parts of which Rome knows nothing, voices of praise arise to the one Lord of all believers; and works of good are done in the name and in the power of that Lord. The Lord is their judge, the Lord is their lawgiver, the Lord is their king. To deny that they are Christ's, seems hardly to stop short of blasphemy against Him whose power is seen among them. That Rome should claim to be the sole trustee of that precious gift, because of the mark of unity, is indeed a bold assumption. Rome, ever more ready to cut off than to embrace; Rome, that would have nothing to do with those holy aspirations after a purer worship, and a truer teaching, which brought round the Reformation; Rome, like her sisters, may muse in sorrow over Christ's promise of unity, made seeming void by man's sin. But for her, less than for others, is the arrogant pretension that she alone is the divine Zion, and all that she has cut off are useless fragments, cast into the darkness. And yet so deep-seated is the love for unity, that many have accepted her at her word, and sought in her bosom what she had not to give.

Because the flower is withered, they have been fain to clasp to their bosom an artificial flower, different even to the eye from that which it would imitate, but without the life or the odour. All we the rest, to whom such pretensions are an idle tale, sit brooding on the seeming frustration of a most blessed promise. Where is the one fold, whose sheep in one flock follow the leading footsteps of the one Shepherd into green pastures that never fail? God's promise cannot have been in vain. Man must have hindered it: God hath not forgotten it. So much the greater is our inheritance of sin, so much the more do we need to seek wisdom and guidance from Him, whose gracious purpose we have failed for ages to understand.

2. But if unity has been lost, truth has been preserved to us. And this is our consolation. If the Church be not the great ocean, vast, bright, fresh, a counterpart of the blue heaven above it, still she is like the hundred lakes that nestle among the sheltering hills; they know not each other, but every one of them reflects, and truly, the firmament above. So far as salvation by Christ is brought home to men by the teaching of the churches, so long there is an underlying bond of agreement which outward misunderstanding cannot cancel. We are one in the one witness that we bear to Jesus, in the one hope that we awaken through His gospel, in the one common direction towards which our faces turn, waiting till the dark sky shall kindle with the orient flush of His glorious re-appearing. And yet we must admit that even here we are not safe. The world, steeped in material things, grown rich, grown wise, and full of enjoyment, is waking to discuss the truths of religion. In every country almost this is the subject of the hour. And no tenet of our holy faith shall escape gain-saying. Such trials have been before, and the Church has come out of them. We do not despair; but we must be forewarned against a state of real danger. Do you love the Bible, and find it a sufficient guide? Not a book of it shall escape some critical doubt. Do you think your soul is precious because it lives for ever? Materialism, with curled nostril, tells you that all that is gone, and that when man dies he perishes utterly. Do you love the Redeemer for all that His love has done for you? New lives have been written of Him we adore as Redeemer! Redemption finds no place in that tangle of enthusiasm, perplexity, and deceit, which some would have us substitute for the living picture of our eternal Lord. What, then, would become of sinners without a Redeemer? Sin, too, is to be abolished by the command of pantheism, and sin and goodness alike are necessary manifestations of absolute being, and it would be absurd to condemn what is inevitable and necessary. Leave us, at least, out of this wreck of all things the belief that God is the Father of His creatures, and that we can know Him! Not so. Science forbids us to deal but with facts of observation. For thoughts such as yours science has no room. We do but

waste time in denying or refuting them ; they are outside the path of reason altogether, as our dreams are out of the course of our daily avocations. No book to guide us ; no king to lead us ; no difference of right and wrong ; no life beyond this sick and lame existence ; no father touched with love for us whom we are permitted to love. Then has winter darkness overtaken us on a bleak and windy moor ; we must sit down in our blind despair until the eager breeze shall search through blood and marrow, and our torpid sleep deepen into a death beyond what men call death. God forbid it ! We shall not utterly die in this unbelief. But short of death we may suffer much harm and loss. And a Church with broken love and tainted truth, what has she to assure her that she belongs any more to Him who sent her forth to present to the world the image or copy of His love and zeal, and teach men all that he had commanded ? It is neither an example nor a witness. . What then is it ?

3. Not less humiliating to us are those promises of great success which are a part of our charter. The power of the truth we teach, the presence of the Holy Ghost, to turn the outward word into an inward life, seem to assure us of great success in gathering in souls to Christ. "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," He said, when He bade His disciples go and teach and baptize all nations ; and He promised to be with them always, even unto the end of the world. If, instead of conquering evil in the heathen nations round us, through that All-powerful One who has promised to go out with us, our missions are almost standing still, and round about our doors at home much heathen ignorance prevails ; if, instead of pulling down strongholds by the power of the Word, we are ourselves besieged in our Jerusalem by errors that would ruin the very foundations of our faith, here is one more disappointment, one more source of perplexity in understanding the ways of God.

Brethren, a Church Congress must take for the basis of its discussions these admitted facts of our condition : that our unity has long been broken up ; that the precious truth entrusted to us is threatened ; and that because of these the work of evangelization proceeds but slowly. These facts are terrible in themselves ; they are astonishing when contrasted with the large promises that attended the sending forth of the ministers of the gospel. It is essential that we should realise that the temporary failure of the divine purpose lies with man and with his sin, and not with Him who made the promise. The history of the Jewish people is but a prophecy of our own. On one side, Jehovah offered to His chosen every blessing that love could give. The tabernacle with cords and stakes that could not be moved, the streams of water to quicken their arid soil, and yet to refuse a passage to the hostile ships ; these are some of the images under which the prophets assure the people that the Lord Jehovah loves them with an

everlasting, with an unsparing love. On the other hand, the chosen people, by wilful apostacy, turn aside the gracious purpose, and the great shower of blessing hangs in a cloud above them, but cannot fall on this unthankful stiff-necked race. The pious Jew, in the decline of his country, might ponder on the long catalogue of blessings that had been promised but not sent. Were the promises but visions, that never should have been expected to issue in literal fulfilment? No. Every promise would have been performed; but the sinful will of man, impotent for good without God's help, is permitted an awful power to the prevention of good. It seems wellnigh profane to say that God cannot act out his love for man, if man resists Him; yet this is in one sense true and scriptural. We have heard in the lesson that "He could there do no mighty work," and unbelief was the cause. And so the words of the prophet seem for a time to fall to the ground. Just thus it is with the Church. God meant her to be a city set on a hill, strong, undivided, beautiful, presenting to an admiring world the copy of its founder's beauty. Christ meant to be with it always, its lawgiver and king; meant that the Spirit's fire should lighten every conscience and warm every heart with the love of truth and of God. There is only one cause for His diminishing aught of His promises. Man would not have it so. The passions of our corrupt nature would not be still even in that heavenly presence, and so two apostles fall into sharp contention; and Peter vacillates and Paul denounces vacillation, even then when the Lord is pointing them the way to gather in the Gentiles into His fold. It was His work. Oh, that they would have stood still to see His salvation! If those holy men, our inspired instructors in the faith, if their great spirits, consecrated to such high and elevating functions, could be ruffled into quarrel, though but for a moment, no wonder that the strife of ages less faithful, bit deeper and made wounds that would not heal. And so the Church, founded by the Prince of Peace, has passed through eighteen stormy ages.

But God is very good to us. We are broken; our lips stammer over the truth; we labour feebly for the good of souls. Yet God is with us still. If we have refused to be blessed according to His plan, He has blessed us in another. And no Church on earth has more cause for humble gratitude than that which we claim as our own. The pure word of God, that word written for us in the age when the Holy Spirit was poured on the Church in largest measure, is preserved to us, is in every cottage, is learned by every child. The sacraments are still ministered to us in their original purity. There is much love amongst us, even with our strife; there is a warm and growing zeal in works of good. Without the presence of the Spirit these things could not be. This great assembly, to which I am so unworthy to speak, is a proof of divine life. We have come here to seek for the wisdom that is of

God; to discuss the means which, under God, may tend to restore the old unity, to preserve the old truth, to bring back to Christianity its ancient days of victory. We shall best deliberate on such high themes if we refresh our spirits with the music of those promises wherewith the Church, that should be peace on earth with the Prince of Peace to guide it, was founded at first. We shall wait for the consolation of Israel, and seek peace and treasure truth, as though eighteen centuries of disappointment had not dashed down our hopes. Of practical activity, of all the methods and devices of business, we are sure to have enough; this age abounds in them. We need to go back to that pure and holy law, given in the Sermon on the Mount, true from everlasting, with its blessings for the merciful and the seeker after peace, even though many of us that are Christians cannot lift ourselves up to its level, could not breathe in that rare atmosphere of perfect self-negation. We ought to long for a time and pray for it, when the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea; even though practical men (so they are called) shake their heads at what they call a visionary hope. We shall not see it. If all the powers in earth, civil and ecclesiastical, were to enact that Christendom should be at one, it would burst the enforced bond, and crumble again into the old divisions, because the blending and combining spirit was not there. But by looking to what the Church was meant to be at first, we shall best bring our own branch of the Church into the state in which Christ would have it. And nowhere else could such an effort be made more hopefully. We have sinned and strayed; but what other Church can cast the first stone at us? Of increasing love and unity this meeting is one sign among many. Those painful errors of doctrine to which I alluded grow rankest on foreign soil; the pest that threatens the lambs of our fold is wafted to us from over the sea. Our interest in missions abroad, in education at home, is a thing of yesterday; but it grows.

Carry we this spirit into our councils this week, dear friends,—the spirit that yearns for union and hates division, that will keep and speak the truth, but always in love, that knows it must work ever towards that consummation of the Church whereof the patent tokens are but few. Let no sharp contention check our affectionate intercourse; let no despair prevent us from encouraging attempts at good. When the spirit of unity, of truth, and of zeal, is strong in our hearts, we shall be sure that, though the Church lie long in ruins, we are made by that spirit lively stones, fit to be used to build it again. For not one promise of Jewish prophet, of apostles, or of the Lord Himself shall in the end be found to have perished. We have put back the hand upon the dial, but it moves, and it shall one day strike. Jerusalem was founded that there might be “salvation in Zion for Israel my glory;” but unfaithfulness wearied the Lord, and he gave it to the

spoiler. The Church was founded a second time, but she has never claimed her own, has never moved to follow her Lord but with lame and crippled feet. Yet shall there be a third Zion, a new Jerusalem, wherein all the promises of God shall meet, and the wealth of His goodness shall be fully seen. If this state through which we are passing continues to disappoint our hopes, by striving to live above it, we are preparing for that sweet and blessed country into which all of us shall come. Yes! the vision of that future glory of our Lord is needed to keep up our hearts, is needed for a right conception of Him; not always baffled and refused by men, not always forbearing and holding back. Christ shall one day be universal king. Clouds are about those prophecies, but the life-giving sun is behind them. The manner may be dark, but the thing shall be. All of us shall hear what the apostle heard in his vision: "There were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever." Blessed are we, if we can then say, "Lord, we have watched and waited and longed for Thy kingdom, even whilst men slumbered and slept, because the Bridegroom tarried: take us in with Thee!"

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**TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3rd. AFTERNOON MEETING.**

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**OPENING ADDRESS,**

**BY THE LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH.**

My Christian brethren, I will ask your earnest and reverent attention, while we begin the proceedings of this meeting, by asking the guidance and blessing of Almighty God. I trust that our Lord's presence may be felt in the midst of us, to secure reverence in this act of devotion; and while He gives to our hearts the spirit of prayer, I would ask earnestly of every member present, having the form of prayer, reverently and aloud to join in the responses of that prayer, that we may with one heart and voice approach the Throne of grace. [The meeting then joined in prayer.]

THE BISHOP OF NORWICH: My Christian brethren, Members of the Church Congress, suffer me in the name of the citizens of our good city of Norwich, represented here to-day by my right worshipful friend the Mayor on my right, in the name of our diocese, and in the name of our cathedral church of Norwich, to bid you heartily welcome to this our gathering. There are a few preliminary matters which it is my duty as President and Chairman to mention to you before we go to the actual business of the meeting. First, I feel it to be my duty to mention, that, while we have to lament the absence of many whose presence we should have valued and desired, they are in most cases

prevented from attending, not from any want of sympathy with the object which we have this day in view, but from circumstances over which they have no control. The Dean of our Cathedral Church is prevented by his years and infirmities from being present and taking part in this our Congress, but his name stands, as you are aware, among our vice-presidents; his house is filled with members and attendants upon the meeting; and it is his desire that the cathedral should be made use of in all ways, in furtherance of the great object we have in view. I may also state that we are prevented from enjoying the advantage and pleasure of the attendance of the Archbishop of Dublin, and other bishops of the Irish Church, owing to the circumstance of his Grace's provincial visitation taking place at this time, and rendering it impossible for them to be present. I may add that one who had desired and engaged to be present has been prevented from attending, owing to the weak state of his health; he is one whom we should have been glad, as one of our Eastern Counties' bishops, heartily to have welcomed here, namely, the Bishop of Ely. We have had like expressions of regret from other bishops of the Church of England, and from many other distinguished and influential persons, in the Church and in the State, who had been invited to attend this Congress. I think it will be for the convenience of those present, and I am sure the announcement will be received with a feeling of thankfulness by all the members of Congress, that I should state that on Thursday next, Mr. and Lady Henrietta Harvey, with their large hospitality, have invited all the members of Congress who may find it convenient to attend, to a dejeuner at their new bank, at the bottom of Castle Hill, after the afternoon meeting. I mention this now, as it may be for the convenience of some who live in the country. I have further, as a matter of business, to state to this meeting, that the General Committee of the Congress have taken in hand the consideration of a set of rules which were drawn up by the Bristol Congress, which had been requested to undertake the matter by the previous Congress at Manchester, in the hope that some simple, plain rules might be drawn up, by which the proceedings of one Congress might be connected with the place at which the next Congress was to be held. The want of such rules has been felt, I believe, by every Congress which has been held. At Manchester a committee was appointed to draw up rules. At Bristol the matter was considered, and they handed over their work to us. The General Committee here selected a certain number of their own body to consider these rules, and with very little variation they have adopted them. It will be my duty to read those rules now to the Congress as a matter of business, previously stating that they will not now be considered or discussed; but on Thursday evening, God willing, before the conclusion of the Congress, they will be submitted to the voice of Congress for adoption. [See *Appendix A.*]

I may here mention a fact which, I think, it will be for the satisfaction of Congress to know, namely, that an invitation has already been received from the Dean of York, under the entire sanction and approval of the Archbishop (both now present,) requesting that the next Congress may be held in that city. The committee have recommended that the following rules, which have been acted upon by preceding Congresses, should be accepted as our standing orders here. [See *Appendix B.*]

My next duty is one that commends itself most entirely to my

judgment and to my heart, and I feel confident that those who had the privilege with me of attending our service in the Cathedral this morning, will sympathise with my feelings when I express, on behalf of the Congress, our very sincere thanks to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of York, for having preached that able and yet most touching and loving sermon from our Cathedral pulpit to-day, striking amongst us a keynote which I trust will never be lost in all the proceedings of this present Congress. I feel that a deep debt of gratitude is due to his Grace, not only for the sermon he has preached, but for having come among us at a time when the duties and responsibilities of his own diocese press with peculiar burdens upon him, for it is only on Monday next that he has to enter upon that most important and solemn of all the duties of a bishop, the visitation of his diocese, and the primary one.

And now, my Christian brethren, suffer me briefly to allude to the meeting at which we are assembled to-day. Our assembly assumes to itself no authority collectively gathered, for the opinions that may be here expressed, nor do we intend as a Congress to elicit by vote any expression of the collective opinion of the Congress, upon any of the subjects that are proposed for our discussion. But we meet here with a desire as members of our Church and servants of our Lord and Master, to discuss together in a brotherly spirit, and to take counsel together on matters connected with the polity, with the organization, and with the general work of our Church in which we are all interested, and which are of great importance to the internal peace and spiritual health and usefulness of our Church. Our endeavour will be in the subjects which are discussed, reverently but faithfully, without shrinking, and yet lovingly, to bring out to light, in order that they may be corrected, any abuses or defects that may exist in our Church's organization, or in the work that she is carrying out, and to suggest, if wisdom be given to us for that purpose, remedies which may set right that which we think to be wrong, and which may tend toward the extension of our Church's influence both at home and abroad. We meet, my brethren, if I understand the nature and spirit of this Church Congress, we meet together on common ground, though confessedly with great variety of opinion. I feel it to be of no small importance that each one of us should feel personally, and that we should recognise in this meeting collectively, what that ground is. If I understand rightly the nature and the intention of this Congress, we meet on the ground of God's written Word, recognised by us all without doubt, as the supreme and absolute authority in God's Church and in our own individual minds and consciences. And together with this, though subordinate to it, yet closely allied with it, is the Book of Common Prayer and code of Articles setting forth our Church's rule of doctrine, ritual, and discipline, authoritatively declared by her, and heartily and thankfully believed by us to be agreeable to that written Word. Standing upon that common ground, we find as a matter of fact great variety of opinion, not only upon things indifferent, but upon things important if not essential. But I feel satisfied myself that these differences of opinion ought not, and I am thankful to be able to attest that in experiment they need not, interfere with our meeting together in brotherhood of heart, in fellowship of worship, and to a great extent in co-operation in the work of our Church, and now, as I trust we shall prove, in mutual counsel upon many points upon which these varieties of opinion will be expressed. I ventured, when



first it was decided that the Congress should be held in this city and diocese, to express my own conviction that a successful issue of the Congress would be ensured by the attainment of these four conditions—first, that it should be comprehensive, containing within itself a fair representation of all the principal schools of thought and opinion which are found within our loved and revered Church of England; secondly, that there should be a selection of subjects not only important in themselves, but of present interest to the public mind of that Church; thirdly, that there should be a choice of right and fitting persons to deal with these subjects; and lastly and most important of all, that the discussion should be conducted in a right temper and spirit. I confidently appeal to the whole conduct of the Executive Committee, to whom has been entrusted the responsible and arduous work of making previous arrangements for the Congress, whether it has not been their honest and constant endeavour that the first condition should be thoroughly carried out. I appeal to the programme of the Congress to bear witness that in the selection of subjects and the choice of persons to deal with them, the second and third conditions have been fulfilled; and I do from my heart desire and, more than that, remembering the circumstances under which we meet, remembering the holy place from which we have this morning come, remembering the words which are yet ringing in our ears and which I trust have touched our hearts and humbled our spirits, I confidently believe as well as earnestly desire that this morning's discussion will itself afford an illustration of the carrying out of the fourth condition. It is the discussion of a subject which we all know has been for years, I had almost said for generations, a subject not only upon which there has been great variety of opinion, but upon which there has been earnest debate, both in our houses of parliament, in our Church, and in meetings throughout the land, and which has often filled our whole State and our whole Church with an absorbing interest. I do trust and believe that the discussion of this subject—the Education of the Poor in connection with the Church and the State—will this day show that a subject under the circumstances which I have described can be discussed and considered by persons holding, earnestly and conscientiously, varied and different opinions, with mutual respect, in temperate language, with a readiness candidly to consider the opinions of others along with the earnest expression of their own, and manifesting a more earnest desire for the end at which we commonly aim, than for the maintenance and prevalence of our own opinions. I have felt it difficult to compress what I had to say, or to collect my thoughts on the subject, within the limits to which I have desired to confine myself. It only remains for me now, as your chairman, to read to you—they are very brief—the rules by which this meeting is to be conducted. You have all of you had a copy of these rules put into your hands with your member's ticket, and I feel a happy confidence in this meeting, that every one present will feel the responsibility which lies on him individually, as well as upon the meeting collectively, to observe these rules, and to see that they are observed by others. The rules are briefly these. [See *Appendix C.*]

I will only further remind you, that twenty-five minutes are allotted to each written paper, fifteen minutes to each prepared address, and ten minutes to every other speaker; and while it is not necessary for

those who address the meeting to occupy the whole of the time allotted to them, we shall all feel that it is very important that they should not exceed it. With these few remarks I will now call upon Mr. F. S. Powell, Member of Parliament for Cambridge, to read the first paper, on the subject of "The Education of the Poor in its relations to the Church and the State."

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## EDUCATION OF THE POOR IN ITS RELATION TO THE CHURCH AND THE STATE.

By F. S. POWELL, Esq., M.P.

EDUCATION of the Poor in relation to Church and State. The phrase supplies a definition and a subject. It defines education as a means of preparing the young for a two-fold citizenship—as fitting them to take a share in civil society, and to enter in the fulness of time on a higher inheritance, which is a heavenly. We adapt, or ought to adapt, our youth neither for the future without regard to the present, nor for the present without regard to the future, but for both. We ought to shape them out as men and women doing with energy and force a real work, worth the doing in this mortal scene, but withal as those casting their eyes forward in faith and hope to the better country, of which the holy Gospel tells.

I cannot touch the sad history of primary education prior to the nineteenth century. Wonder indeed that England—with her rich literature, with her commercial energy, with her science so advanced according to the measure of each age, with her institutions for relief of material wants, with her magnificent establishments for promotion of education—should present such a spectacle at the dawn of an age scarcely numbered with the past! But the apathy was European, not insular; and it must be taken as a feature of civilization in Western Europe, that nations which were impressed by a desire to promulgate religion among their humblest citizens, and to supply physical necessities, were slow in recognising the fact, that the mass of the people were sharers in the common intellect, and that in the cultivation of their minds was to be found a guarantee for the safety of the commonwealth. But after the long sleep came movement. First individuals, next societies, lastly Government shared in the national work. Nor was the result disproportioned to the effort. In 1860, the year prior to the introduction of the Revised Code, there was accommodation in England and Wales for 1,158,827 children in inspected schools; there were present at inspection 830,971: 6,393 certificated teachers, 249 assistant teachers, 279 probationary teachers, 13,141 pupil teachers, were actually engaged in the work. In 1855 there was accommodation for 704,495 children: there were found 2,744 certificated teachers, 191 assistant teachers, 7,045 pupil teachers. The returns for 1850 gave accommodation for 504,265 children, and showed an official staff numbering 945 certificated teachers, 4,145 pupil teachers. Thus, by friendly sympathy, by skilful organization, by adaptation to actual wants, by such a policy as had at once created and guided a national enthusiasm, villages, towns, and counties,

hitherto beyond reach of genuine educational influences, welcomed the fast rising, quickly multiplying schools. Suspicions became less active, practical results silenced prophets of evil, national energy rose to the emergency, and was fast obliterating a deep national disgrace. But the days of the old code ended; the new code was flung on the table of the House of Commons as Parliament dispersed in August, 1861, and after sundry revisions received parliamentary sanction in 1862.

We may concede that the complexity which arose from minutes passed at different dates to meet emergencies of successive years—the direct relation between the Department and an army of teachers, certificated and pupil—the difficulty which the requirements placed in the way of small rural schools—the correspondence, including some 75,000 letters annually—the disposition of the masters to neglect the younger and less attractive classes—demanded a revision of the code. But I cannot concede that wisdom suggested such injurious accusations, such destruction of confidence, such a wide-spread blow.

It may be convenient to compare the figures of 1864 with those of 1860.

There is now accommodation for 1,332,553 in inspected schools, showing an increase on numbers of 1860 greater than in proportion to growth of population. There are now 9,037 certificated teachers, showing an increase of 2,644; and 10,133 pupil teachers, showing a decrease of 2,008. These figures, save those relating to pupil teachers, demonstrate a continued advance; they cover the period of uncertainty attending the publication of the Commissioners' Report, the panic excited by the Revised Code, and the action now taking place under the existing arrangements. That they will increase must be the earnest desire of all who seek the welfare of their fellows. If our work be wide, our needs are yet more wide. In the diocese of London there are now, according to the report of the Bishop of London's Fund, no less than one hundred thousand children of the operative class for whom accommodation is at this passing moment demanded, a statement fully endorsed by the present Vice-president of the Committee of Council. Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, present their growing, fast-gathering multitudes. He who reads and ends by reading columns, tables, volumes of figures, may pause to calculate and nicely proportion; but none who fully appreciates and brings home to his own intelligence these multitudes, their gigantic power as they crowd the alleys or swell out into the broad squares, each individual potent for evil or for good, each free to act, each becoming the possessor of increased political power, each a member of the great commercial and mechanical organization of English labour, the derangement of which is a threat to civilization and a danger to Europe; I say that none such can hesitate to rise, if not to the level of his duty, at least from the depth of apathy and neglect.

Few correspondents engaged in the same work approach their communications with more widely divergent considerations than the officers of the Education Department and the promoters of schools. They see ignorance ripening into vice—vice the offspring of ignorance; they see threats of social disturbance; they feel the call to duty from parents and from childhood, now so winning, soon to sink into the iniquities of a dense town, or the brutishness of a depraved village. The Department sees figures and tables, desires credit for diminished estimates,

and feels each application as an attack on such credit; or, having in secret no confidence in or attachment for the system administered, recognises with regret in each new establishment a fresh impediment to the substitution of another. We find the Department, master of the official style, communicating with men who are not master of it: the Department precise and accurate in the use of familiar forms—the correspondent, unused to forms, at any rate to such forms; the Department, in no love with the religious element, but compelled to endure it—the correspondent, urged to sacrifice and to toil by pressure of religious duty; the Department, moving silently within grooves and routine—the correspondent, apt to business such as engages his lifetime, but accustomed to cut through forms in direct pursuit of his end.

On the relation between such men the permanence of the system depends; the permanence, I might almost add, of subsidies in aid of education. Abstract opinions may be entertained in favour of new arrangements; but those suggested have, on close inspection, become involved in perplexities and impediments hitherto fatal to the most carefully matured proposition. The field is wide and open—a smooth and pleasant plain for the rapid evolutions of educational philosophers, but rugged and impracticable ground for the less ambitious but more secure steps of practical statesmen. Would that the Department would regard promoters less as men extracting money from the public purse, more as those gladly and voluntarily undertaking toils often thankless, responsibilities often beyond their resources, in the same service; that they would measure masters and mistresses less by the faults of a few youths, more by the admirable qualities displayed by the vast majority of teachers; that they would remember that thoughtful promoters lay plans in advance, and that even in the absence of ill faith, there is an embarrassment sufficient to deter such men from co-operation when changes are suddenly introduced; that they would balance inconveniences, placing in one scale the inconvenience to the office of postponing for a short space some reform, and in the other scale the inconvenience to promoters of restrictions and conditions, never revealed until employed as instruments to diminish a hard-earned grant! To such remarks their lordships would, with or without justice, reply, that neither are the promoters at all times faultless; that in their eager desire, they may neglect accuracy of statement; they do not sufficiently regard the precision necessary in any office whether public or private; they urge considerations to which no department can listen; they write at length instead of in brief; they forget that in dealing with the legislature, the Department occupies a position which must be made secure by ceaseless vigilance; and, finally, they allege that the best guarantee for the continuance of the system is wise economy in distribution of funds voted by parliament.

I cannot pass on without expressing surprise that this jealousy of the educational grant should exist. I cannot conceal from myself, nor will I venture to conceal from this Congress, a conviction that there still lingers a jealousy against the education of the working man: if any evil appears, there is at least a whisper that education is at the root of the evil; there is still a dullness to appreciate, if there be no longer a readiness to deny, the need to society of the expulsion of ignorance from the humblest labourers in the field or factory. But the days of increasing grants are ended.

The public grants run thus for Great Britain :

1860 .....	£798,167	1863 .....	£804,002
1861 .....	803,794	1864 .....	705,404
1862 .....	842,119	1865 .....	693,078

As to building grants, the figures during

1860 were .....	spent £117,103	} N.B. The amounts spent were much less.
1861 " .....	" 99,507	
1862 " voted £105,000	" 63,988	
1863 " " 70,000	" 36,681	
1864 " " 45,000	" 26,305	
1865 " " 30,000		

Silence must at last be imposed on the economists. Why raise an outcry because the child of the working man has an opportunity of acquiring the information fit to raise him to an equality with themselves? Experience of life teaches suspicion towards many men, but never are such doubts graver than when they relate to reformers in finance. So easy is a cry against a branch of public service; so irresponsible the attack; so chivalrous, failure; so harmless, success. He who cares nothing for art, attacks art in the National Gallery, in the Portrait Gallery, at South Kensington; he who despises the army or navy, attacks the pay of officers, or of sailors if he does not represent a Government dockyard; he who cares nothing for the Kirk, attacks the Regium Donum; he who cares nothing for the poor man, attacks the grants for the education of the poor man, and masks his battery under the bush of educational reform. I cannot here linger, because shrinking, as in duty bound, from inquiry now in the hands of a Parliamentary Committee, "as to the best mode of extending the benefits of Government inspection, and the parliamentary grants to schools at present unassisted by the State." That some scheme for such extension may result, is the unanimous desire of those acquainted with facts. One preliminary has already been accomplished, and under the more wise, because more generous and sympathetic, policy of Mr. Bruce, we may hope that the reign of terror and threats is in some sort giving place to conciliation and reason.

The concession of examination of night schools in the absence of the inspector, the proposal known as Miss Coutts' scheme, are indications of an amended policy, perseverance in which will establish friendly relations and inaugurate another happy era of educational progress.

The new code having been so long in operation, that difficulties and ambiguities incident thereto must have come to light and been solved, one would fain believe that the list of surprises is complete. With reference to supplementary rules the Department is bound by pledge given in the report of 1863-4: "The supplementary rules grow out of daily practise under the code. If we do not publish we must act upon precedents established by the cases we decide. The publication is made for the convenience of inspectors and managers. We shall be careful, from time to time, to lay all important rules of this nature before parliament." For the code itself Mr. Lowe entertains a conservative, nay, a paternal affection. "Individually," says he in evidence, "Individually I should not object if you took away from the Committee of Council the power of making minutes, and said that

they should never alter anything except by act of parliament, because I consider that the minutes, as they now exist, do very well, and I should feel very much with regard to them as Lysurgus did, who made the Spartans promise that they would keep his laws until he came back again."

I cannot but rest satisfied that the energy which belongs to great towns will, in concert with government, supply educational requirements. For urban populations the apathy of one district within a child's walk is counterbalanced by the action of another,—the negligence of one manufacturer, by the devotion of his neighbour. Your scattered hamlet or hill-side village will be last reached. Not least among conditions necessary to such spread of education is the effectual reform, by a strong hand, of endowed schools—amendment of their buildings, improvement of their instruction, some swift and effective process to dismiss ignorant or indolent teachers.

Impediments have doubtless arisen from attempted enforcement of the one-sided conscience clause—a controversy far too wide for incidental discussion. Enough to say that, since promoters in rural schools prefer surrender of the grant to acceptance of the clause, the Committee of Council exclude preponderating majorities of parishioners from share in the grant to which as taxpayers they contribute; that, because a few cases of hardship may one day arise, they deprive dissenters of schools to which, according to the emphatic testimony of Education Commissioners—according to the experience, I would venture to add, of each member of this Congress—such children are gladly sent; that the wish to enforce the clause only in cases where but one school can be maintained is inconsistent with the pressure exercised by Government at Buxton, having 2000 inhabitants, at Handsworth, having 3200 inhabitants, at Devonport S. Mary, having 6000 inhabitants, at Hoxton Trinity, having a population of 10,000. Nor can the thoughtful observer listen without apprehension to Lord Granville's declaration before the Committee of the Lower House, that "any really satisfactory measure would include annual grants."

Not less wide, or more capable of incidental discussion, is the great battle of certificates. My own judgment strongly favours the opinion that the relaxations already made have approached, if they have not passed, the limit of safe guarantee for efficient teaching. The provisional certificate given to ex-pupil teachers, and to acting teachers who have during two years conducted a school to the satisfaction of an inspector, an examination being in each case demanded, afford ample access to the grant. I would call as a witness Dr. Temple, than whom no higher authority. "Of course," says the learned master, "everything which makes it more difficult to obtain State aid may be considered as an hindrance in the way of those parishes, and may so far be said to prevent them from getting State aid; but I have no doubt that, with the great majority of them, it is quite within their power to get the State aid under present conditions." I can but refer to the vast body of testimony which proves that mere inspection, without guarantee for qualifications of teacher, is not equal to the task of maintaining schools in effective condition.

It is impossible to forget that many grants are not sought, and that a corresponding number of villages submit to inferior accommodation from fear of severe regulations as to building. I would tender one

word of conciliation, and would ask from Government more consideration for local difficulties and impossibilities; from promoters, more deference towards the experienced and accomplished architect to the Committee of Council.

Apprehensions far more anxious spring from the condition of the training college and the prospects of the pupil-teacher system. Those who have been responsible for the practical working of boys' schools will find themselves of one accord with those inspectors who have in the present year expressed such opinions as the following:—

"If the number of candidates continue to decline, there will ultimately be no pupil teachers, and no candidates for entrance to training colleges, and so no trained teachers." So writes your own Mr. Mitchell, p. 111. "The number of pupil teachers has considerably diminished in my district; very few schools will, I think, soon have any apprenticed in them, unless compelled to do so by the fact of their having an average attendance of more than 90 children." So Mr. Nutt, of Hants and Wilts. "There is a general complaint in all the towns of my district (i.e. Lancashire) of the difficulty of obtaining candidates for apprenticeship." Again, the deeply and widely-lamented Mr. Birley writes of Lancashire: "The prospects of the pupil-teacher system are at present most discouraging. From letters, and personal communication with school teachers and managers, there appears to be a general disinclination on the part of parents to let their children enter the service."

Such diminution of pupil teachers must deteriorate the schools, inasmuch as no attainable increase of assistant masters can supply the void. Inspectors already express regrets that young and inefficient monitors are taking the place of pupil teachers, to the harm and loss of the school, and, be it clearly remembered, at a sacrifice of grant exceeding the fine nominally imposed. Nor does the evil end here: diminished area of selection must compel managers to accept an inferior race of pupil teachers, and, consequently, to acquiesce in the diminished efficiency of their schools.

But the mischief has already reached the colleges. Sufficient proof is afforded by the number of males who entered training colleges.

January, 1862	821
„ 1863	913
„ 1864	594
„ 1865	501

The number of females entering the several colleges was—

January, 1862	770
„ 1863	842
„ 1864	694
„ 1865	697

The number of pupil teachers in the first year in—

	Males.		Females.		Total.
1861 was	1521	..	1571	..	3092
1864 „	884	..	1011	..	1895

Mr. Cowie states that, having room for 550, the Church of England male training colleges received but 301 at Christmas, 1864: a deficiency so vast as to threaten the continued existence of the colleges, and to

have driven the managers of Highbury college to the melancholy determination that the doors of their institution must be closed.

Never were more rash words spoken, or more thoughtless deeds done, than those words and minutes which, with taunts and sarcasm and disappointments to well-grounded expectations, have caused this disastrous failure. If Governments are wise and right in confining their grants to schools with certificated teachers, they cannot be wise and right in treating with indifference the drying-up of the stream whence flows the supply which they thus highly prize. Once more, but with far less assurance, do I give expression to an earnest hope that confidence may again strengthen hearts now faint, and nerve hands now unsteady. With returning confidence must return an increase of teachers. An income of £88 to a young man, or of £58 to a young woman, often with house, affords no inadequate recompense; nor can the intending student be too frequently reminded, that the services of a skilful teacher will ever command a value in the market which parliamentary schemes may temporarily inflate, but which they cannot permanently or for a long time reduce.

But beyond and irrespective of systems there are other difficulties which nothing less than increased civilization will remove. If there be social hindrances to the spread of Christianity, there are kindred hindrances to the extension of education. The schoolmaster co-operates with the parent; he may check his evil influence, he cannot supersede him. In the fact that of 2,585 boys in reformatory schools, not 800 have the guardianship of both parents—that of 666 girls in reformatories, but 208 enjoy the protection of their natural guardian—is to be found a powerful illustration of parental influence. Strange that the rude vigilance of those lowest in the moral and social scale should be so efficient that two-thirds of juvenile crime should spring from the absence of this almost hopeless superintendence.

By physical labour must the youth be trained for physical labour; submission to patient toil must be a youthful acquirement; early contribution to the family purse is the duty of the working man's child. But no such law can compel children between five and ten to earn a place in the census tables as agricultural labourers, (as Mr. Stewart has shown to be the case) or furnish a defence for practices brought to light by each inquiry into the employment of young persons, whatsoever departments of labour form the subject of investigation. Yet these but illustrate hours and places of labour and circumstances of the juvenile labourer, which have already obtained the interposition of the legislature, or still demand the stout arm of the law in favour of education by the adoption of a half-time system, and in restriction of hours within such limits as may permit vigorous health and moral cultivation.

Unless restrained by time, I would enter on a more severe but far less remediable social impediment: forbidden discussion, I will play the prophet, and venture to predict that education can never produce sound and permanent influences on the people, until that education be preceded, aided, and followed up by amendment of their domiciliary condition, and the banishment from our country of practices and modes of living which the savage would despise as unworthy of mankind.

To complete the review mere enumeration must suffice. In certified reformatory schools are some 3,251 children; in certified industrial schools,



some 840; in workhouse and district schools, some 36,000. There are also the naval and military schools, ship and regimental schools. In non-inspected and private-adventure schools there were in 1858, according to the Education Commission, some 1,248,691 pupils. Of non-inspected schools as contrasted with schools under inspectors but faint praise can in justice be pronounced. On private-adventure schools, however admirably conducted in rare and exceptional cases, no safe reliance can be placed as permanent institutions for education of the classes with whom this inquiry has relation.

And here I close this brief survey of popular education in 1865. We may recognise that which Englishmen love,—an object to pursue, experience to guide, difficulties to conquer. Invigorated by such difficulties, stimulated by disappointments, encouraged by success, we put forth continually increasing efforts. Governments may falter, parliaments may vacillate, but the progress of education is secure, because England is determined that her people shall be taught.

## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ITS RELATION TO THE STATE AND CHURCH.

By THE REV. CANON MOSELEY.

If education be taken in its largest sense, as the means whereby from their childhood men may be trained to be better and wiser than they otherwise would be; and if the influence of the material well-being of men on these higher conditions of their happiness be taken into the account; then it may be said that the Church's educational work covers the whole field of education, secular as well as religious. And thus it has always been looked upon in England. On this principle the education of the universities and the public schools rests, and of the grammar schools and national schools. They are religious foundations. Religion has never been left out in the education of English youths, or the Church ever subordinated. The State being charged specially with the material well-being of men and their temporal interests, occupies itself only with that part of education which concerns these: it co-operates with the Church in the secular part only of its educational work, and its province is rather instruction than education. The Church aims at a higher object, and requires more time for the accomplishment of it. That would be a perfect state of this co-operation, in which the object of each was so pursued as to promote also that of the other.

There are two conditions of the present relation of Church and State in the matter of education, on which I propose to speak this afternoon. The first is, the tendency of the Revised Code to lower the standard of instruction in Church schools, and thus to lower the average ages of the children who come to them; impeding thereby the higher educational work of the Church for which the school was established. The second is, the neglect of Church education in a great number of parishes;

which have either no schools, or none affording such means of instruction as would justify the State in lending its aid to them. Under the first head my argument accuses the action of the State in education, as putting an obstacle in the way of the higher educational objects of the Church. Under the second, it accuses the Church of putting, by its inertness, a hindrance in the way of the State.

The Revised Code was confessedly founded on the report of the Royal Commission of 1858.\* That Commission reported † “a large majority of the children to leave school before they are eleven years of age.” They reported, moreover, what standard of knowledge was attainable by a child ten years of age. This is the standard adopted by the Revised Code as its highest standard (the standard attainable by a child ten years old ‡) because it could not require more than the supposed large majority of children who leave before eleven are capable of attaining to. Now if it turns out that a large majority of the children do not leave school before eleven years of age, but only a small minority, then this argument for the low standard of the Revised Code crumbles to pieces. The Revised Code assumes them to leave school earlier than they really do. And I bespeak the attention of the Congress while I endeavour to shew this, because I think that if it can be proved, a remedy will be found. Let the inspected schools be supposed to have been always constituted in respect to age as they were in 1864; that is to say, let there have been in every preceding year the same number of children of any given age as there were in that year. Now, of 1000 children at school in 1864, there were 128 in their eighth year. If therefore, as in Prussia, all the children had remained to their fourteenth year, there would have been 128 also in their ninth year, and 128 in their tenth, and 128 in their eleventh, and so on to their fourteenth year. But there were in the English schools 81 only in their twelfth year, instead of 128. Those who had left before the completion of their eleventh year were therefore 47 in number. But that is not a large majority of the 128, it is a minority of them. And as the 6th standard reaches only up to the education of a child of ten, it falls far short of the instruction of the 81 children who remain into their twelfth year; and yet further short of 60 who remain to their thirteenth year, and of 32 which the

\* Report of Select Committee (1947.)

† Page 265.

‡ The following are words of Mr. Fraser, an Assistant Commissioner, which the Commissioners say they agree in, and which they adopt. (*Report*, p. 243.) “I venture (says Mr. Fraser) to maintain, that it is quite possible to teach a child soundly and thoroughly, in a way that he shall not forget it, all that it is necessary for him to possess in the shape of intellectual attainment, by the time that he is ten years old. If he has been properly looked after in the lower classes, he shall be able to spell correctly the words that he will ordinarily have to use; he shall read a common narrative—the paragraph in the newspaper that he cares to read—with sufficient ease to be a pleasure to himself and to convey information to listeners; if gone to live at a distance from home, he shall write his mother a letter that shall be both legible and intelligible; he knows enough of ciphering to make out or test the correctness of a common shop-bill; if he hears talk of foreign countries, he has some notion as to the part of the habitable globe in which they lie; and underlying all, and not without its influence, I trust, on his life and conversation, he has acquaintance enough with the Holy Scriptures to follow the allusions and the arguments of a plain Saxon sermon, and sufficient recollection of the truths taught him in his Catechism, to know what are the duties required of him towards his Maker and his fellow man.” Omitting the Holy Scriptures and Geography, this is Standard 6 of the Revised Code,

table shews to remain to their fourteenth year, and of 20 who remain over fourteen years. All this is on the supposition that the infants and elder children are mixed up in the same school. If we suppose that the children under seven are taken away to the infant school, the facts come out to be, that in every 1000 children in the National Schools, 400 were, in 1864, above the age of eleven years, and that instead of "a large majority" having gone away before that age, only 39 out of 195, or one-fifth of the whole, had gone, four-fifths remaining over eleven.\*

And this fact, that the children remain at school so much longer than the Revised Code supposes them to do, is true yet more of rural than of town districts. It appears, for instance, from a table published in the Minutes of 1862, that in 1861 the children were remaining longer at school in Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and the Channel Islands, than they were in Derby, Leicester, Northampton, Nottingham, &c.†

These are the reasons for which I think the Revised Code is founded on a miscalculation of the ages at which children leave school; and to correct the evil which has resulted from that miscalculation, I think we may with advantage ask for the addition of two standards, the 7th and 8th, above the present six, the subjects included in these standards being left free, except that one of them shall be religious knowledge, and that they shall not be more than three in number: the examination to be in writing, as in night schools. This will unbuckle the system of the standards, and restore to us a little more of the freedom of instruction. It should be allowable to pass in the 5th and 7th together, or in the 6th and 8th; and no child should pass in the higher of the two who had not first passed in the lower. There should be grants in each

\* The following table shews the number of children out of 1000 in National Schools as distinguished from Infant, in each year of their age. It has reference to the year 1864, and is computed from Table 4, page 3, of the Minutes of the Committee of Council, 1864-5.

8-9	9-10	10-11	11-12	12-13	13-14	Over 14
195	180	169	156	123	90	29

† Number of children at school out of 1000, including Infants, in the year 1861, of the following ages. [See Minutes 1861-2, Table 3.]

COUNTIES.	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-10	10-11	11-12	12-13	13-14	Over 14
Middlesex... ..	106	132	120	118	104	78	47	23	9.2
Gloucester, Hereford, Monmouth, Oxford, Warwick, Worcester ... }	121	133	120	107	93	66	47	26	14
York ... ..	114	119	120	116	104	82	60	24	11.7
Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset ... }	116	128	123	113	97	71	48	27	17.4
Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk ... ..	107	129	134	120	111	77	54	30	14.4
Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Northampton, Nottingham, Rutland ... }	121	129	122	109	89	65	46	24	14.7
Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Channel Islands ... ..	110	129	131	125	110	80	55	27	10.7
Lancaster and Isle of Man ... ..	114	119	110	114	103	78	57	20	7.2
Chester, Salop, and Stafford ... ..	120	130	119	111	95	67	47	22	11.7
Bedford, Buckingham, Cambridge, Hertford, Huntingdon ... ..	111	124	124	113	98	71	50	30	18.6
Berks, Hants, Wilts ... ..	116	123	118	113	99	74	52	27	14
Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland, Westmoreland ... ..	111	130	127	128	111	87	63	38	26

standard. The amounts payable on all the standards might, perhaps, with advantage be so far reduced as to create, in the aggregate, a sum sufficient for the payment of the stipends of the pupil-teachers according to the old system. In standards VII. and VIII. grants should moreover be allowed to farmers' and tradesmen's sons. One of the main-springs of that public opinion, favourable to the parish school among the poor, on which the school attendance depends, is the estimate the better class of people (just removed above the poor) show of it, by sending their children to it or not: if they do not, the poor think little of the school. Everybody conversant with the management of schools will, I think, have had experience of this. Hence in providing for the formation of a body of teachers, well instructed in the subjects taught in commercial as well as national schools, and skilful in teaching them, the State provided not only for the better teaching of those better-class boys, but it encouraged the attendance of the poorer class. Nor could the fact that their parents were better off than the rest be a reasonable ground for withholding from them the small amount of the Government grant which would otherwise fall to their share, thereby making the teacher interested pecuniarily in discouraging their attendance.

The "foundations" of the public schools and of the universities are all of an eleemosynary nature, and so are their exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and professorships. There is probably not a single minister of State or member of Parliament whose education has not been, directly or indirectly, eleemosynary. To say to the small farmers and tradesmen—who have probably a greater struggle to live than any other class of the community, and in the education of whose children the public interests are perhaps more concerned than in that of any other—that they are to be the only class not to be helped is not reasonable. If other evidence of this were needed it would be supplied by the fact that those endowments were originally destined for the education of the middle classes by which the education of the upper classes is now supplemented. They have been shifted from their original destination upwards.

I have hardly courage to make a third recommendation, but I am deeply impressed with the gravity of the evil it is meant to correct. The grant upon average attendance is given to the teacher by himself. It is conclusive evidence of the respect the Government has for the great body of English teachers that it does not hesitate to accept the teacher's own statement as to the amount of the grant he is, under this head, himself to receive. The position in which this places the teacher is an invidious one. Custom has established in regard to all similar transactions a system of checks and counter-checks, which are in his case impossible, and he cannot but fear lest sometimes he should be the object of unworthy suspicions.

Nor is it possible to disguise from oneself the fact that in every great body of men there are some below the standard of the rest in integrity and honor. It is wrong to throw in the way of such men the temptation which these returns bring with them. The public loss may not pecuniarily be much, but the moral grievance is great. The extinction of the grant upon attendance is therefore, perhaps, to be desired, and if the aggregate sum thus accruing, with such additions as might be thought desirable, were divided into as many equal parts as there are annual grant schools, and each school, whether great or small, received

annually one of these equal sums, then the aggregate grant to each would be made up, as it ought to be, of a constant part (that is the same for all schools) and a variable part dependent for its average amount on the number of scholars in the school; for the grants, on examination, would on the whole be according to that number. I say that this principle of the grant by which one part of it is a fixed sum (the same for all schools) and the other is dependent on the number of scholars, is the only fair one; because the expense of maintaining a school is made up of two such parts, one of which is fixed and the other variable with the number of scholars. A school of twice the number of scholars does not cost twice as much, nor one of three times as many three times as much. There are certain expenses which are the same in all schools, whether the scholars are many or few; there are others to which every additional scholar adds.

The scale on which the public help is given, should be that on which the cost of maintenance is incurred. And this would be specially favourable to small schools. Many a small school, if it could reckon upon a certain grant, although the amount were small, would get a certificated teacher, which now it does not; taking the risk of the examination grant, making up with the subscriptions the rest of his stipend. And this brings me to the question of the 11,000 parishes in England and Wales which are said to have no schools or none receiving public grants, containing, it is said, 4,000,000 inhabitants; of which 9,000 contain less than 500 inhabitants each, and 4,000 of those 9,000, less than 200 each. In respect to these parishes State education is powerless. Asked by the Select Committee on this point, Earl Granville answered (*Report*, question 1915), "I may say that ever since the year 1853 I have very constantly thought upon the question; I think that it is a very great evil, and one which I most heartily wish to see remedied, but I believe that the greatest difficulty attends it." And Mr. Lowe being asked (*Report*, 1918), with reference to the same question, "Have you never thought on the subject of extending education farther than it now goes?" answered, "I have thought it impossible, for the special reason that the initiation of it is given to private individuals, and that the Government, according to the present system, is only to administer. Therefore I conclude that the extension of it belongs to individuals and not to the Government." Now what is thus impossible to the State is, I venture to say, possible to the Church. These 11,000 parishes may be grouped first into those which, although they have no public grants, have nevertheless good schools. They do not perhaps wish for help and need not have it. Secondly, those whose educational wants are sufficiently provided for by the aided schools of neighbouring parishes. Thirdly, those which have no schools or none but bad ones. It is in regard to this last class, forming probably the bulk of the 11,000, that there is a great work to be done, and one worthy of the Church. It is rather to raise the question how this work is to be done, than to propose any scheme as the best, that I venture to speak of it. It should then, I think, be a diocesan work. Each diocese should have its own centre of action; that would be a Diocesan Board or Council under the presidency of the Bishop. The office of vice-president or secretary of such a Council would be one of great responsibility, and might with advantage be held by a dignitary of the cathedral church. If the Crown were willing to annex a canonry to the office, the arrange-

ment would be perfect, and he might always be a gentleman who had filled the office of Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools. The first act of such a Diocesan Board would probably be to obtain, through the Ruri-decanal Chapters, an exhaustive statistical return of the education of the diocese. From this it would find out what parishes of the diocese belong to the 11,000, which are educationally backward or destitute. Dividing these into the three groups which I have enumerated, it would arrive finally at that third group in respect to which the action of the Council was specially needed. The case of each such parish would be specially considered. The secretary would communicate thereon, through the bishop, with the clergyman and the landholders. Often it would be found that all that was needed was to set the question of the improvement of the school on foot, and to supply the requisite information as to the means of getting a new school-room, or a teacher's house, or a certificated teacher, and an annual grant. None but those who have experience of it can know how long information of this kind is in reaching out-of-the-way places. In some cases, however, pecuniary aid would have to be given, or the salary perhaps of a certificated teacher for a time guaranteed, or a small provision of books and apparatus supplied. A fund for these purposes, and for the salary of the office of vice-president or secretary, might be raised by subscription in the diocese, aided possibly by a Government grant. By an agency of this kind actively carried on in every diocese, there can be little doubt, I think, that the number of the 11,000 parishes, educationally destitute or backward, would rapidly dwindle down. The Lord President has publicly expressed an opinion favourable to some joint action in the matter of Church education of the Diocesan Boards with the Committee of Council. "I wish," said he, when examined by the Select Committee (*Report*, 1921), "to give no opinion without having matured it, but I am inclined to think that it is possible those diocesan bodies might be used with regard to some assistance to schools which are not now inspected." The Diocesan Board need not trouble itself with inspection, that might be left safely to the Government inspector.

The great obstacle to the labours of such a board would probably be the Conscience Clause. The truth is that the clergy do almost universally, I believe, bind themselves in their consciences by that clause, but they object to be bound by the State.

Mr. Kennedy, Her Majesty's Inspector, asked by the Select Committee, "As far as your observation goes, is it your opinion that the clergy do generally act on the principle of the Conscience Clause?" answered, "I think that they act on it almost universally. The exceptions are so few as scarcely to be worth naming."—(*Report*, Select Committee, 2551). And Canon Lonsdale, Secretary to the National Society, said in answer to a similar question, "So far as I know the practice of the clergy of the Church of England, they, with very few exceptions, make very careful allowance for the religious scruples of dissenters, and are what is commonly called very tolerant and liberal towards them."—(*Report*, Select Committee, 1525.) It is most unfortunate that this clause should specially lie in the way of the improvement of these 11,000 backward parishes, for the clergy of such parishes are sometimes men who do not greatly value education, and who particularly dislike State interference. It is an objection to the clause that it operates

only in respect to parishes where schools are to be built, leaving untouched those where they are already built. And also that it provides for a state of things as it regards the proportion of dissenters and Churchmen in a parish, which a few years may reverse. It accomplishes thus its aim, if at all, only in part. If the clause were withdrawn, the power would still remain in the Committee of Council, where already no doubt it exists, should any case of injustice to dissenters arise, to withhold as to that case its annual grant. To prescribe beforehand wherein such injustice would be held to consist, would however, perhaps, be to enact another and still more objectionable Conscience Clause.

The field of popular education was first occupied by the Church near the beginning of the present century. It was not until more than thirty years afterwards that the State intervened. It offered first to subscribe towards the building of school houses and then to the maintenance of schools and the training of teachers. It continues to help Church schools in the same way. But before, it was on condition of certain means of instruction being supplied by the school; now, it is on that of certain results being obtained by it. The State's subscription represents the interest the whole community has in the objects of each school. The State subscribed last year directly to the maintenance of Church schools about one third of what was contributed by other voluntary subscribers, and about one eighth of the total cost of the maintenance of those schools. Notwithstanding the small relative amount of the State-subscription, by the judicious application of it, it has been the means of wonderfully extending and improving Church education. The relations of a public department of the State to individual schools (supported by local and voluntary agencies) are however of extreme delicacy and difficulty. They are only to be maintained with advantage to the public service on the principle of "least possible interference"—by not overshadowing the influence of the managers of schools, or repelling their co-operation. And specially by having regard to the religious objects for which the school has been established, and by leaving entire freedom as to the subjects of instruction, both religious and secular.

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## EDUCATION OF THE POOR.

By THE VEN. ARCHDEACON DENISON.

My Lord Bishop, I have fifteen minutes to state seventeen reasons why it is impossible for the Church to accept any manner of "Conscience Clause." I hope I may be able to do it. But first I have a few things to say by way of preface. When the late Duke of Wellington was applied to for a subscription towards the funds of the Diocesan Board of Education in the Diocese of Winchester, his reply was, as was usual with him, brief, emphatic, and unmistakeable. First he put a short question—"Is the administration of the funds of the Board mixed up in any way with assistance from Government?" and, being told that it was to some little extent, he said, "Then I won't give you one farthing."

The Duke saw what was coming. We see what has come. In my own humble way I saw what was coming eighteen years ago. I have lived to see it come. Now that it has come, I suppose people will begin to believe me a little, though they would not listen to me then. I do not therefore give up the matter yet. People must believe sooner or later under the pressure of facts, and then they will act in earnest, which hitherto they have done only in scattered instances and in a desultory way. Acting firmly and temperately, they will get justice, and see the relations readjusted which have been for a time, and are, so unhappily disturbed.

It may be well to say in this place, that I recognise fully the wisdom and justice of the regulation which keeps all the discussions of a Church Congress out of the arena of party politics; and indeed if there had been no such regulation, there is no temptation that way in the present case. There has been little, if anything, to choose between political parties, as parties, in respect of it. All that I shall say then is said generally of the civil power; and I desire to say nothing of the civil power generally which can fairly be complained of. It has, I think, made a great mistake, and I want to see the mistake rectified, quite as much for the sake of the civil power as for the sake of the Church. But I am not here to assail any one, either an individual or a government.

Now, how is it that, in a country like ours having a national Church, it is necessary to consider the present question at all? It should be so obvious, *ex vi terminorum*, that, Church and State being one and the same thing, the State has no function in respect of education but that of granting the necessary aid out of the public funds towards educating the poor in the principles of the national Church; this, I say, should be so obvious, as to make it needless to discuss the matter.

But in England, Church and State are not one and the same thing. We have a national Church, and we have also religious liberty, because we have religious differences. It is common to say "civil and religious liberty," as if the two things were in their nature inseparable. But this is a fallacy. There may be perfect civil liberty where there is no example, so to speak, of religious liberty. A people may be all of the Church, and at the same time civilly a free people; on the other hand, religious liberty implies the civil liberty of all citizens, whether of the Church or not of the Church.

The idea of a national Church and the idea of religious liberty are, in their nature, antagonistic. The term "National Church," in its first intention implies that the people are, with no exceptions of any account, of the Church. The term "religious liberty," that considerable and important sections of the people are not the Church. Again, the term "Church," means dogma in matters *de Fide*. "Religious liberty" means opinion. In the Church truth is objective; out of the Church it is subjective.

But ideas, in their nature antagonistic, are capable of being reconciled in the national life. And the question before us is part of the great problem of this time—how to reconcile the permanent existence of the national Church with the fact of religious liberty.

Now, religious liberty necessitates, sooner or later, the equal civil liberty of all sections of the community. Equal civil liberty does not readily acquiesce in anything like exclusive possession or privilege.



Hence the toleration of religious differences which a national Church is called upon to exercise freely and fully in a country like our own, is always being construed into license; and no position is really acquiesced in by those who are not of the Church short of that of absolute and unconditional equality in all things. This is the abstract position of Nonconformity, out of which the political antagonism of parties in this country has grown, and upon which it mainly subsists and depends. It is a position incompatible with the idea, and inconsistent with the position, of a national Church.

If, then, the national life is to go on without violent and organic change, something must be given up on both hands.

First, then, what may the national Church give up in respect of the question of aid out of the public funds towards educating the poor? It may give up the exclusive claim to State aid. That aid is given out of the public taxes. These are drawn from all sections of the community; not necessarily, indeed, in anything like equal proportions, but more or less from all. The national Church may be content to see others aided in their schools as she is aided herself in her own schools. She *is* so content. This is the denominational system upon which all the proceedings of the Committee of Council were based from 1839 to 1858. The Conscience Clause destroys the denominational system.

What may the national Church *not* give up? She may not give up the absolute integrity of her teaching in her schools and in her churches, with all the safeguards required thereto.

What may the Nonconformist body give up? Having an absolute equality with the national Church in respect of the "Education" grant, it may give up the pretence to absolute equality with the national Church in all things; an equality which it can never have, as it never has had, save at the cost of a revolution, involving the destruction not of this or that institution, but of all alike, and the attempt to re-constitute society and government in England anew in the nineteenth century.

The Nonconformist body may also give up all such action or claim as interferes with the liberty of conscience of Church people. The Nonconformist claim to liberty of conscience is their dearest inheritance. Let them do as they would be done by, and give as they would have given to themselves.

Now, to apply this to the present position. We have unhappily, and as it seems to me without so much as a colourable pretext, come to this point of interference with the conscience of Church people. Government has thrown its weight altogether into the Nonconformist scale. It makes much of the Nonconformist conscience. It makes nothing of the Church conscience. It is a phase of the educational aspect wholly new, wholly unprecedented in all the history of the Committee of Council on "Education" itself; and it is of most alarming import. It dates from 1858, twenty-one years from the birth of the Committee of Council, which having thus "come of age," and reaping the fruit of its own faulty "education," began some seven years ago to run the course of its hot youth without check or stay. All this is exemplified in the history of the so-called "Conscience Clause," called more properly the "Anti-conscience Clause."

I say, my Lord Bishop, that these things must not be. The interference of the Committee of Council with the matter and the manner

of education in the schools of the Church must be steadily rejected on the part of Bishops, Clergy, and People, for the reasons following :—

1. Because the Church may not help the State to do wrong, in infringing arbitrarily the terms of a compact, and so breaking faith.

2. Because the Church may not help the State to occupy a position hitherto never occupied or pretended to be occupied in England by the civil power; one which belongs of God's gift and ordinance to the Church, and which does not belong to the civil power by any gift or ordinance, either of God or man; I mean the position of defining and regulating the matter and the manner of Christian teaching in parish schools or in parish churches.

3. Because the Church may not do harm to the souls of the children of the Church, by putting before them in her daily practice that the privileges of a school do not necessarily, not only include but, flow out of and depend upon the teaching of religious Truth.

4. Because the Church may not do harm to the souls of children not of the Church, by putting before them in her daily practice, that reading, writing, and arithmetic are essential parts of education, but that religious knowledge, with its close application to every part of the daily life, is not.

5. Because the Church may not minister to the delusion that the reading of the Bible is the same thing with teaching and learning religious Truth.

6. Because the Church may not minister to the delusion that it is lawful to do that in a parish school which it is not lawful to do in a parish church.

7. Because the Church may not place the parish priest in the false position of superintending secular education in the case of any one child in the parish school.

8. Because the Church may not place the parish schoolmaster in the false position of separating between the religious and the secular teaching of the school.

9. Because the Church of England may not, of her own act and deed, place herself in a position at which the Church of Rome can justly point the finger of scorn as untrue and faithless—in one word, as un-catholic.

10. Because the Church may not seek or hope to win the respect and confidence of the Nonconformist by being faithless to her trust.

11. Because the Church may not do anything to compromise the principle that, without the steady inculcation of dogma, school teaching is no blessing to parent or child, but the reverse.

12. Because the Church knows that there are two things in this matter which she may and must do. First, bring up her own children in the One Faith to do their duty in that station of life to which God has called them. Second, bring children who are not yet her own to be of the One Faith.

13. Because the Church knows that there is one thing in the matter which she may not do, i.e. teach any child anything apart from or independent of the One Faith.

14. Because it is one thing to admit a child of dissenting parents into a Church school, according to the discretion of managers for the time being, and then and there to teach it the One Faith, and another

and an *opposite* thing to have the child intruded there, as of right, to be taught no faith at all.

15. Because the Church may not allow the denominational system, which is the only system upon which it is possible for her to co-operate with the State in respect of education, and upon which all the proceedings of the Committee of Council were based from 1839 to 1858, to be impaired by the establishment of a new order of Church schools,\* which shall be neither denominational nor undenominational, but a confusion of both, and possessing no principle save that of secular education.

16. Because to do all or any one of these things is not to preserve and cherish, but to impair and ultimately to destroy the true relations of Church and State, and therein to mar their power of co-operation.

17. Because the Church may not hope for a blessing upon expedients when brought into the place of principles; nor may allow any amount of real, much less of supposed, difficulties to make her lose faith in her position or compromise her trust.

For all and each of these seventeen reasons, no one of which can be set aside by argument or by sophistry, I say, my Lord Bishop, that there may be no manner of Conscience Clause allowed to be inserted in the trust deed of a school of the Church of England.

Better far—if we cannot have justice, if we cannot have a return to the simple and equitable principles and rules laid down by the Committee of Council themselves, with the concurrence of the Church, in the Volume of Minutes for 1839-40, which I hold in my hand—better far to have no more education grant at all; for we could not have it without betraying our trust. But, my Lord Bishop, better still to make the remonstrance of the Church against the present wrong and violation of the conscience of her sons and daughters to be so heard and cared for by the Crown in Parliament, that there be no further occasion given for distrust, and no more hindrances cast by the arbitrary action of the Committee of Council in the way of the education of the people. Here then for the time I leave this matter, and may God defend the right.

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## EDUCATION OF THE POOR.

By THE REV. CANON NORRIS.

My Lord Bishop—In common with others, I have much to thank the Committee of this Congress for, but I certainly owe them no thanks for the position they have assigned me to-day. To some people it may seem an advantage to have the last word in a controversy; but to be asked to deliver a *prepared* address to such an assemblage as this, to

\* Where, according to the expressed desire of the present Lord President of the Council, the Conscience Clause shall have been extended and applied to the annual grants as well as to the building grants, it will be *all the schools* of the Church of England connected with the Committee of Council, and not only *some of them*, which shall have no principle but that of secular education.

enter the room with one's topics and a few phrases arranged in one's memory, and then to have them one by one utterly and entirely knocked out of one's brain by such a speech as that which we have just heard—this is by no means an advantage to a speaker. My Lord, the Committee should have asked some lustier man than I to follow the formidable Archdeacon of Taunton; as it is, my only comfort lies in this, that though he be in the opinion of some of us one of the most wrong-headed men that breathe, yet all England knows him to be one of the most right-hearted.

I therefore throw myself on your indulgence. Not a syllable, I fear, of my "prepared address" can I recall; but on two points which have been chiefly dwelt upon this afternoon, in a way that seems to me urgently to require an answer, I shall endeavour to lay before you such thoughts as occur to me.

And first—before I come to the Archdeacon and his Conscience Clause—let me advert to my old friend and colleague Mr. Moseley's complaint about the Revised Code, that it is lowering the standard of instruction in our schools. My friend is a far better logician than I am, but surely in saying this he is confusing two very opposite things, a *maximum* and a *minimum*—a "ne plus ultra" and a "sine quâ non." The Revised Code in putting forth those standards never meant to say "thus far and no farther," but "thus much at least and as much more as you can accomplish." But let this pass: it seems to me a point of secondary importance. Of far more importance is it to correct a wide-spread misapprehension, implied in much that we have heard this afternoon, as to wherein the essence of that educational reform consists. It is not *the payment for results*, of which we have heard so much, still less is it the more efficient teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic, though that is incidental to it. No, the essence of the change was the abolition of that system of *bounties* to teachers—for all those appropriated grants were nothing else—the merging in one simple *grant in aid*, payable to the school-treasurer, of all those personal *bounties* which in earlier years had been wisely and necessarily offered to teachers by the State in order to foster a novel scheme of normal training and school organization. It appeared to those who took a statesmanlike view of the subject, that the time had come when these factitious supports might be withdrawn, and the scheme (now approved and adopted by the country) might be placed on a simpler and more constitutional footing: simpler, for grants to half-a-dozen people in connexion with each school were replaced by a grant to one person; more constitutional, for it greatly decentralized our school organization, throwing the management and payment of the teachers entirely on the local authorities.

That this, and not the so-called "payment for results," is of the essence of the Code, is a thing to be carefully remembered, if we wish to avoid being pushed by the mere force of that phrase, "payment for results," to give up the requirement of the certificate, and so abandon and break down our invaluable system of teacher-training.

So much for the Revised Code: I now come to the Conscience Clause. I rejoiced to hear the Archdeacon speaking so strongly of the value he sets on co-operation between Church and State in the matter of education. Long may it ~~continue~~! The welfare of our commonwealth seems to me to depend on its continuance. On this and two or

three other points I so cordially agree with the Archdeacon that I am not altogether without hope that we may leave this room arm in arm, although I still contend and shall contend that a conscience (*a* conscience clause, mind you, not *the* Conscience Clause) is necessary. Let me briefly explain the necessity.

Church and State have each their educational responsibilities. How are they severally to fulfil them? Are we to have schools in duplicate, a State school and a Church school, all over the country, competing for the children? A most disastrous state of things, to be witnessed, alas, in some foreign countries. What then? There must be a compromise. Either the Church must accept the State's schools with stipulations, as in the case of the *vested* schools of Ireland; or the State must accept the Church's schools with stipulations, as in England. I rejoice from the very bottom of my heart that this last alternative is that which we have in England adopted. I rejoice, because I believe that any attempt to divorce religious from secular education, and to say we will commit the training of the child's intellectual part to this man, and of his spiritual part to that man, goes right against nature. If a child were a dead thing instead of a living thing, you might do it. If you are building a dead thing like a house you may say, "such and such a part shall be built up by the bricklayer, and such and such by the mason." But if you are nourishing the growth of a living tree, you cannot say, "this gardener shall water and manure the flowers, and that other gardener shall water and manure the leaves." The plant being a living thing must grow altogether, if at all. And so with education: for what is it? It is the training of a growth. That wonderfully organized living thing we call a child is growing all the time and altogether, whether we will or no, growing in body, mind, and spirit. And it is impossible to separate one part of its growth from another. While you are training one part you may be neglecting to train another; but mark, that other part, trained or neglected, is growing under your hand all the time. And therefore I say that any attempt to separate in education, as some people fancy they may do, the child's religious from his moral and intellectual capabilities and affections, can only end in so lacerating his whole being, that you leave it bleeding in every particular root and fibre of its nature.

My Lord, I am deeply thankful that this separation of religious and secular education, though often proposed, has never yet been adopted in England. The question was fairly asked of England, in 1839—Shall we have it, or shall we not? And the answer was unmistakeable, that we would have the denominational system: that is, that the State should accept the existing religious schools of the country, making certain stipulations in its own interests. What then have been the State's stipulations? Chiefly two: first, in early years, that such an amount of general teaching should be given as the State judged to be necessary for the right training of her young citizens, to make them intelligently subordinate to law and taxation. And the second was, *that the parents' conscience should be respected.*

It is to this last point that I would draw attention, in order to arrive at a clear understanding how the necessity for a conscience clause in some cases came about. While the system was only reaching the town parishes and larger country parishes, the State could work the denominational system pure and simple. The State sufficiently respected the

parents' conscience by helping impartially to build Church schools for the Church children, and dissenting schools for the dissenting children. But as years went on, and the public money began to percolate into the small parishes, parishes that could never possibly support two schools, and yet contained (it might be) a mixed population of Churchmen and Dissenters, what was to be done? To build two little schools, like the chapels of a cemetery, was out of the question. To build one only, of the denomination say of the majority, without any security whatever for the conscience of the minority, would leave the minority in the lurch. This difficulty was long felt in Wales; and for want of a conscience clause, the British school has there largely replaced the Church school. In England it is beginning to be felt; and will be more and more as the system reaches the small parishes.

Many of you may say, "ignore the difficulty; build a Church school; if the dissenters find difficulty in submitting their children to its rules, why it is their own fault for being dissenters." My Lord, administrators of a public fund raised in taxes from all, cannot go to parliament with such language as that. This little parish, with its forty Church children and its ten or fifteen dissenting children, can only support one school. *A Conscience Clause* is the only solution of the difficulty for such a parish.

But now, in conclusion, why have I said all through "*a Conscience Clause*," instead of *the Conscience Clause*? Because, my Lord, I am most anxious to see a modification of the *Conscience Clause* as now put forth. I want to cut the present clause in two: to retain so much as relates to the Sunday, and to throw away so much as relates to the week-days.

To require of a teacher that in his daily Bible-lesson he shall not convey specific doctrine to this child or that, is to require more than any earnest teacher, who teaches with all his heart and soul, can or ought to promise,—unless, indeed, such children stand out from the class during the Bible-lesson, and that I protest against, as introducing a fragment of the secular system.

I say, therefore, cut out that word "*doctrines*" from the *Conscience Clause*: retain exemption from Church and Sunday school, and (if required) from learning Church formularies; and then your *Conscience Clause* will simply embody in the Trust Deed what is the practice of all the sensible clergy in the country.

This then is the compromise of this vexed question, which I would earnestly commend to the consideration of the Congress.

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## DISCUSSION.

THE REV. CANON WOODGATE: My Lord Bishop, ladies, and gentlemen, I had no expectation of being called upon to-day upon this subject. Although I gave in my card in accordance with the regulations, I naturally thought that many other members would be anxious to address the Congress on the subject, and that there was only a remote contingency of my being called upon to say anything at all. Nevertheless, the point on which I did wish to say a few words, is one on which I think great misapprehension exists with regard to this *Conscience Clause*, and which I know has influenced many of my personal friends, upon whose judgment I place reliance, and with whom I agree,

except upon this one point. I mean the allegation frequently made, that after all the Society's rule is not carried out. Cases have been mentioned where, although there was a readiness to carry it out, the clergy had been obliged to relax it. It has been asserted by Sir John Coleridge, that the National Society could not depart from its charter, and give relaxation as to the terms of the union. Every society has the right of interpreting its own laws; and I have always understood that the National Society has power to give its members relaxation on that point, as it has on others, and that it has been to a certain extent exercised. If cases do arise in which the Conscience Clause is brought in question, the parochial clergy could always exercise that discretionary power, with which the common law of the land, and the provisions of the National Society, have invested them,—I mean with regard to teaching children what the parents object to. Of course it makes an enormous difference whether you are to grant this as a boon, or to confer it as a legal right. If ever there has been an apple of discord thrown into a peaceably working society, it has been this Conscience Clause. Things have been working very well for many years; and, for that reason only, I believe that the enemies of the Church have thrown in this apple of discord. I speak from experience, because for twenty years and more I have been diocesan inspector in a large district, including many manufacturing towns, as well as an extensive mining district and many large agricultural parishes. In fact, the district altogether comprises, I may say, an epitome of England as a whole, and it extends from near Birmingham down to the Severn. I have followed Mr. Norris into part of that neutral ground which he has pointed out as existing in South Staffordshire; and although I have asked the question, and asked it at the inspection last year, I have been unable to ascertain that the least demand exists for this Conscience Clause. I have said to the masters, "Have you had any case where dissenters have objected to their children learning the Church Catechism?" and the answer has been "No," except in one instance, and that was in the case of a Unitarian. Then I say that by the course attempted to be pursued, you are creating a demand, and trying to fulfil it by this obnoxious Conscience Clause. There is no call for it now, and you have no right to create the demand, and then make this disturbance in order to fulfil it. Besides that, look at the moral effect which will be produced on the children themselves. We attach the utmost importance to religious teaching; and to allow it to be accepted or not, as the service of the dancing-master or the music-master, would be to destroy the basis of the whole system. If the children are to say, "I do not intend to learn this or that," what is the effect to be upon the whole school? Besides, just convert this by sufferance into a legal right, and there is a most respectable body of men, who aspire to the position of the fifth estate—allowing the fourth to the press—who call themselves the Liberation Society, which would at once step in. Would they not go down to every village and say, "stand up for your rights; it is no longer a boon, but a right." The result would be that man would be set against man, and against the ministers of the Church, for the same bad purposes as those which had led to the agitation against church-rates, and upon other questions. I believe I shall be borne out by everybody when I say, that this question of the Conscience Clause has not been agitated by the dissenters themselves, but it has been got up by external agitators; and I hope it will in the end be the means of separating the really religious dissenters from those who are now seeking to obtain undue influence over them. I give the dissenters credit for not having agitated or attached importance to this question. In no case have they attempted, I believe, to prevent their children from obtaining the benefit of the religious instruction imparted at the schools. The minority must go with the majority, and I do not see why we are to sacrifice the majority to a small minority, or to introduce a vicious principle, which would go far to neutralize the value of the assistance rendered by the Government in the cause of education. I do not say that you should compel a child to be taught the doctrines of the Church of England against the wish of his parents; but at present there is no demand for this Conscience Clause. We are simply creating it, and in creating it we are doing most serious mischief.

The REV. ARTHUR GARFIT said, My Lord, I will address you on one point only of this great subject,—on the religious difficulty concerning the Conscience Clause, and I will endeavour to give one reason in favour of that clause, in answer to the seventeen that have been advanced against it. But first let us look back to the history of the question. The claims of the Church of England to conduct the education of the country were secured to it for upwards of two centuries by the terms of the 77th Canon, which not only gave to the bishop of the diocese the sole power of appointing schoolmasters, but practically secured a monopoly to the clergy. The Act of Uniformity strengthened this right, which was exercised mainly through the universities and grammar schools; but when, about A.D. 1700, the one great Church Society, the Society for Promoting Christian

Knowledge, made the first vigorous effort toward the education of the poor, to the clergy was intrusted the control of it. It was not till the beginning of the present century that the dissenters came prominently into the field. An enthusiastic quaker youth of the age of eighteen posted this notice in Southwark: "All that will, may send their children to be educated freely, and those who do not like to have education for nothing, may pay for it if they like." Hundreds, and soon thousands, flocked to the teaching of Joseph Lancaster. He attracted the notice of George the Third, who encouraged his work, and expressed to him the wish that he might live to see the day when every one of his subjects should be able to read the Bible. The British and Foreign School Society was the result, (1808) and soon after the Church, stirred into activity by efforts of dissent, and by a sermon from Dr. Herbert Marsh, established the National Society. In 1833 the State began to help in the work; a modest vote of £20,000 was carried in a thin house, by a majority of 50 to 26; and finding both church and dissent in the field, the State divided this sum annually for six years equally between them. In 1839 the Committee of Council was appointed on the proposal of Lord John Russell. It made an unfortunate beginning by attempting to establish a vast training college, on a broad basis, where teachers of all denominations might be trained together, allowing the widest differences, and even the use of various versions of the Bible. The Church vigorously opposed and defeated the scheme, and another attempt at comprehension in 1842 failed also, being unacceptable to the dissenters, but the Committee of Council survived to devise wiser schemes for happier days. But how was this eventually accomplished? By conciliation and compromise. The State gave up its favorite plan of a comprehensive scheme, the Church resigned its exclusive right derived from the Canon, and every one was left to work according to the deep conviction of his heart, and henceforth religious zeal did more than anything else to help forward even secular education. The differences were finally adjusted about 1848, after a weary correspondence concerning the management clauses. And to whom are we indebted for this treaty? Mainly to Lord Lansdowne, the first President of the Committee of Council,—to the firmness and temper with which he maintained the right and duty of the State to take part in the education of the poor—a right co-existing with that of the Church and of the sects, and therefore requiring to be adjusted therewith; and we are indebted also to the liberal statesmanlike views held by the greatest of modern prelates, Bishop Blomfield, by whom the Church was then happily led, who was willing to resign her exclusive claims and to meet the State half-way. Much was conceded on either side, and by a happy compromise a system of education was established, under which more than £8,000,000 of public money has been spent, which has been met by double that sum from private sources, and which in point of the numbers under education has raised England to the second place in Europe, altering the ratio of 1 in 11·27 in 1833 to 1 in 7·7 in 1858, Prussia alone excelling us. Conciliation and compromise bridged over the religious difficulty then, and I trust it may do the same again. About 1860 the Conscience Clause difficulty began to be felt. Its origin, or at all events its present dimensions, resulted very much from the complaint made by the Royal Commission, of the injustice often done to the dissenters in Church schools, and this commission consisted of churchmen with a single exception,—churchmen among whom were the Duke of Newcastle and Sir John Coleridge. After some fruitless negotiations in 1862, Mr. Lingens wrote a very courteous letter to the National Society, (Nov. 27, 1863) expressing a hope that some rule might be devised to meet the difficulty, and expressing a sincere desire to co-operate with the Church, pointing out the injustice, and proposing a clause for their consideration. I will trouble you by reading that clause, because I believe there are many persons ready to applaud when they hear it abused, but who are not acquainted with its terms. It is, as concerns Church schools, as follows: the managers "shall be bound to make such orders as shall provide for admitting to the benefits of the school the children of parents not in communion with the Church; but such orders shall be confined to the exemption of such children, if their parents desire it, from attendance at the public worship, and from instruction in the doctrine and formularies of the Church, and shall not otherwise interfere with the religious teaching of the scholars, and shall not authorise any other religious instruction to be given in the school." To this letter the National Society eventually returned a very brief curt reply: they are "unable to accede," and "not prepared to alter the terms of union." Let us look at the proposed clause. Viewing it as statesmen, it does away with an injustice to dissenters, which has been pointed out to us by churchmen of distinction. It gives a security, by opening the school doors as wide as possible, for the best return to the expenditure of public money. It lays down an equitable and unvarying rule, and does not leave the practice to the private discretion of an individual clergyman. But to such a meeting as this, I do not rely on arguments that may have weight with statesmen, so much as those that address themselves to churchmen. What



then is the principle of this clause? *A recognition of the parental authority.* Some speak of the Conscience Clause as if the Church was called on to resign to the State its spiritual rights, as if it was required to shape its religious teaching to suit the Government. But it is not so. It is rather that Church and State alike are called upon to bow before a power that is paramount to both;—to recognise the natural and divine right of those to whom is intrusted the culture and well-being of their offspring, and with whom rests both the responsibility and right of determining what religion the child shall be taught. *This is the principle of the Conscience Clause, and this is a principle which I believe the Church may accept without any compromise of her own.* And see how the clause is guarded; it only refers to individuals, not to the school; and in the individual cases, it gives only a negative power, which “shall not otherwise interfere with the religious teaching.” It leaves that religious teaching still entirely in the hands of the clergy, and “shall not authorise any other religious instruction to be given.” Against this clause thus viewed, I think the seventeen reasons alleged by Archdeacon Denison do not apply. Neither is there any breach of faith on the part of the State. It is too much to require that, with progress in everything, there is to be a finality code of education; and new difficulties will from time to time require new regulations. We ought to look at the difficulty and try to adjust it. The State desires to embody the Conscience Clause in a minute after conference with the Church as to the terms. What should those terms be? (1.) That it should not apply to parishes of above a certain population: say where there are a thousand Church people. (2.) It should apply to annual grants, and then the managers of any school could get rid of it at any time, as they can now of the inspector’s visit, by renouncing the grant. (3.) In the case of building grants, the managers should have the power of freeing themselves of the clause at any future time, simply by returning the money. This would meet the dislike that most people have of doing anything that will bind their successors for ever, and would allay the fear that exists lest the State should gradually enslave the Church. With these limitations, I believe a liberal and large-hearted Church can accept the Conscience Clause without compromise of its principles, and with a practical advantage to itself. The Church is never so strong as when she is liberal as well as just. Dissent has become powerless because we have taken from it almost every just cause of complaint, and rendered it weak for want of a grievance. I know there are many whom I have not convinced; I shall be content if I have led you to look to the clause and the correspondence for yourselves, or if I have said anything tending to soften the estrangement that unhappily exists between some staunch Church friends of education and the State; and by the State I do not refer to any particular ministry, or allude to any individual statesman, but I refer to that constitutional Government carried on by the responsible advisers of a noble and virtuous Queen over a free and well-ruled people.

The Rev. W. B. CAPARN said, My Lord Bishop, ladies and gentlemen, I propose to say a few words, and I shall endeavour not to be unduly lengthy in my remarks. I have something to say with respect to the injustice of the Conscience Clause. A good deal has been said by previous speakers, about the general injustice of the Conscience Clause. I am now going into details in order to bring before you a particular case of injustice by which I myself am a sufferer at the present time. Perhaps it will be best in the first instance that I should briefly describe to you the nature of my parish. I am the incumbent of a parish containing a population of about 700 souls, and it is a very poor parish. The church and the parsonage have been built within the last five years at an expense of £3000, and now that we have got our church and parsonage we are trying to provide a parochial school. Of course, under these circumstances, I endeavoured naturally to obtain from the Privy Council a portion of the grant given by the State for educational purposes in this country, and I think if any parish stands in need of help of this kind it is such a parish as I now represent. I professed to My Lords that I was ready to treat with great consideration the religious scruples of those parents who dissented from the doctrines of the Church of England, but My Lords were not content with that. They say they must have a Conscience Clause inserted in the trust deed. Now, I am very anxious to work with My Lords and to speak respectfully to them, and I said to myself, what will be the future consequences of this Conscience Clause? Can I conscientiously bind, not myself only, but my successors for ever under the terms of that Conscience Clause? I took counsel with myself upon the subject, and the conclusion that I came to was that I could not do that; but before I gave the matter up I endeavoured to ascertain from My Lords if there is any general or elementary religious teaching I can give to the whole school. I do not want to make the children fit merely for the present world, but, as their pastor, I desire to teach them spiritual truths, and to awaken their consciences and make them fit for the world to come. I therefore wrote to My Lords of the Privy Council upon the subject. I

explained the difficulty in which I stood, and I wrote to inquire whether we could not establish some minimum as to the Christian instruction I might be allowed to teach of necessity to all the children of the parochial school. I said, "Let me have it inserted in the Conscience Clause that all the children shall be bound to learn from me the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments." At first, I believe, the Committee of Council were inclined to entertain that matter. They did, I believe, think favourably of the suggestion, and thought that terms of peace with the Church might be made in that way; but all at once they turned round and said it could not be done—that, while inquiries were going on under the Parliamentary Committee no alteration could be made. I then made a further inquiry, and I put two questions to the Committee of Council in order to see what the Conscience Clause would allow me to teach; and here I would beg the permission of this Congress to read the questions I put and the answers which were returned, because it will show the practical effect of the Conscience Clause in a way in which it has not yet been shown to Church people and the clergy.

The REV. SIR H. THOMPSON: Will you please to give the dates of the letters?

The REV. W. B. CAPARN: The communication I received was dated the 31st of May, 1865. This is my question to the Committee of Council, "Whether the Apostles' Creed is one of the formularies which a parent under the proposed clause might require his child not to be taught?" The second question I put was, "Whether the clause aforesaid allows the promoters of the school to make the daily reading of the Bible by every child an absolute rule of the school?" The answer I received was as follows:—

"Privy Council Office, 31st May, 1865.

"In answer to your first question,—'Whether the Apostles' Creed is one of the formularies which a parent under the proposed clause might require his child not to be taught:—'I am directed to state that the Apostles' Creed, being a formulary of the Church of England, might be required not to be taught to a child by its parent who belonged to a communion wherein that creed was not used. In answer to your second question,—'Whether the clause aforesaid allows the promoters of the school to make the daily reading of the Bible by every child that can read an absolute rule of the school:—'I am directed to state that the clause allows the managers to do so, as long as the text of the Bible is not employed to enforce doctrine, which (*ex hypothesi*) is that of the Church of England, but is not also that of the parent.'" [See Appendix D.]

I think that this develops very conclusively the position of a clergyman, if he has a conscience clause inserted in the trust deed of his school. He is then at the will of any parent, and he cannot give even religious instruction of any kind to the children if the parent refuses to have them so taught. Thus any article of our creed, the resurrection or the divinity of our Lord, any of those truths we cherish so tenderly, might be taken away from us in our schools, and we should only be allowed to teach religion at the caprice of certain individuals. You will see that that is a position in which no Church school ought to be placed. Although I am not here to controvert what has been said by former speakers, I do think that what I have read to you is an answer at any rate to some of the arguments of the last speaker. We are here debating in a friendly way this great measure as it affects the Church. As soon as I received that reply from the Privy Council, I was not long in coming to the conclusion, that, much as I wanted the help of the Government in building my parochial school, yet I would entirely renounce their assistance, because I saw at once the position in which it would place not only myself but my successors. What I felt was this; I am conscientiously bound to shield my successors from the consequences of such a clause. I heartily hope that all here present will not be led away by the arguments which some of the speakers have addressed to them, which do not go to the real point of the matter, but which make it appear that the conscience clause or a conscience clause can be accepted. As a clergyman of the Church of England, I think I ought to be believed when I say that I would allow every consideration in the management of our schools to the conscientious convictions of the parents of the children who attend them; and I may add that I go even now and teach the children of dissenters in a "dame school" the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and the collect for Sunday, and no one says I do wrong. On the contrary, I believe that all of them are rather proud that the clergyman of the parish should go to teach them. I think we ought all to be exceedingly cautious as to the steps we take in this matter. We do not wish altogether to set ourselves against the principles of the Government, but we must see our way clearly as to the effect of the Conscience Clause, and, having seen it, we must be prepared to renounce it if we are convinced that the consequences would be thus seriously injurious to us. A clergyman may act, of his own will, on the principles of the Conscience Clause in the management

of his school, believing that it is the best mode of proceeding at the present time, but in twenty-five years hence a state of things may arise which would call for the exercise of that liberty and discretion which the Conscience Clause takes away, and thus it may be found to affect the interests of the Church in the most serious manner. We do not know what is in store for the Church in the future, but of one thing I am quite sure, that those who come after us will not call us blessed, if we leave such a heritage of embarrassment and disunion and weakness to them as a conscience clause will, I feel convinced, be found to be in our parochial schools.

ARCHDEACON ALLEN: My Lord Bishop, I did wish to say a few words in defence of the Conscience Clause, but I feel after the speech which we have just listened to, that that defence will be in vain. I have strongly felt that we should confine our agitation to practical matters—to those which we might hope would carry with them the approval of the larger part of the people of England. Passing from the Conscience Clause, I do most earnestly hope that if there is any one in this assembly who has influence with the Government, he will press upon the Government one point in the Revised Code. I believe that by the Revised Code, we, in our parochial schools, have been more frightened than hurt, but I believe that the effect of the Revised Code will be felt very injuriously in reference to a particular class of institutions, which have been doing a great amount of good throughout the country—the training institutions throughout our land. I very much fear that the discouragement which has been given to the appointment of pupil teachers in our small schools, where the influence of the pastors, and the influence of the religious portion of the community, were most sensibly felt, would dry up the most valuable resources of our training institutions. I ask any one who has watched the working of these institutions, to consider their importance and their value, and I ask all who have observed how our schoolmasters—I mean our trained schoolmasters in our parishes—conduct the work allotted to them, whether they do not feel that the largest debt of gratitude is owing to those who, under God, have been placed in the care of these institutions. I have had the experience of an archdeaconry of some 130 parishes for eighteen years, and have myself largely acted as an inspector of schools over the whole of that archdeaconry, and I cannot at present recall one single instance of a trained schoolmaster who has forgotten his duty, or behaved ill in his parish. There may have been a case, but I cannot recall an instance during the whole eighteen years of my experience. Coupled with that, you must remember in what a position of difficulty these schoolmasters are placed. They come oftentimes from the very humblest classes of society; they are put in positions where there are few to sympathise with them; and they are exposed at a very critical period to many temptations. They rise at once to what has been called the “dreary table-land” of their present position, with very little hope of anything better. Considering the difficulties of the position of the parochial schoolmasters, I say it is impossible to estimate aright the debt which we owe to our training institutions. Feeling as I do that the Revised Code has acted in some measure unfavourably to these training institutions, I earnestly hope, as an old servant of the Government, that the Government will be induced to reconsider their recommendations in this matter. I have nothing further to say, except to thank your lordship and the Congress for the patience with which you have heard me.

THE REV. SIR HENRY THOMPSON, Bart.: My Lord Bishop, so much has been said both for and against the Conscience Clause, that I suppose the Congress will come to the conclusion that there is little left for me to say. The attack upon the Conscience Clause was launched by a most accomplished divine—Archdeacon Denison, a man who always commands the respect of everyone who hears him, inasmuch as there is a certain honesty about him, that I am quite satisfied he believes what he says, although I may not coincide with him in opinion. He possesses also such power of language, that any person who stands up in opposition to him engages in an undertaking at a very great disadvantage. With regard to the Government and the Conscience Clause, let me go back for a moment to the three great eras in education, in which education has received assistance at the hands of the State. First of all, there was that small grant of £20,000 a year, which has already been alluded to. I think that one of the speakers made a mistake in leading us to infer that inspection only commenced in the year 1839. Inspection commenced at the very beginning. Government found that certain persons asked for assistance to build schools, when in point of fact the money was to be appropriated rather to the building of chapels. A Secretary of the Treasury, who had the management of the money at that time, stated that that was so, and therefore it was that the Government insisted on the appointment of inspectors, in order to see that the buildings to which they contributed assistance were really appropriated to schools. There was an immense clamour raised against that inspection, almost as great as that which has now been raised against the Conscience Clause; but when the two parties came to understand

each other, all that subsided, and that beautiful book which Archdeacon Denison always carries about with him and places under his pillow, set forth the compact which was made between the Church and State. In 1839 came a great enlargement of the Government grant, and the Government then insisted upon it that the schools should be properly managed, and that a Committee should be appointed. An immense clamour was raised against the proposition, and among others Archdeacon Denison insisted that persons should be at liberty to have schools under the entire dominion of the clergyman of the parish. The State thought differently, conceiving that it was the duty of the lay parishioners to see that the parish schools were conducted properly. In the end that agitation also died away, because there was really no grievance. And now I come to the grievance of the Conscience Clause. I wish that Archdeacon Denison had printed his seventeen reasons before he stated that there was no sophistry in them. I confess that when I heard him enumerate them, I was not entirely of his opinion. I should therefore have liked to see his seventeen reasons in print, as it is impossible to answer them now, having only heard them once in a speech of such wonderful power. But the speech which most surprised me was that of the speaker who stated that he was incumbent of a parish of 700 souls, and that he had been in communication with the Privy Council. Now, I have always taken great interest in the subject of education, and I once blundered my way into the Committee of the National Society. Therefore I know the arcana of that committee. Since then, being, as I have said, interested in the question of education, I have been in communication upon the subject with the Committee of the Privy Council. But I must confess that the correspondence I had with them was quite of a different character from that which has just been laid before the meeting. I communicated with them on this subject: whether the minister would be at liberty to teach the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; and I said, it appeared to me, that if a clergyman were allowed to do that, he would have all the Church required of him. We are told in the Baptismal Service to teach these formularies, but as for the rest of the Catechism the Church does not require it to be taught necessarily until the children are preparing for confirmation. It therefore appeared to me that here was a ground upon which we might make a compact with the State without any compromise at all. These matters are not at all new to me: on the contrary, I have gone through them all before with Archdeacon Denison, in Convocation. I take it for granted that the clergy in general wish to do what Mr. Caparn said, namely, to bring themselves in contact with the children, to instruct them, and to regard them as their own, so that the children may look up to their minister as their common father in Christ. If a clergyman is at liberty to teach the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, he will be able to teach the whole length and breadth of the faith of Christ as it is taught by the Church of England. That is what I told the Privy Council. I admitted that they were to grant the money of the State to persons of all denominations, and therefore they must do it in such a way, that all the parish would derive benefit from it; but at the same time they had no right to require a clergyman to go into his school, and not to teach the principles of the Church of England. The letter which I received from the Privy Council was of a very different character from that which has been read to-day. I asked permission to read it in Convocation, but I was not permitted to do so. Nevertheless I may say that I have strong reasons for believing, that the Privy Council would have no objection to enter into such a compact as I have stated; but they will not agree to a compromise, unless the National Society will do the same. I wrote a letter to the National Society, submitting a similar proposition to them. A dozen bishops were there when the letter was taken into consideration. Among them was perhaps my Lord Bishop, our President at this Congress. They discussed it for some hours, and then broke up without coming to any conclusion. I am sure of this, that if you press forward the sentiments which have been laid before us by Archdeacon Denison, Parliament will never bear you out. If, on the other hand, the Government or the Committee of Privy Council press upon Parliament a conscience clause of so stringent a character as Archdeacon Denison seems to think a conscience clause must always be, Parliament will never bear them out. At present we are all looking at one another. Neither party dares move. I think, however, that a conscience clause might be framed which would leave the Church at liberty to teach these three formularies—the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. I believe that if a conscience clause of that sort were brought forward, it would work admirably well. As to teaching the whole of the Catechism, I should like to know how many of you make all the children in your schools say the Church Catechism. I do not suppose one in ten. And how absurd it would be in some cases—for instance in the case of the children of Baptists—to make them talk about their godfathers and godmothers, when they have none. We are bound by a certain rubric

to read the Church prayers in the Church every day of our lives, but, with very few exceptions, we do not do it, as we consider that we have other duties to perform, which are more valuable. I believe that if the clergy would compound for the omission of the daily service, by giving religious instruction daily in their parish schools, they might set all conscience clauses at defiance, and secure the rising generation to the Church.

THE REV. CANON MACKENZIE: My Lord Bishop, I should not have intruded myself on this Congress but for some remarks which have fallen from two preceding speakers, and which I think are capable of a thoroughly satisfactory answer. I refer to Canon Norris, and to a very dear friend of my own, who is much better known in this neighbourhood than I am myself, Mr. Garfit. Those gentlemen spoke in favour of the Conscience Clause.

THE REV. CANON NORRIS: A conscience clause.

THE REV. CANON MACKENZIE: Canon Norris in his speech glossed over one most important point. He stated the introduction of a conscience clause to be the means of maintaining the denominational system. I think I can show that it would be the destruction of that system. The introduction of the Conscience Clause, by the Government, has been an *arrière pensée*, introduced after the covenant of the denominational system had been sealed with the Church. That covenant will be found, as Archdeacon Denison tells us, in his favourite book, accompanied by a paper, published by authority, entitled "The School, in its Relations with the Church and State." You will find in that pamphlet that the Government of the time had tried several expedients to introduce either secular religion, or religion of different forms fused into secular religion, and that such a compromise had been "promptly and indignantly rejected by the people of England." Now the rejection of that compromise included not merely the Church; it was a compromise proposed to fuse two parties conscientiously differing—the Church and the sects—and was indignantly rejected both by the Church and the sects. The Government wanted a compact which would satisfy the Church and the sects alike: and the compact finally agreed upon was that which is known as the Denominational System. The Church, the sects, the Roman Catholics, were each to contribute what they pleased, and the State was to make grants in proportion to the sums thus severally contributed. Now the introduction of a conscience clause ten or twelve years afterwards was the infusion of a new element in a compact already signed and sealed. I give to the Government every credit for doing what they believe to be right. I accept with the greatest respect whatever comes from the Government, for I respect it most highly, not only on account of its inherent responsibility, but because I have been taught that the powers that be are ordained of God; but when I find, under a mistaken notion, the Government trying to impose a condition now, which it said it could not impose ten or twelve years ago, then I look with hesitation upon our acceptance of it. When I find it followed by such fruits as we have heard from Mr. Caparn to-day, then I say that the Church is bound to reject the introduction of that new element. We must all concede to the State great powers, in consideration of the responsibility it owes to the people, but the State cannot override a covenant already deliberately entered into, to which itself was a voluntary party. When that compact was entered into, it was done by deliberate conviction that any other course would have been indignantly rejected by the people of England; and now that it is found that the introduction of this new clause would suit one part of the people, but is hostile to the interests, the truth, and the free action of the Church of England, then as a Churchman I say we are bound to reject it and have nothing to do with it. One point fell from Mr. Garfit which I echo most heartily. He spoke of the solemn responsibility that God has placed upon the parent. As a clergyman, in my own parish, I bow before that responsibility which God has given to the parent. It is a responsibility which I would not dare to take away from him, however much I might differ from him. But while I think it right that the clergyman should personally recognise this law of conscience and this law of God, I do protest against any Government coming forward and imposing a new law which frees the nonconformist at the expense of the churchman, and saying, "Every individual in your parish shall have a right to insist upon his own freedom of conscience, whether it injure your conscience or not." Such an alteration of the original compact is contrary to the spirit of the Church, contrary to the spirit of religion, and contrary to the spirit of justice; and therefore I believe the Church is bound to reject it.

THE LORD BISHOP having pronounced the Benediction, the Congress adjourned at five o'clock.

TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 3rd, 1865.

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## THE COURT OF FINAL APPEAL.

By THE VEN. ARCHDEACON RANDALL.

THE Lower House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, in its session in May in the present year, resolved, "That the constitution of the present Court of Final Appeal in ecclesiastical causes . . . . is open to grave objection, and that its working is unsatisfactory." I propose to take this resolution as the theme of my present address, in which I shall, first, examine the question, whether the constitution of the court is really so objectionable, and its working so unsatisfactory, as to require amendment; [not meaning therein to discuss the soundness of particular judgments, but whether the manner in which, according to the present constitution of the Court, its judgments are framed and made public is such as to enable churchmen to form a satisfactory estimate of the effect of such judgments, and of the weight that may be due to them as definitions of doctrine legally allowable in the Church;]\* and, secondly, shall state those of the various schemes that have been proposed for its amendment which appear to me most worthy of consideration.

It is necessary in the outset of this inquiry to state distinctly what is the position of the State and the established Church in regard to each other; for that must be the foundation of all the reasoning that is to follow; and the case, as it will be here put, stands thus:—

The supreme authority in every state has power, *first*, to determine whether there shall be any established religion at all; *secondly*, supposing that question to be decided in the affirmative, what the established religion shall be. The State in this country has settled that there shall be an established religion; that that religion shall be the Christian; and inasmuch as there are several religious bodies, all professing themselves Christians, but differing from each other upon points of faith or Church order, some of greater and some of less importance, the State of England has determined that of these various bodies the one which shall be here established shall be that which we commonly call the Church of England. We do not here enter into any question why the State has determined, or whether it has rightly determined, to place the Church of England in that position: it is enough to state that such is the fact.

\* Such passages as are bracketed in the various papers were *not* read on account of time.

Now, what is the meaning of a Church being established? Does it mean that the ministrations of the Church are provided and paid for by the State? Such is not necessarily, nor generally, the case. It is not the case, except to a very small and scarcely appreciable extent, in this country. But the meaning of a Church being established is, that the State looks to the Church as the depositary of sound doctrine; as the instructor of the people; as the religious body with which the State wishes all the people to be in communion, and presumes that they are so, unless they by word or act declare themselves otherwise; in which case the State, not pretending to compel belief, leaves them to manage their spiritual concerns for themselves.

The State, having taken the Church into this relation of solemn trust, [having committed to the Church's care the spiritual welfare of the nation, with which, let it be observed, the temporal welfare of the nation is inseparably bound up, though we do not stop to demonstrate that, but assume it as the very ground and reason for having an Establishment at all, which we are not in this inquiry called upon to discuss; the State having taken the Church into this relation with itself,] acquires the right, and becomes bound to the duty, of seeing that the officers and ministers of the Church duly fulfil their office; and especially that they teach that doctrine, and no other than that, which the State has received as the expression of the Church's faith.

The State has, and ought to have, direct cognizance, *in foro ecclesiastico*, of the soundness of a clergyman's doctrine; not, as is sometimes supposed, because the clergyman holds some secular property as attached to his cure, but because the clergyman is an officer of that Church which is parcel of the constitution of the State. The ordinary law courts take cognizance incidentally of the doctrine of the Church, when questions as to such doctrine are involved in suits concerning property. But in such cases, they do not act as ecclesiastical courts, having direct jurisdiction to deal with the doctrinal subject-matter, any more than they do when, under like circumstances, they incidentally take cognizance of the doctrine of dissenting sects, which never can come under the cognizance of an ecclesiastical court; nor, consequently, under that of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, sitting as a Court of Appeal from any such court.

But it must always be remembered, that the national Church, though it is a part of the political organization of the State, has an existence of its own, independent of the State. The Church is not a creature of the State; nor did the State make the Church's doctrine. The Church received its existence, and its doctrine, from Christ. The State accepted the doctrine, as the only true and certain foundation of social order, as well as of individual holiness of life; and thereupon the State became Christian—became Christian as a State: not necessarily that all the citizens together, or at once, became so; but that that power in the State, whatever it was, that by the constitution of the State had authority to speak in the name of the whole, established the Christian religion by law, and provided for the maintenance and transmission of the religion, by giving to the ministers of the Church, as the teachers of that religion, a place in the constitution of the State.

The State, then, has to take care, in the exercise of its supreme authority in the administration of ecclesiastical law, not to change or encroach upon the Church's doctrine. If it did so, and if the national

Church knowingly and wilfully acquiesced in such change or encroachment, that Church might cut itself off from the body of Christ, and thus stop the current of those graces which Christ bestows upon His Church, and through the Church upon all her members, who by virtue of their membership in her are also members of Christ. Or, to put the matter more distinctly in the political point of view, if Christian faith, and Christian faith only, is the true foundation of social and moral integrity, and the State maintains the profession of Christianity with a view to that object, the State will defeat its own purpose if it introduces or consents to any corruption of the faith.

The ministers of the Church are for obvious reasons entitled to pronounce with the highest authority concerning the truth or falsehood of doctrine; not only because it is their special office and duty by study and contemplation to make themselves intimately acquainted with the subject, but still more because they have a promise of the continual help and guidance of the Holy Spirit. Yet though in this matter they speak with the highest, they do not speak with absolute or exclusive authority. The Christian people, and the State as representing the Christian people, have a right to test their utterances by reference to the Law and to the Testimony, upon which those utterances profess to be, and ought to be, founded. And, what is also very material to our present purpose, it is one thing to declare doctrine in the abstract, and another thing to apply it in the concrete to the determination in judgment of a particular case. For this, the clergy are not so well fitted by their studies and habits of life as those laymen are who, by their profession and office, are conversant in legal proceedings. This has been so generally felt, that the highest judicial offices in the spiritual courts have long been filled exclusively by such laymen, and, consequently, on this point there is little ground for dissatisfaction at the predominance of the lay element in the highest Court of Appeal. The appeal, though in form an appeal from the Bishop's Court to the Queen's Council, is in reality an appeal from one lay judge to several lay judges, and those judges men of the highest eminence in the legal profession, which, so far, is rather an advantage than otherwise to the Church. Very great judges have indeed sat in the superior ecclesiastical courts; men in whom, if in any laymen, we might safely put confidence for the maintenance of sound doctrine; but as we can have no constant security for the orthodoxy of the judge, or for his attachment to the Church of whose laws he is the guardian, it is better for the Church that the ultimate decision of cases of doctrine should rest with several judges than with a single one. On the other hand, the judge of the ecclesiastical court must be presumed to possess more knowledge of the doctrine and law of the Church than can be required of the other members of the Judicial Committee. These, however great their judicial qualifications may be—and they are very great, and the amount of them greater perhaps at this present moment than ever was collected into one court in this or any other country—yet cannot be supposed as a body (though in this respect also some of them are highly distinguished) to be better acquainted with Church doctrine than any equal number of well-educated and seriously-thinking English gentlemen. [It must be observed, too, that they are not necessarily churchmen; but we need not dwell upon this. We should not wish any stringent test of churchmanship to be applied to them; but it seems plain that no person who



is avowedly a member of another religious body ought to sit as judge of doctrine in a Church court.] In theory, the members of the Judicial Committee ought to have the highest attainable degree of knowledge of the Church's law of doctrine, as they have the highest power of declaring it: in fact, they have as a body no professional knowledge of it at all.

It appears to have been in consequence of a general opinion that the Judicial Committee was in want of some theological advice to assist it in coming to a judgment upon cases of divine law, that the last statute on the subject, 3 and 4 Vict. c. 86 (Clergy Discipline Act) directed, s. 16, that in all cases under that Act, such Archbishops and Bishops as should be members of the Privy Council, should be members of the Judicial Committee for the purposes of that Act. And in cases involving doctrine, though not under that Act, they have been ordinarily summoned by special direction of the Crown. But it is still regarded as highly questionable whether, with that addition, the constitution of the Judicial Committee is sufficiently well adapted to its purpose.

The objectors insist that it is not so. *First*, because it must be by a mere happy accident, if the Privy-Councillor Bishops adequately represent the theological mind of the Church; and, *secondly*, because if they do so represent it, they are liable to be overborne by the greater number and greater dexterity in discussion of their lay colleagues; and, by the practice of the court, have no opportunity of publicly, at the time of judgment, expressing their opinions on the case.

With regard to the *first*, it is no disparagement to the episcopal office, or to any who have held it, to say that there being many qualities desirable for a bishop besides profound theological learning, and skill in the statement and defence of doctrine, and all bishops not being likely to excel alike in all those qualities, it were much to be wished that a competent number of bishops should be chosen by their brethren with special regard to their fitness for the particular function of theological advisers to the Sovereign in council. [I say bishops, because though many persons, whose opinions are entitled to the highest respect, hold that presbyters should have some voice in this matter, yet I cannot but think that it is more consonant to primitive practice, and more consistent with the reverence due to the episcopal order, as possessing the grace of succession to the apostles, that from that order the advisers of the Sovereign on points of spiritual learning should be supplied.] The archbishops only should, *honoris causa*, be *ex officio* of this number; not because they are privy councillors, but because they are archbishops. The others should be elected by their comprovincials; suppose five from the Province of Canterbury and three from that of York. The bishops might sit either as a separate board of reference, or as assessors to the Judicial Committee, to give their opinions upon such questions of doctrine as might arise, but not to have votes on the decision of the case, which should be left to the legal members. Either of these modes has its advantages and its disadvantages. If the referees sat separately, they would be able more conveniently and thoroughly to discuss the questions submitted to them; but there would be considerable delay and expense incurred by separate hearings before different tribunals; and the committee and the referees would not arrive at so complete an understanding of each other's meaning as if they sat together. [If the referees sat as

assessors, they should, after hearing the arguments, have opportunity to consider among themselves of the answer to be given to the questions proposed to them.]

But whether the objections above stated to the constitution of the Judicial Committee as an ecclesiastical court of appeal are admitted or not; and whether or no, if admitted, it may be thought advisable to obviate them by providing such a clerical board of reference as above mentioned, or in any other manner; the working of the court can never be satisfactory, unless the opinions of all the members, when there is any disagreement among them, are publicly delivered; as they are in all our other high courts of justice. For the Judicial Committee is a high court of justice; and it is an absurd fiction to treat it, because it is a branch of the Privy Council, as a mere board of private and confidential advice to the Sovereign. The case is argued in public, the judgment is declared in public, and so ought to be the reasons of the judges who agreed to it, or dissented from it, in whole or in part. It is impossible that either the value or the effect of the judgment can be duly appreciated, if, when there is a division of opinion, we know only the reasons of the majority; and those reasons only expressed by one of their number, after, as it must be supposed, some unknown amount of compromise among those who assent to it. Even if all the judges are agreed as to the substance of the judgment to be given, there may be very material differences as to their reasons, [such as the judges may well be desirous to state, and such as it may be important to the Church, and to all who in future cases have to consider the real import of the decision, thoroughly to understand.] Thus, though all the judges may agree that a defendant ought to be acquitted, some may be of opinion that the doctrine he is accused of contradicting is not the doctrine of the Church; while others may think that it is the doctrine of the Church, but that it does not appear that he intended to contradict it. We ought therefore to know all the elements of the judgment; who were for it, and who against it, and on what grounds; or if all agreed in the judgment, whether all agreed in the reasons to be given for it.

And, further, it ought to be more distinctly understood than it is, that the judgments of the Judicial Committee are not declaratory of doctrine so as to be binding beyond the determination of the particular case in which they are given. The Judicial Committee continually protests that it "has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith, or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England."—(Brodrick and Fremantle, p. 102 and 282.) But the Committee does more than this. It determines what is the doctrine of the Church of England, every time it decides that such or such a proposition may or may not be lawfully maintained by a clergyman. When the supposed case came before the Committee, that question was, or at least was represented by one of the parties in the cause to be, an open one. The judgment of the Committee has closed it. It cannot be opened any more in that cause. There is no higher court to which it can be taken. In this respect the authority of a judgment of the Judicial Committee is more decisive than was that of a judgment of the old Court of Delegates; for their judgment might be examined and reversed under a commission of review; but no such commission can be granted after a judgment of the Privy Council. So far as each individual case is concerned, it is better for the

parties and better for the peace of the Church, that a mistake in the ruling of an appellate court should be irreparable, than that litigation should be liable to be indefinitely prolonged. But the judgments of the Privy Council, though they ought as precedents to be binding upon inferior courts, ought not to be conclusive upon the Privy Council itself.

[We in this country pay, wisely, very high respect to judicial precedents. A great part of our law has been made by the judgments of courts; and the law so made has in general been well made, and is good law. But that is because, when the judgments of courts have been found to run in a wrong direction, the corrective is always at hand; an Act of Parliament supersedes the ill-declared law, and sets it right for the future, though the mischief done in a particular case may be irretrievable.] It has been suggested that the analogous remedy, if the decisions of the Court of Final Appeal should appear to have taken a wrong direction in matter of faith, would be the making a new article of religion on the point ruled amiss. But such a course would be highly inconvenient and dangerous. It might widen and perpetuate old divisions and create new divisions in the Church universal. And unless there was an uncommon approach to unanimity on the subject of the proposed article, the attempt to make it might produce a schism in the national Church, and very much perplex, if it did not altogether break up, the relation between the Church and the State.

In fact, the power of making new articles of religion for the definition of doctrine, though in the abstract it cannot be denied to belong to every national Church, is one that ought never to be exercised except in cases of the most extreme necessity, and after most careful deliberation. It would be a fearful hazard for any Church to run the risk of either adding to or diminishing the deposit of the faith. And the Church of England has been very careful in this matter: she has never professed to put forth any complete and exclusive code of doctrine. That which may be concluded and proved by the Scripture is her rule for what may be taught as of necessity to eternal salvation.—(*Ordination of Priests.*) Her Articles and Formularies are but statutory recognitions of that common law of the whole Church, which is embodied in the New Testament. [The Articles, in particular, were called for by the occasion of the great disruption of the Western Church, and to the necessities of that occasion they were wisely limited; on the one hand protesting against and renouncing the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, and on the other hand declaring our own Church's firm continuance in the faith held by the whole Church from the beginning, in opposition to the new and strange doctrines which had been broached by the fanatical sects in that time of excitement and unsettlement.]

The law of doctrine embodied in the New Testament, has been here called the common law of the Church, in two senses. First, because it is the law of the whole Church, not of any particular branch. But, secondly, because there is a notable similarity, yet under circumstances of notable difference, between the way in which the Church's common law of doctrine and the common law of England have respectively been preserved and handed down to us. Both are alike in this, that they are memorials of what was law before the law was recorded in any now existing written documents. They differ in this, that whereas

the ancient common law of England is evidenced only by the writings of men learned in man's wisdom; the common law of the Church's doctrine is evidenced by the writings of men inspired by the Holy Ghost. And there is this still greater difference as to the continuance of their obligation; that whereas the common law of England is binding no longer than until the legislative power of the country sees fit to alter it; the common law of the Church's doctrine is unchangeable. It is not, like human laws, a thing to be varied and reconstructed to meet the exigencies of new times and altered circumstances. It was made for all times and all circumstances, and time and circumstance must bend to it, not it to them.

It appears, indeed, to be the opinion of the ecclesiastical courts, that they are not to "resort directly" to Scripture as the standard by which "doctrine shall be measured." (Brodrick and F. 256.) The false doctrine, with which a defendant is charged, must be alledged and proved to be contrary to the Articles and Formularies of the Church of England. Of course this is clear enough, if the charge against the defendant is that he has contravened the Articles or Formularies. But even then, it should seem that Scripture may and ought to be referred to, as explanatory of the meaning of the Articles and Formularies, which must be presumed to have been intended to speak the sense of Scripture. And considering that the Church of England never has professed to set forth a complete body of doctrine, it must be supposed possible, that there may be necessary truths contained in Scripture, besides those that are expressed in the Articles and Formularies, and which yet the Church holds, and the State has impliedly accepted in its first acceptance of Christianity. If so, then the Articles and Formularies are not to be taken as necessarily containing the whole conditions of the establishment of the Church by the State, though, as far as the Articles and Formularies go, they are to us decisive; and nothing can be averred against them by an Anglican clergyman, while he continues such. And this seems clearly to have been the view taken of the matter by the legislature, in 1 Eliz. c. i. s. 17; which enacts that the court to be appointed under that Act, "shall not have authority to determine . . . any matter . . . to be heresy, but only such as heretofore have been determined . . . to be heresy by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general Councils, or any of them, or by any other general Council wherein the same was declared heresy by the express words of the same canonical Scriptures, or such as hereafter shall be determined . . . to be heresy by the . . . Parliament . . . with the assent of the clergy in their convocation;" in which we distinctly trace these three acknowledged landmarks of doctrinal law; *first*, the Holy Scriptures as the common law, the necessary and unchangeable foundation of all doctrine; *next*, the decrees of the four first general Councils, as the statute law of the whole Church, but only declaratory of the sense of Scripture; and *lastly*, the statute law of the National Church and State, recognizing and founded upon the authority of both the others. Nevertheless, though earnestly contending that no Church or State has a right, and that the Church and State of England never intended, to lay down a narrower basis of doctrinal law than that which is laid down in Holy Scripture, I yet believe, and am very thankful to believe, that the Articles and Formularies of the Church of England, properly alledged and justly interpreted,

are sufficient to meet any dangerous form of error that yet has been, or is likely to be, invented. [But here I am perhaps passing beyond the bounds of the inquiry which I have undertaken, and rather examining the propriety of the limits within which the court confines itself for the ascertainment of doctrine, than the constitution of the court. I therefore return to that which is my strictly proper subject.]

But if the whole Church and State of England ought to be so cautious of laying down fresh rules of doctrinal law, much more ought the Church and State to beware of leaving to any court, however constituted, the power of irrevocably shaping doctrine by its decrees. Shall five or six lay and three clerical judges, the greatest number that has ever yet sat, or is ever likely to sit on one case under the present arrangement, give a sentence, even if they were all unanimous, much more if only by a majority, that shall fasten upon the Church for all future time the responsibility of submitting to that judgment, or, if need be, renouncing its connection with the State, and going out, as it were, into the wilderness? Let me repeat that I most anxiously desire to keep clear of any supposed reference to particular cases, or to the judges by whom they have been decided. My sincere wish is to treat the question entirely upon principle. I have acknowledged the high judicial quality of the lay judges as a body. But as a body they do not sit. We do not know how the four or five who do sit are chosen. Probably the choice must be made upon grounds of convenience. Most, if not all, of the judges have other judicial business to which it is their more special duty to attend, and from which they cannot be withdrawn without detriment to the public interest. But let it be admitted, as a thing possible, that these judges, or some of them, so chosen as it were by accident out of the general body, may have a leaning or bias of their mind towards a particular view of the question before them, say, for instance, a leaning against precise assertion of doctrine; and considering that they are not divines by profession, this is not at all unlikely, nor should it be imputed as matter of blame to them; yet, surely, judges with such a bias would be in great danger of preferring freedom of discussion to truth of doctrine, and letting the foundations of the faith be undermined and picked away, for want of a firm declaration against the first encroachments of error.

Such mistakes in judgment could not be altogether precluded, though the probability of them might be diminished, by any improvement in the constitution of the court. Supposing the theological element to be strengthened as above suggested, or in any other way, if any other should be preferred, still neither it, nor the lay portion of the court as advised by it, could be entitled to speak authoritatively for the whole Church. We cannot make a perfect court out of men, the best and wisest of whom, if even we were sure to have chosen the best and wisest, are all imperfect. Therefore it is that every fresh case of doctrine should be considered as freshly referable to the Law and to the Testimony. We know that the truth is there: we are not sure that the court which last inquired after it has truly collected it, or rightly expressed it, and therefore we cannot admit the court's decision to bind the Church's judgment for all future time. No doubt the judgment in a former case ought to have weight in the argument of a succeeding one; weight, that is, proportioned to the personal authority of the judges, and the soundness of their reasoning. It should not be suffered

to be lightly called in question, nor overruled, except upon very grave consideration. All that can be desired is, that it should be acknowledged not to be conclusive; nor the advocate peremptorily estopped from arguing against it. That would be quite enough to show that the doctrine of the judgment is not fastened upon the Church. In form of law it is not so fastened now. The court has power to decide a new case in contradiction to a former judgment, and is only restrained from doing so by regard to general convenience, and to the security of those who may have supposed that in what they have newly ventured to do, they could trust for their defence to the shelter of the past decision. Doubtless these are important considerations; yet not so important by much as the preservation of the Church's doctrine from being finally concluded by the sentence of a court which must, with all respect to it, be held unqualified to give on doctrinal questions a judgment that shall be equivalent to a law. What is here pressed for is no more than that such judgments, when cited in subsequent cases, shall stand for what their reasoning is worth, and no more; saving always the presumption, such as it may be, in favour of what has been once decided by a duly authorized tribunal. Our doctrinal questions are questions not merely of English law, but of the law Christian throughout the world. Not only our own Church, nor only the sister branches of the Anglican communion, now so widely multiplying, but every branch of the Church universal has an interest in them, and has a right to say, By what authority, or upon the strength of what interpretation of the universal law of Holy Scripture, have ye thus determined? And if, when we cannot give a sufficient answer to that question, we yet take our stand immoveably upon the determination, we ourselves, in our corporate capacity, sin against the faith which we misrepresent. Not that we are bound to give such an answer as shall satisfy the inquirers, for they may themselves be in error on the opposite side of the question; but it must be an answer satisfactory to our own conscience as a Church. It is true we can no more refer doubts to the decision of a general Council, but every national Church is bound to the best of its power to do the office of a general Council to itself, by preserving inviolate the Faith once delivered to the saints. And as every branch of the Church, even though it should be in some particulars a corrupt branch, has still a testimony to bear to those Articles of the Faith in which it is sound, so it is the duty of every branch to receive, though it may be under strict scrutiny, the testimony of every other branch; and as far as possible to keep the unity of the faith with all.

[In what has been now said, the constitution of the court has been considered solely in reference to its function as a Court of Appeal on proceedings in criminal suits touching doctrine. Questions of rites and ceremonies, or of Church order and discipline, do not necessarily involve doctrine; nor are rites and ceremonies immutable, like doctrine. They may be different at different times and places, and under different circumstances. Yet, as the well-being of the Church may be seriously affected by the way in which questions relating to them may be determined; and it is always possible that even the doctrine of the Church may be brought in question in suits concerning them; it would be desirable, that for the purposes of such suits also, the Court of Appeal should be assisted by such advice as has been above proposed for cases directly concerning doctrine.]

I would therefore bring the subject to this conclusion : that for the more satisfactory investigation of doctrine, where it may come in question in the Court of Final Appeal, the Court should be more fully and effectually furnished than it now is, with the advice of those spiritual rulers in the Church, who, by the assent of their brethren, are best qualified to give it. That their joint opinion, if they agree, or their separate opinions if they disagree, should be publicly delivered, and should then be considered by the Judicial Committee, as representatives of the Sovereign ; and that the Committee, as such representatives, should give judgment on the whole case, publicly delivering their joint opinion, if they agree, or their separate opinions if they disagree, either in whole or in part. That such judgment should be conclusive on the particular case, but should not be held for a precedent of binding authority upon the Court of Appeal, in like cases which may afterwards arise.

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## THE COURT OF FINAL APPEAL.

By SIR R. J. PHILLIMORE.

It is impossible to deal with this important subject satisfactorily in twenty-five minutes. The consideration of this Court of Appeal requires an examination of principles, and an historical investigation of the past and present state of the discipline of the clergy in England, considered both separately and by comparison with that which exists in other communities and in other countries. The slight sketch which follows, however, while it brings into light the great difficulties which beset this much-vexed question, may, perhaps, contribute towards a proper understanding of it ; and whatever has this effect will tend at least to produce some improvement in the constitution of the Court of Appeal, which in its present state candid and well-instructed persons, I think, generally consider anomalous and unsatisfactory, however they may differ as to the remedy. The peculiar relation in which the body called the Church subsists towards the State is a consequence of Christianity. The relation is so important, and at the same time so entirely *sui generis*, that it has occupied the attention not only of divines and canonists, but of the greatest jurists, especially those of modern times, who have applied philosophy to law. They have been struck by the fact that while, considered from one point of view, the Church must always be dependent upon the State—considered from another, it must be independent, autonomous, and capable of legislating for and governing itself. The greatest jurist of our day, Savigny, speaking of the relation in which ordinary corporations stand to the State, observes :—

“The position of the State towards the Church is different. Looked at from a mere worldly point of view, the Church appears to us like any other society, and to stand like other corporate bodies, partly with regard to the law of the State, and partly with regard to the law of private society—in a dependent, subordinate position. But the mighty influence of this society governing the innermost being of man will not allow such to be the treatment of it. During different periods of the

history of the world, the Church and the law of the Church have taken up a very different position towards the State. In ancient Rome the *jus sacrum* was a part of the State law, and subjected to the power of the State. The world-embracing nature of Christianity rendered impossible this purely national treatment of it. In the middle ages the Church attempted to subject and subdue States to herself. In these days we can only consider the different Christian Churches as standing by the side of the State, though in manifold and intimate points of contact with it. Therefore with us (in Germany) ecclesiastical law has an independent domain of its own, which is not to be treated as subordinate to that of either public or private law."

These observations have at least this merit—they recognise a fact in this country so often forgotten, that it would appear not to be known by many—namely, the inherent everlasting peculiarity of the Christian Church which distinguishes it from all other corporations; it is an international as well as a national society; it is what Savigny calls "world-embracing," what divines call "Catholic." The Church cannot, in many respects, be moulded at all by the State. It must be free, both with regard to the doctrine which it teaches and the form of its constitution. The outward expression of its faith and teaching indeed in rites and ceremonies, must always be to a certain extent within the control of the State. Public security, for example, requires that religious processions and the like, perhaps also that religious houses, should be subject to municipal law.

I have used the term "Church," which we all know embraces both clergy and laity within its meaning. But inasmuch as to the clergy are divinely intrusted the preaching of God's Word and the administration of the holy Sacraments, whereby the living energy of the Church is fed and kept alive, the discipline which regulates what they teach and how they live is of the last importance to the whole Christian community. The primitive Church recognized that he whose office was to institute could alone suspend or deprive the clerk, and that the exercise of this discipline was divinely placed in the hands of the overseer or Bishop of the diocese; while by an orderly appeal from his acts or decisions to the Archbishop or Primus, and from him to the Patriarch, or General Council, it provided against the possible abuse of this great power. As the Church became, according to our modern phrase, established, her law assumed a double aspect, or was of a twofold character, as it related to her internal discipline or to her external relations to the State.

So far we have considered the Church purely in her spiritual character. The difficulty arises when, from whatever causes, questions of temporal property become mixed up with the existence of the Church in a particular State. It is a difficulty as old as the times of Constantine, pressing more or less upon the Church and the State at all times and in all countries, even in the Roman States, in which the prince of the country and the bishop of the Church happen to be identical. "The Church of the Catacombs, and even the Church of Constantine and Justinian, stood in very different relations with the State from those which subsisted between these two powers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The change in these relations was a necessary consequence of the constant growth and intertwining of civil interests with the *status* of a large and opulent ecclesiastical corporation. A



spiritual society dependent on voluntary and precarious contributions from the faithful, and a spiritual society endowed and established and dependent on the civil law of the State for the security of its possessions, were socially, and in their bearing upon the temporal government, very different institutions. The change affected those within and those without the institution—the clergy as well as the laity. The beneficed clerk was a citizen; the layman was perhaps his relative or his patron. The service of the altar had become a means of temporal support and livelihood which the layman destined one or more of his children to attain, and to which his ancestor had contributed by endowments. The law which governed the clergyman, by the authority of which he was suspended from or deprived of his benefice, became indirectly a matter of temporal as well as spiritual interest to the layman: while on the other hand the clergyman might sometimes feel a not unnatural desire to appeal to his sovereign from the decision of his Ordinary, which, in the case of deprivation or deposition, reduced him to beggary.\* This feeling would, of course, be much stronger in the case where the Ordinary happened to be a foreigner, and where the ultimate appeal from him lay to a foreign and distant tribunal." [I borrow the words of an article which I wrote in the *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. xlii. page 253.]

With respect to this property and these persons the State must clearly have some power of legislation and control; and though, indeed, this consequence was for a long time denied—a denial fruitful in scandal to the Church and mischief to the State—it has now obtained almost universal acknowledgment. But this admission does not carry with it the further admission that in questions which indirectly affect the property or civil *status* but directly affect the faith and doctrine, that is, of course, the very life of the Church, the civil law of the State ought to have exclusive or any authority. At the time of the Reformation this question of ecclesiastical discipline of the clergy necessarily presented itself for solution in this country. In England the Church had been reformed by the authority of the State and of the Church, upon the distinct principle of restoring the primitive doctrine and discipline which prevailed in the first centuries, which was recognised by the early Councils, and which, of course, long preceded the great schism of Christendom, by which the Church was rent asunder into an Eastern and Western Church,—a schism caused, as the Reformation was, by the innovations of the Church of Rome upon Catholic truth and Catholic usages; for it is not only a religious but a *legal* error to suppose that a new Church was introduced into these realms at the time of the Reformation. It is no less the language of our *law* than of our divinity that the old Church was restored, not that a new one was substituted for it. How did the Reformed Church of England, which expressed in its Creeds a belief in the Holy Catholic Church, and prayed in its Liturgy for "the good estate of the Catholic Church," which retained as vital the apostolical orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons—how

\* Itaque apparet (Van Espen says) quod Episcopi alique Prelati eam auctoritatem Principibus eorumque ministris, pretextu jurisdictionis et immunitatis Ecclesiasticæ disputare præsertim quia non de Fidei aut, aut essentiali Religionis Catholicæ articulo agitur, sed de puncto disciplinæ. In quâ ad vitandas contentiones et præcavenda dissidia, scandalorum et multorum malorum scaturigines dispensative similia multa, saltem tolerari et dissimulari possunt.—*Tract. Hist. Can. de Censuris Eccles.*, c. 2.

did this Church provide for a discipline over its members now that the jurisdiction of the Pope and the ultimate appeal to Rome—against which her common law and the statutes of the realm had for centuries protested—was finally and completely abolished? The answer is to be found in the language of one of the most memorable statutes of the realm, sound in its principle, perspicuous in its language, which the subsequent authority of the oracles of the common law declared to have been a restitution by statutable declaration of the old law of England. What did it say?—

“Whereas by divers sundry old authentic Histories and Chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and King, having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same, unto whom a body politick, compact of all sort and degrees of people divided in terms, and by names of spirituality and temporality been bounden and owen to bear, next to God, a natural and humble obedience. . . . The body spiritual whereof having power when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, then it was declared, interpreted, and showed by that part of the said body politick called the spirituality—now being usually called the English Church—which always hath been reputed, and also found of that sort that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number it hath been always thought, and is at this hour sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain . . . and the law temporal . . . was and yet is administered, adjudged, and executed by sundry Judges and Ministers of the other part of the said body politick called the temporality; and both their jurisdictions do conjoin together to the due administration of Justice, the one to help the other.”

Observe the clear recognition of two distinct authorities, the State and the Church—observe that they are bound to mutual aid—observe that there is a temporal and a spiritual law with distinct provinces and distinct judicatures. What was this law? What were these judicatures? An Act of Parliament may, of course, affect the Church and every corporate body in the realm. In Henry VII's reign, the Church obtained a statute arming her with severe powers for the temporal punishment of delinquent clerks. But the proper legislative organs of the Church were her Diocesan and Provincial Councils, the latter having obtained the name of Convocations. The proper judicial organs of the Church, over persons at least, were her diocesan and provincial courts, though the Pope in order to depress Episcopal authority had given authority, recognised by legal usage, to certain inferior ecclesiastical authorities well known afterwards under the title of peculiar and exempt jurisdictions. So far all was plain—but the ultimate Court of Appeal? For, although the appeal to Rome was always, as our early statutes bear testimony, an injury done to the rights of the Anglican Church, as a matter of fact, if not a matter of law, appellate jurisdiction had been exercised by the Pope, either in Rome or by Legates here. What was now to be done? What principles were to be invoked by the State or the Church for the solution of the difficulty? There was the principle inherent in all monarchies of an appeal in the last resort to the

sovereign. This principle, to be found in the *Novellæ* of Justinian, and subsequently familiar to jurists and canonists under the titles of *Recursus ad Principem* and *appellatio tanquam ab abusu*, when really understood, did not mean that the Crown would itself hear the case; it meant that the King would cause justice to be done, either by setting aside a judgment manifestly in contradiction of the law, or in which the essentials of natural justice had not been observed, or by compelling the proper tribunals to entertain and to adjudicate upon a particular matter, much in the same manner as the Court of Queen's Bench, which exercises the authority of the Crown in many cases, will issue a *mandamus* to a Visitor of a college or to an ecclesiastical Ordinary to try a case, or will confine by prohibition the ecclesiastical court within its proper limits. This is well explained by the very learned canonist Van Espen in his *Tractatus de Recursu ad Principem*, written, be it observed, against the Ultramontane opinions. In this treatise the duty of the State to protect the subject, and the right of the subject, both clerical and lay, to be protected against the injustice of the ecclesiastical tribunal, is demonstrated; but at the same time the limits within which this interference of the State should be confined are clearly shown:—

“Quare Judex Regius nequaquam cognoscit de causâ principali, sed unice de formâ, et ordine processûs, sive de vi et violentiâ seu oppressione: id est solùm inquit, an Judex Ecclesiasticus *vid facti*, an verò servato Juris ordine processerit. Si reperiat Juris ordinem fuisse servatum, remittit conquerentem ad Judicem suum. Si verò cognoscat, eo non servato, fuisse *vid facti* processum, *sublevat oppressum*; et *Judicem Ecclesiasticum reducit AD VIAM JUSTITIÆ ET TRAMITES LEGITIMOS*; nihil decidendo de causa principali, quæ integra relinquitur juxta *ordinem Juris* judicanda Ecclesiastico Judici.”—Cap. 3. sec. 9.

Here it is to be observed, that Van Espen, like all sound canonists, recognises the fact that no bishop or ordinary has a right to proceed arbitrarily, or without a court, and the observance of the due forms of law. He never contemplated a private and silent exercise of unrestrained authority, such as I fear—since the French Church has lost or despised her ancient liberties—is now exercised by the French Bishops over the French clergy. Most especially, this canonist says, are judicial proceedings necessary when a clerk is accused of heresy:—

“Verum enim vero nunquam Juris ordo et Canonum Legumque præscripta diligentius et exactius sunt observanda quam cum de crimine *hæresis* agitur: eo quod non rarò contingat, opiniones quasdam aut traditiones humanas, ne dicam, superstitiones ab indoctis aut cupidis hominibus disseminari et obtrudi pro articulis fidei: ac quondam ut hæreticos tractari, qui verè Catholici sunt, ut ex S. Aug. aliisque adnotatum est.”—*Tract de Recursu*, c. 3. sec. 9.

In England, then, according to the general canon law, the appeal from the last ecclesiastical tribunal—the Court of the Archbishop—would lie to the Crown in this sense at least, on the grounds which have been maintained as founding the *appellatio tanquam ab abusu*. But the appeal to the Pope had been more than this—it had been an appeal from the merits of the decision of the Primate, from what lawyers call the whole case. Now, at this stage of the discussion there are two things which we must keep steadily in view. First, the fact of the civil establishment of the Church; secondly, the fact that at this time the ecclesiastical courts exercised a jurisdiction over testaments and

marriages, which they retained long after the same had in Roman Catholic countries been given up to lay tribunals. In one sense the members of every voluntary religious society must have a right of appeal to the Crown. The civil courts will cause justice to be done through some channel or other, and to a certain extent for this purpose, *e.g.*, in order to enforce the obligations of a trust, enter into an inquiry into the religious doctrines of that society, but not as a court of appeal in the proper sense—not in the sense that the Archiepiscopal reviews the proceedings of the Episcopal court. But the court which was to take the place of the Appellate Court of Rome was to be a court of appeal in this sense. The most arbitrary power of our most arbitrary monarch decided at the time this most important question; and in passing I must say that I have sometimes been surprised at hearing persons professing *liberal* opinions, who could not find language sufficiently energetic to express their horror of the gross tyranny of the Tudor statutes and government in their relation to the laity, expressing the warmest zeal for the maintenance of both, so far as they relate to the clergy. Henry VIII. might have vested this general appellate jurisdiction in Convocation, as he did perhaps vest a fragment of it in that body (not now, if ever, capable of being exercised), but he chose, or made his Parliament choose, a different machinery—namely, Judges Delegate appointed for each case by his Chancellor. By the 25th Henry VIII., cap. 19, sec. 4, it is enacted that—

“For lack of justice in the Archbishop’s Courts, the party may appeal to the King in Chancery: and upon every such appeal a Commission shall be directed under the Great Seal to such persons as shall be named by the King, like as in case of appeal from the Admiral’s Court, to hear and determine such appeals; whose sentence shall be definitive: and no further appeals to be had from the said Commissioners.”

The success of every institution depends upon the manner in which it is worked, as the success of every law depends upon the manner in which it is interpreted. Both are merely parchment or paper with letters and figures written upon them, until, in fact, the breath of practical life animates them into real existence. It is conceivable that this scheme might have been worked well. Indeed, I should be inclined to go further and say that for two centuries at least it did work well: of course everything depended upon the good faith of the State towards the clergy, as shown in the selection of delegates. So long as this selection carried into effect the principle of the famous statute to which I have adverted—namely, spiritual judges for spiritual, temporal judges for temporal causes, both tribunals helping and neither thwarting each other in the administration of justice—the institution, strong Churchmen might think, though not unexceptionable, was yet in many respects suited to the peculiar condition of the Church in this country. A tribunal, composed of bishops, canonists, and distinguished lay judges, might be deemed fairly to represent the voice of the Church in all matters of ordinary discipline, and still more in questions of civil or mixed civil and clerical interests. It is with respect to questions of *doctrine* that such a tribunal might have been considered unsatisfactory; but even with respect to these the Crown, being wholly unfettered by the terms of the statute, might always so compose the tribunal that the spiritual element should preponderate in the judges delegated to

try a matter of *heresy*. It must also be remembered that in the then state of Christendom no General Council, fairly composed, was possible. Those who have deeply studied, as all Churchmen should study, the history of the Council of Trent, will admit the truth of this remark. It might also have been supposed that cases of heresy would be rare. At all events their rarity as a matter of fact is very remarkable in the history of the English Church. The records of ecclesiastical courts do not, I think, furnish before the reign of her present Majesty above three or four instances, if so many. It is proper to mention here that the question "*sub quibus Judicibus cognoscatur de hæresi*" was the subject of a chapter in the code of the *Reformatio Legum*, which provided *inter alia* that the case should be tried before the bishop in the first instance. "*Appellatio tamen recedatur ab Episcopo ad Archiepiscopum et Archiepiscopo ad nostram Regalem personam*," preserving, as I understand, the Court of Delegates. This tribunal of ultimate appeal subsisted till the reign of William IV. Why and how was it then changed? Because it was judged necessary to improve both generally the tribunal of the Privy Council, and the jurisdiction of the Court of Delegates with respect to the appeal from the ecclesiastical courts in cases of testaments and marriages. It was altered by creating a permanent judicial body, called the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. We know from the best authority that the jurisdiction exercised by the ecclesiastical courts in matters of clergy discipline was not present to the minds of those who planned and executed this reform. The great movement which soon afterwards stirred the Church of England raised questions both of doctrine and discipline, and drew attention to the defect in the new court. The statute commonly called the Clergy Discipline Act, 3 and 4 Vic., c. 86, was passed. It increased the personal authority of the bishop in the first instance, and provided that a bishop should be a member of the Judicial Committee in criminal suits. The epithet *criminal* is to be carefully noticed—because it may happen, as it did in the Gorham case, that a question of doctrine is raised in a *civil* suit, and in this case no bishop can be a member of the court, though he may be invited to sit if he pleases as an assessor. It may be well to mention that the Judicial Committee was not sitting as a Court of Appeal in the Natal case, and the advice given to the Crown by their lordships therein in no way affects the present question. Probably it would be generally admitted that in questions relating to the exercise of discipline over the moral conduct of the clergy the present tribunal was not objectionable. The real difficulty is as to the questions of doctrine. And the first fact which strikes one is the great variety of opinion among Churchmen upon this subject. I do not speak of the mere Erastian,\* who of course thinks that the whole question is one of State police, and ought to be under the proper control of a State policeman; I speak of Churchmen, clerical and lay. Some declare themselves strongly against the revival of the Court of Delegates, a return to which, I must observe in passing, is not without recommen-

\* It is remarkable that the object of the Ultramontanist and the Erastian has been always the same in one respect, viz., to depress the power of the bishop. "*Incredibile dictu quantum procedente tempore abusus jurisdictionis ecclesiasticæ creverit, maxime ubi Romana Curia, amplificanda potestatis studiosissima, incepit in dies magis magisque Episcoporum jura invadere, &c.*"—*Tract. de Recursu ad Princ.* c. 1—7.

dation, and might be very easily effected. Some think Convocation ought to constitute the court; some, the Upper House of Convocation; some, that the present tribunal ought to retain its jurisdiction, so far only as to prevent the ecclesiastical sentence taking effect upon the temporalities of the deprived clerk, while *quoad sacra* the spiritual sentence should take effect; some, that a greater number of prelates, with Professors of Divinity, should be members of the court. There is a dilemma which appears to arise out of the present state of things, which may be thus stated. Those who approve of the present tribunal say—"That it is an axiom of that tribunal, that it is not a court of theology,—that it does not profess to deal with questions of doctrine,—that its office is confined to putting the true interpretation upon the plain language of certain formularies made binding by an Act of Parliament upon the clergy of this realm; and they support this very important view of the case by reference to passages in the judgments of the Privy Council, and they deduce from these premises the conclusion that the ultimate court of ecclesiastical appeal is most properly composed of experienced lay judges."

Those, on the other hand, who disapprove of the present tribunal say—"First, according to this argument, there is no court of theology at all in the English Church, and if a clerk choose to preach in his pulpit that a great part of the Bible was no more true than a tale in the *Arabian Nights*, he might do so with impunity. Secondly, that it must have been obvious *a priori* that this office, however limited in terms, would in substance and in truth necessitate a consideration of the doctrine conveyed in these formularies. That, in fact, the most important questions of divinity must be decided, and, according to English usage as to the authority of legal precedent, rendered binding on the Church, by the decisions of the Appeal Court. Experience has confirmed this *a priori* reasoning. In the Gorham case one of the Sacraments of the Church was discussed for many days; the tribunal was necessarily by law composed of only lay members. Three prelates were invoked as assessors, without any voice in the decision. In the *Essays and Reviews* case, in which the Inspiration of Holy Writ was the subject of discussion, three prelates sat;—no more by law could sit. The two Metropolitans differed in opinion from one Bishop, who agreed with the lay members of the court. This judgment (like the other) bound, legally speaking, the whole Church of England. Yet surely this was a great scandal. Such a judgment could not command the respect of the Church. It was an event wholly without precedent, for which no provision had been made, and the very happening of which bore testimony to the defective, accidental, irregular, and anomalous constitution of the tribunal of which we complain. This, then, is the state of law and facts which is to be considered; but suppose (they say) it were otherwise. Suppose that no questions of doctrine had been decided by a tribunal, which, we admit, professes itself incompetent to be a court of theology, and that the lay judges were properly employed in performing a function quite familiar to them—namely, the interpretation of a statute. On this hypothesis (they argued) why should any prelates be members of the Judicial Committee? They are simply impediments to the lay judges in the execution of their duty. Look a little deeper (they continue) into the state of the law. By the provisions of the Clergy Discipline Act it is provided that the Bishop alone may decide

the case in the first instance; and if there be no appeal his judgment is binding. If, indeed, it be the office of a Bishop to drive away false doctrine from his diocese, this may be thought a proper provision; but then it is a question of *doctrine* which he is fit to try, and not simply a question of the *interpretation* of the statute which he is unfit to try; then the Appeal Court, which overrules his decisions, does also, whatever it may profess, most plainly decide on a question of doctrine."

These, I think, are the arguments on both sides of the question. There is a proposition arising partly out of this dilemma which appears to me worthy of grave consideration. It is to the effect that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should continue to discharge its present functions as the Court of the Council of the Sovereign, but that all bishops should be removed from it; that if a question of doctrine arise, the Judicial Committee should, if it be so minded, ask (as it may now ask the opinion of foreign professors of a foreign law) the opinion of the Bishops, and perhaps of the Regius Professors of Divinity, but should in no case be legally bound by their answer. The House of Lords, it is well known, are not bound by the opinion of the Judges whom they consult.\* There were, of course, objections to be stated against this suggestion, but those which I have as yet heard seem to weigh but lightly against the obvious advantages of such an alteration. It would render intelligible and consistent the positions respectively claimed by the Church and the State. It would be, if I may so speak, a more honest and true state of things than the present, and it would avoid great scandal. The question, of course, is not whether it be the best conceivable remedy for the evil complained of, but whether, having regard to the present state of Christendom and the peculiar relation which has always subsisted between the Church and the State in this country, it is not the best remedy that is now practicable. It seems, at all events, to be well worthy of consideration. Meanwhile in this country we may be sure that the certain result of free, temperate, and careful discussion will be that whatever reforms justice and the reason of the thing demand, will eventually, however slowly, be accomplished.

"*ἡ κώη δ' ὁ τὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μέλλει συνοίσειν.*"

## THE COURT OF FINAL APPEAL.

By SIR WILLOUGHBY JONES, BART.

I feel that an apology is owing from me to this learned assembly for presuming to address any remarks after the two exhaustive papers that have just been read. Those papers, however, only show the extreme difficulty of the case. They show the differences of opinion that exist; and although the last remedy proposed by Sir Robert Phillimore, and

\* I have not dwelt upon the obvious and generally admitted objections to the present tribunal; in the uncertainty as to the judges who compose it—the mode of their selection—the silence of the dissenting judges, whose reasons the public has a right to know as much, at least, as in any civil court.

which is one that most of us have heard of before, is one that first strikes us; at the same time, I think, we must all feel that in the courts of reference he proposes such men as himself could ill be spared. We must have the great civilians there, and, if so, then it is not a reference to the spirituality. The few thoughts, however, which I have put on paper have no reference, my Lord, to the constitution of the court, but to the manner in which the court as at present constituted has decided to treat questions of doctrine.

In the remarks I shall have to offer, I shall consider the Court of Final Appeal as the donjon keep, the innermost line, of the fortress erected in England for the defence of doctrinal truth within the precincts of the Church; and I shall take it for granted that the days of Gorham and Ditcher controversies are gone by, and that the Court will never again be used as an engine for lessening the fair amount of doctrinal liberty allowed and enjoyed within the Church, but that its work in future will be to safeguard those vital truths on which Protestant dissenters as well as ourselves are agreed; that, in fact, while offering no impediment to an ever-increasing comprehensiveness on the part of the Church, by which we may hope to see all classes of Trinitarian Christians gradually adhering to us, and joining in a common worship as they do already in a common belief, the Court may be ever ready as a last resource to prevent those vital truths which are the foundation of our Church from being openly and "advisedly" assailed by her ministers.

Taking this for granted, I shall consider that it is the interest of every class of churchmen, and, I will add, that it ought to be the desire of all Christian people of every phase of opinion, that the court should be at once strong and popular;—strong, as possessing the sympathy of all churchmen, and popular, as defending the right of the nation to be instructed in sound and true doctrine by the ministers of the Church.

When, however, we come to consider the present state of opinion among churchmen with reference to the Court, we shall find a deep feeling of dissatisfaction and distrust; and I can wish for no better evidence of this fact than its being included among the subjects set down for discussion at the Church Congress. We do not see the Queen's Bench or Common Pleas figuring in the programme of the Social Science meeting at Sheffield; nor should we find the name of the Court of Final Appeal in our programme, if what I stated was not true, that it is viewed by churchmen with dissatisfaction and distrust.

I shall endeavour, in the first place, to analyse why this feeling exists. It is not, I believe, because the Court is a mixed Court of clerics and laymen, for a Court composed exclusively of ordained ministers would not, I am sure, be satisfactory or acceptable to the country; and a Court exclusively of laymen could hardly pronounce with authority that the teaching of the Church had been transgressed. Again, I do not believe that it has anything to do with the *spirit* in which the recent judgment in *Essays and Reviews* was drawn up; but I do believe that it has much to do with the rules of law and evidence laid down in the opening of that judgment, rules which the logical common-sense of the country perceives go far to render the Court powerless for any good purpose whatever. Archdeacon Sinclair has shown us that under these rules a celebrated



Deistical treatise of the last century might be written and published by a beneficed clergyman, and that his flock would have no remedy against such infidel teaching; and it is manifest that with a little care and caution they admit of almost any doctrine being held and published. The reason of all this is to be found in the definition with which the judgment commences, and which I take to be fundamentally wrong. The judgment says, "these prosecutions are in the nature of criminal proceedings:" I should urge that in truth they are of the nature of a civil action for breach of contract, carrying with it certain penalties. There is a give and take between the clergyman and his parishioners: he has income, position, and all other advantages of his benefice; they, on the other hand, are entitled in return to be instructed in the doctrine of the Church of England. The Court on this occasion was so possessed with the vested rights of the clergyman that it lost sight of the vested rights of the parishioners. It looked at the subject matter from the north, and forgot that it might look very differently when viewed from the south. When read in this light much of the judgment will be seen to be irrelevant. The merciful provision of English law always gives the evidence a leaning in favour of the prisoner, but between parties in a suit it is absolutely impartial; so again it does not presume one of two parties to be right, though it does assume a prisoner to be innocent. The fact that the breach of contract carries with it penalties, does not remove the question from being civil into being criminal, for many civil actions involve heavy pecuniary damages. That a man should be the subject of a criminal proceeding for teaching what he *honestly believes* seems a sort of scandal; not so that he should be the subject of an action if what he *honestly believes* happens not to be the article he covenanted to deliver, to wit Church of England doctrine. Thus an error in terms has induced an appearance of persecution, which would have reacted very unfavourably against any Court that had convicted, and which has only been avoided by acquitting in every case.

It is hardly possible to overrate the importance of this last consideration: the word persecution is hateful to Englishmen, just as anything like an Inquisition or Censorship is utterly hostile and adverse to the genius of English Protestantism, founded as it is, and built up, on free thought and private judgment; and this misnomer of "criminal proceedings" has done much to evoke the hatred due to an Inquisition, and the hostility ever shown to even the shadow of coerced thought.

We can follow out the effect of this definition in the rules as to evidence. The "accuser" was to be tied to the passages out of the Liturgy and Articles, quoted at length in his articles of accusation, and if he felt obliged to quote any further passage, he could only do so by reforming his articles and paying the costs of the suit. The accused, on the other hand, was allowed to explain any passage by any other passage in his work. If for "accuser" we read "plaintiff," and for "accused" we read "defendant," we shall see that these rules of evidence were hardly equal or fair. In fact, it is as though the Queen was prosecuting for the public benefit, and not, as it ought to be, the parishioners seeking relief for an alleged breach of contract.

I venture therefore to suggest, that by merely putting the question on its proper footing, admitting that for a clergyman to teach other doctrine than *bond fide* Church of England doctrine, is in fact a breach

of compact between himself and his parishioners, much would be done towards strengthening the position of the Court in public opinion.

I would in the second place urge that, in this view of the question, the penalty of deprivation ought to be made as little onerous as possible. The parishioners gain their point when they are relieved from an erroneous teacher, and it follows that all extra hardship that falls upon him is clearly undesirable and wrong. Thus I rejoice that the Inns of Court have decided that deprived clergymen may practise as barristers, and certainly in justice every disability or obstacle to a deprived clergyman earning his living, ought to be removed. But ought we not to go even further than this, and ought he not in some degree to be relieved from the great expense of the costs of the suit? The fact of his losing his suit vacates his preferment; and this seems to be a case in which the practice of the Courts of Equity, who charge upon the estate the expenses of a *bond fide* suit to establish a right, might possibly with advantage be followed. If this was the case, the costs of the suit might fairly be defrayed out of the rent-charge in the course of a series of years, and I do not see any reason why a lay rector should escape his turn of an exceptional burthen of the kind.

In conclusion, I would observe that cases of *discipline*, which are clearly of the nature of criminal proceedings, ought to be carefully distinguished from *doctrinal* cases, which are as clearly civil; the one involves the guilt or innocence, the character and fair fame of the accused, and he has a right to be hedged round by all those safeguards of innocence which the law recognizes. The other involves no slur upon character; it is simply a question,—Are certain opinions those of the Church of England, aye or no? And a question of the sort ought to be solved without any partiality whatever.

It is evident that every case of appeal in which a question of doctrine is involved, whichever way it may be decided, does directly and incidentally great mischief. The great mysteries of our faith will not stand argument or ridicule, and there is no one proposition of the Apostles' Creed, save only the first, which if sifted and discussed would not seem to be "foolishness" to a sceptical philosopher of the present day, as surely as it did to the heathen philosophers eighteen hundred years ago. The same system of argument and criticism that we have seen applied to the cardinal truth of Bible Inspiration would produce the same results if applied to any other fundamental doctrine of our faith. Hence the ventilation of such questions in an irreverent spirit is a great evil, and such evil is sure to follow the prominence given to any subject by an appeal in the Supreme Court. The proposal therefore of Mr. Percival Ward, to strengthen as far as possible the outworks of the Church by making the subordinate Ecclesiastical Courts, Bishops' Courts and others, as efficient and able as possible, is clearly valuable. In fact, any course by which the great truths of the Christian faith can be removed from being the objects of uncompromising litigation and newspaper controversy, must be a great gain to the cause of true religion.

I am quite aware that in opposition to the view I have advocated it may be urged that the teaching of unsound doctrine by a clergyman is an offence against the whole Church rather than a grievance on the part of a particular body of parishioners, and that therefore it is rightly treated as a criminal offence rather than as a cause of private injury; and that as the individual is dropped in criminal prosecutions, and the

nation at large, represented by the Queen, alone appears as prosecutor, so, to a certain extent, it ought to be in these cases of unsound doctrine. To this I would answer, that I have throughout treated the question in a legal and not in a theological point of view; and that, looked at *legally*, the objection does not seem to have much weight. For, firstly, none but a beneficed clergyman can become the subject of proceedings before the Court of Final Appeal; a curate is dealt with summarily by his bishop in the event of his teaching unsound doctrine, his right of appeal not extending to the Supreme Court, and a simple ordained minister may write and publish anything he pleases in any way he likes; therefore what makes a clergyman amenable to these proceedings is the fact that he holds a living or benefice; and, secondly, it is from this living or benefice directly—from the owners of the soil and no one else—that he derives his income; he is in fact the Parson of the parish, identified with it, living upon it, richer or poorer according to the greater or less value of its rent-charge, and therefore his erroneously teaching his parishioners may, from a legal point of view, be considered a grievance between himself and them. If, indeed, the wheel of Revolution had passed over the Church of England, and her ministers received uniform salaries paid by the State, the argument, as I have put it, would of course fall to the ground.

It is not intended to argue that in a peculiar class of cases, such as the points of doctrine and the alleged statements that come before the Court of Appeal, the parishioners are bound to *initiate* proceedings, but simply that when such questions come to be tried they should be treated as civil causes, and not as criminal trials; and a moment's consideration of what we may expect to occur, unless some change is made in the present course of proceedings, will serve to close this address.

We may expect that, in the course of years, trials may take place involving important questions of Doctrine: in every such trial the accused will have the fullest liberty of explaining his meaning, while the teaching of the Church will be considered to be completely shown by a few detached scraps from her Articles or Formularies. The merciful system of English law will raise a presumption that the accused does not really mean what he seems to mean, and also that the Church of England does not say what everybody knows she does say. Of course the Court will protest that it does not decide what is, or what is not, the Doctrine of the Church, but the effect of its decision is to lay down what may, or may not, be the Doctrine of her ministers; and practically this comes to much the same thing. In this way, the presumption being always against the common-sense, generally-understood, view of Church Doctrine, it is hard to say what vital articles of belief may not slip through our fingers, and whether the Church may not cease to be the guardian in these realms of the "Faith once delivered to the saints."

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## THE COURT OF FINAL APPEAL.

By THE REV. M. J. FULLER.

THERE are five Courts of Final Appeal for doctrine in the United Church of England and Ireland. 1. The Judicial Committee of Privy Council, with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Bishop of London, as

members for hearing Appeals under the Church Discipline Act. 2. The Judicial Committee, without any Bishop or ecclesiastic, for hearing Appeals on *duplex querela*. 3. The House of Lords on appeals in *quære impedit* from the common law courts of England and Ireland. 4. The Court of Delegates, for appeals from the Courts of the Archbishops in Ireland. 5. The Upper House of Convocation, when the King's Majesty is a party in the suit.

It is to the first of these Courts of last Appeal we have to direct our consideration, and it is this Court which is popularly known as the "Court of Final Appeal" in ecclesiastical cases in England. This Court has changed no less than three, if not four, times in the history of our country. But the Courts from which the appeal lay have remained to a certain extent the same from the earliest times. A graduated system of appeals has been always adopted, from the Archdeacon's Court to the Consistorial Court of the diocese; from the Bishop's Court to the Metropolitan Court of Arches, and from the Archbishop either to the Convocation of the Province, or the Pope in pre-Reformation times, or the King. In Saxon times spiritual appeals were usually terminated in the spiritual courts of the Church. The bishop and alderman sat in the same court, on the same bench, the one to administer the spiritual law, the other the temporal, as the different cases fell under their respective jurisdiction. Appeals lay from these officers to the Archbishop and King respectively, and all ecclesiastical cases were terminated in the Court of Arches—the Archbishop's. However, as the power of the See of Rome increased in England, spiritual appeals were taken out of this country, and an appeal lay to the Pope in the last resort from the Archbishop of Canterbury. This took place in the reign of Stephen, A.D. 1151; and although the Constitutions of Clarendon in the reign of Henry II. somewhat checked these *transmarina judicia*, by enacting (the 8th Constitution) that no appeal was to go beyond the seas, *i.e.* to Rome, without special license of the Crown, ("Ita quod non debeat ultra procedi absque assensu Domini Regis.") the practice obtained in full force till abolished under Henry VIII. In spite of these appeals being carefully guarded by the statutes of provisors and præmunire, for 400 years the Roman Pontiff was the court of ultimate appeal. The Reformation introduced a new state of things. The statute of 24 Henry VIII. c. 12, A.D. 1532, restored the Ultimate Appellate Jurisdiction in spiritual cases to the See of Canterbury, which originally belonged to it in ancient times, except in cases touching the King; then the appeal was to be to the prelates and abbots forming the Upper House of Convocation. In either case the sentence was to be final and definitive. But soon after, in 1534, by the statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, it was enacted that, for lack of justice in the Archbishop's Courts, an appeal should be to the King in Chancery, and that the Crown should appoint delegates (*judices delegati*) to hear, define, and determine the cause. This was the first downward step, nor is the question at all affected as to whether the spiritual or lay element preponderated in the members forming this court. It is a question of principle, not of fact. The High Court of Delegates then formed the sole Court of Final Appeal for 300 years, till the days of William IV., for the High Commission Court (Stat. 1 Eliz., c. 1) and the Star Chamber (*Camera Stellata*, Stat. 3 Henry VII., 1) possessed an original jurisdiction, not an "appellate" one. By 2 and 3 William IV., c. 92 (1832) the High Court of Delegates was abolished and the Privy Council substituted for it. In 1833, by Statutes

3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 4, it was enacted that a Judicial Committee should be formed out of the Privy Council for the purpose of hearing appeals. Seven years after (1840) the Clergy Discipline Act, 3 and 4 Vict., c. 86, s. 11, enacted that every Archbishop or Bishop sworn of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council shall be a member of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council for the purpose of hearing spiritual cases. The two English Archbishops and the Bishop of London usually sit in these cases, either as "assessors" or "members of the Court." Such, then, is the present state of spiritual cases. They are heard by a graduated system of appeals through the Church's Courts or Courts Christian, the last resort being the Crown, on appeal from the Archbishop. The Crown finally determines the case by the advice of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, selected by the Lord Chancellor *pro hâc vice*. The sentence is final and definitive, and binding upon all the parties in the suit, the power of "review" having been abolished in 1832.

The Court of Final Appeal, as at present constituted, might have remained on without examination for years, had not the minds of Churchmen been aroused by the number of cases which have followed each other in quick and ominous succession, and the startling judgments in certain cases which have perplexed the minds of many. Upon investigation, we find that there are some weighty reasons why this present Appeal Court should be altered, and we cannot refrain from congratulating the members of the Norwich Church Congress in directing their attention to this important subject, which, by a strange obliquity, was omitted at all the previous Church Congresses.

1. The first objection we make to the Court is, that it became the Appeal Court for Doctrine by a mere accident (*per incuriam*). The learned author of the act, Lord Brougham, has stated, both in his place in the Lords and elsewhere, that he never contemplated the Judicial Committee being a Court of Final Appeal for doctrine. It was initiated for the consideration of a totally different class of cases. He had no doubt if it had been constituted with a view to such cases as the Gorham, some other arrangements would have been made. The Bishop of Exeter, in 1844, pointed out the result of this legislation of 1832. He was quite "sure that it was a *casus omissus*." Dr. Pusey, in his *Royal Supremacy*, p. 205, avers that the clergy, no less than the legislature, were caught napping in the matter. In point of fact, the appellate jurisdiction for *heresy*, legally enacted at the Reformation, has never really lived. Thrice only has it moved—and thrice without effect.

"Ter conatus erat circum dare brachia collo :  
Ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago  
Par levibus ventis, volucrique simillima somno."

2. The next objection is that, the majority of the Court being laymen, it is not probable that they will be competent to deal with cases purely spiritual. Even supposing them to have that peculiar habitude of mind which only legal training induces, still they cannot be supposed to know the meaning of the theological terms used, which are bound up with the history of the Church for eighteen centuries, and can only be explained by an exact knowledge of a difficult science. The late Bishop of London, in his Bill of 1850, clearly pointed this out.

3. The decisions of this Court, despite all the apologies and disclaimers of the judges, more or less affect the dogmatic teaching of the Church,

because the judges from sheer ignorance, if not from preconceived bias, put new and untenable constructions on the terms and formularies, which are drawn first into precedent, then into law.

4. That by forcing back upon their flocks pastors who have been judged unsound in the faith, and therefore unfit for the cure of souls, and have been formally condemned, both by their Diocesan and Metropolitan, for holding heretical opinions, it violates and nullifies the *discipline* of the Church.

5. The fact that the members of the Court, with two or three exceptions, need not even of necessity belong to the Church professedly, about whose doctrines they are called to pronounce, as would have been the case in former times, seems also to be open to very grave objections.

6. The Court, while making a studious parade of its inability and incompetence to decide upon spiritual cases, actually attempts to do so by putting a new interpretation on the words of the Church's Prayer-Book, or a novel construction on her Formularies, thus doing the very thing which it says it has no authority to do.

7. The Court moreover claims the right to say whether it is penal for a clerk in Holy Orders to hold certain views, on the ground that Church preferment is property, forgetting that such property is held on certain conditions; and if these be not complied with, the object for which such property was originally given is lost to all intents and purposes.

8. It is plainly unconstitutional for a temporal court, or a court where the lay element preponderates, to try ecclesiastical cases, and strikes a blow at those Church liberties which formed the basis of Magna Charta, "*Libera sit ecclesia habeatque sua jura libertatesque illæsas.*" These liberties were to a certain extent intact in theory, if not in fact, till the fatal legislation of 1833.

9. Besides, there are no collateral legislative safeguards to correct the aberrations of this executive, as the Convocation is practically debarred from legislating in spirituals, as Parliament does in temporal matters, and the spiritual element in the committee is, as was said before, numerically and potentially powerless.

10. We object also to the decisions of this Court, because being in fact no decision, but merely an elimination of the doctrinal element as such from the formularies of the Church, they do negative harm to the Church as a teacher of positive and dogmatic truth.

11. The principle of bringing spiritual causes before laymen for adjudication is contrary (a) to the original constitution of the Church; (b) to early precedent; (c) to the practice of this Church and Realm of England; (d) to the analogous action of our Courts of Law; (e) and to the mode of procedure in such cases in other churches.

12. Lastly, it gives satisfaction to nobody, except those Erastian minds who delight to erect the Royal Supremacy to the level of a dogma in the English Church.\*

If these objections can be legitimately urged against the Court as at present constituted, we need not wonder that an attempt should have been made to retrace our steps and get it altered. The first attempt was made in 1847, and again in 1848, 9: but the most determined assault was made by the late Bishop of London, in his "*Matters of Doctrine*" Bill, the principle

\* For a fuller discussion of these objections to the present "*Court of Final Appeal*," see the author's work on this subject, published by Parker and Son. Oxford, 1865.

embodied in which having received the sanction of the whole Episcopate in 1850, in a masterly but temperate speech, in which he pointed out the unsatisfactory nature of our present Appeal Court, and pointed the way to a practical reform. It may seem strange that the Bill did not pass, where the argument was obviously all on one side. The trenchant argumentative speeches of Lords Derby, Lyttelton, and Redesdale, and the Bishop of Oxford, could not easily be matched. But the excitement consequent on the Gorham case was then so great, that it was not considered expedient by the Government of the day to pass the measure. We all remember the sad effects of the rejection of that Bill—how many gems, too loosely set, alas, in the garment of the Church were shaken off for ever!

Then again, there was at that time, as there is now, a sort of indistinct notion about the Royal Supremacy. It was supposed that by changing one Court for another, in other words, by improving the highest Court of Appeal, in which the Crown hears all ecclesiastical cases in their last resort—*i.e.* appointing a different set of judges, or advisers—the limits of the Crown's prerogative would be impugned. As if, when there are five Courts of last appeal, the change in the fifth could affect the question of the Royal Supremacy one way or another. But the whole of this vexed question, which has been complicated by so much logomachy, can be reduced to the most simple proportions. The Articles and Canons of the Church in precise terms define the limits of the Supremacy, to say nothing of Queen Elizabeth's admonition. The Crown of England only arrogates to itself the same authority which "the godly kings among the Jews and the Christian Emperors in the primitive church" had in ecclesiastical causes. (Canon 2.) What that authority was, may be easily ascertained by reference to reliable authorities treating on this subject.

The problem, then, which we have now to solve is this,—How shall we best get a Court, for deciding spiritual cases in the last resort, which on the one hand shall give confidence to all true members of the Church, and on the other shall preserve the plenary authority of the Crown? As a pure branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, we desiderate the one; as an Establishment, we require the other. Being a State Church, we must carefully discriminate between the Regale and Pontificale, "we must render to Cæsar the things of Cæsar, and to God the things of God."

Two principles will help us as a guide in the solution of the difficulty. (1) The Crown acts through Courts—*i.e.* appoints the judges to hear a cause—and the Crown may delegate its authority to an ecclesiastical as well as to a lay judge to hear and decide a case. A bishop may be an officer of the Crown, and may act as the Crown's representative as well as a judge. And (2) in reconstructing the Appeal Court, we should be guided rather by primitive precedents, than by modern ideas and our own notion of expediency. It is on the primitive model the Church of England was reformed; why then should she not take the primitive practice as her guide in this as in other matters?—"Ask for the old paths and walk therein." A Court thus constructed, having regard to these two principles, will satisfy both Churchmen and Englishmen; and we are prepared to show, that this Court, being a union of both the spiritual and temporal authorities in one and the same Ecclesiastical Court, there would be none of those unseemly collisions which we have heard of in recent cases.

Had I time, I might point out how much more might be made of the Court of Arches, as the next highest Appeal Court in the kingdom, by

the fusion of the temporal and spiritual elements. The Crown and the Primate might both delegate their authority to the ecclesiastical judge of this Court, and the sentence, after receiving the episcopal ratification, might be binding upon all parties in the suit. This would bring us back to those times in our history before appeals went to the Roman Pontiff, when, by the Constitutions of Clarendon, all spiritual appeals were to be decided and finally terminated in the Archbishop's Court of Arches, and never go further without the consent of the Sovereign—"ut præcepto ipsius (*i. e.* Regis) in curiâ Archiepiscopi controversia terminetur." But as by the consent of the Crown a further appeal was permitted to a tribunal, possessing appellate jurisdiction in the last resort, it is clear we must see what Court could be found qualified to exercise such powers, agreeable to the fundamental principles of the Constitution.

Now it will be remembered that, previous to the Reformation, appeals to Rome had become an established fact. When then the English Church and nation threw off the yoke of Rome, there was at once a suspension of the highest appellate jurisdiction. To provide a substitute for this, was one of the problems demanding immediate solution. The statutes of 29 Henry VIII. already alluded to, transferred all the rights formally inherent in the papal see, the appellate jurisdiction included, and annexed them to the Crown and the spirituality. The King, therefore, at once assumed the right of hearing appeals and prescribing the course they should take. But this provision, says one of our highest authorities, (Bishop of Exeter) was merely *ad interim*. The formal repudiation of the Court of Rome, as a Court of Final Appeal, necessitated the creation of a new one with similar powers. A Commission of thirty-two persons (sixteen clergy and sixteen of the Upper and Nether House) was therefore empowered (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19) to examine the Constitutions and Canons of the Church, with a view to the settlement of the affair. The Commission not having concluded its labours in Henry the Eighth's reign, a second was appointed in Edward the Sixth's reign, and their recommendations have come down to us in the form of the "*Reformatio Legum*." On reference to this most important document—which only failed of becoming the law of the land owing to the death of King Edward before the royal confirmation was given to it—the following course was prescribed in the case of appeals. In Tit. de Appellationibus, c. 11, (*Quo ordine appellandum sit*) it was directed that the course of appeals should be the same as that laid down by 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, viz., from the Archdeacon to the Bishop, from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King's Majesty. "*Quo (i. e. ad nostram majestatem) cum fuerit causa devoluta, eam vel concilio provinciali definiri volumus, si gravis sit causa, vel a tribus quatuorve Episcopis a nobis ad id constituendis.*" It can hardly be doubted that a case of doctrine, affecting the faith itself, is a *gravis causa*, and therefore appeals touching doctrine would be settled only by a provincial council—lesser causes would go to three or four bishops. Considering then the history of the Commission, the statute under which it was formed, the emergency of the situation, the sudden and recent transfer of all appellate jurisdiction from the Pope to the Crown of England, we must conclude that all the great lawyers of that age, the age of the Reformation, both temporal and ecclesiastical, after mature deliberation, concurred in the decision, that the only proper tribunal of ultimate appeal in all causes strictly spiritual, was that of a Provincial Council. Such therefore would have been our present Court of Final Appeal had Providence



prolonged the life of that young monarch. The High Court of Delegates provided for the time being would have ceased to exist; nor should we have ever heard of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council as a final Court in ecclesiastical cases. Our Court of Ultimate Appeal would then have been one worthy of the Church, the Sovereign, and the nation; bishops and not lawyers would have tried our ecclesiastical cases. It would have had Scripture for its authority; apostolic usage and primitive practice for its precedent, as well as being grounded on common sense. Such a Court in principle had been the Court of Final Appeal for the Church since the early days of the first synod of Jerusalem. It had antiquity on its side, and it had been found to work well in all ages of the Christian Church. It was a constitutional principle, and had reference to an integral portion of the body politic, called "the Spirituality." It trenched neither on the prerogative of the Sovereign nor the immunities of any other of the estates of the realm. With such a Court, our Church might well have rested perfectly satisfied. But on the death of the King, the nation turned its attention to other matters, and all thought of appellate jurisdiction in spiritual things faded from the minds of statesmen.

Yet all our best writers who have turned their thoughts to the subject, from that age to the present, give us an unbroken consensus as to the necessity of returning to primitive practice in the matter of appeals. Our greatest authority of the present age on these subjects, on commenting upon this very same piece of legislation, gives his voice for the recommendation of the thirty-two Royal Commissioners. The author of the Bill (*Matters of Doctrine*) 1850, the late Bishop of London, says in his speech, "I know what would be the constitutional mode of carrying these purposes into effect, viz., to permit the Church to deal synodically with questions of heresy and false doctrine." One of our great writers says, "It is not as if the Church had to consider of a substitute for the existing court. *The Court of Appeal* which has existed from the time of the apostles, is plainly the Court which the Church would choose now."—*Roy. Sup.* 206. When then we have a Court ready to our hand, an integral part of the constitution, which has been used with such success in many trying crises of our history—a Court which is even now the final one for any case in which the Sovereign is a party in the suit—a Court which has been recommended by Royal Commission, and which has found favour in the eyes of our greatest divines—why do we not use it? Why don't we retrace our steps and return to the primitive practice?

1. If it be objected that the Final Appeal would then be to the bishops and not the Sovereign, I answer, that the Crown could delegate its authority to the bishops, and that then there would be a union of the two authorities, the temporal and spiritual, in one and the same Ecclesiastical Court, and that the final one. Bishops surely may receive delegated authority from the Crown, and act as such in spiritual cases, as well as civil judges in temporal ones. It is a true maxim, "*Cuius in sua arte credendum*," and spiritual cases belong to them in an especial manner. Even a good equity lawyer does not meddle in common law or criminal. Let the Lords Spiritual be the Crown's advisers in spiritual things, as the Lords Temporal are in things temporal.\* The Crown could ratify the determinations of the bishops as well as the acts of judges.

\* "And, behold, Amariah the high priest is over you in all matters of the Lord; and Zebadiah the son of Ishmael, the ruler of the house of Judah, for all the king's matters."—2 Chron. xix. 11.

2. If again it be objected that bishops may know theology, but be neither Canonists or learned in the law, then it is surely open to them to call to their assistance lawyers or canon-law doctors as experts, in the same way in which the High Court of Admiralty would call in the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, who may give the legal aspect of the case, or explain the points of law, the bishops reserving to themselves the rights of ecclesiastical judges in all questions where doctrine is involved; or even to delegate their authority to experienced ecclesiastical judges in canon and civil law, reserving to themselves the right of ratification.

3. If another objection be raised, that to refer a case to the Convocation of Bishops, we confuse the legislative and executive functions of the Church; we say that the appeal to the Upper House of Convocation on questions hitherto settled by the Church in synod assembled, no more clashes with the legislative functions of the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation—*i.e.* the whole English Synod, the Church of England by representation, past or present—than the House of Lords, as a Court of Final Appeal in civil matters, does in the legislative action of the great council of the nation. Such a Court of Final Appeal is the House of Lords in cases of *quære impedit* from the common-law courts of England and Ireland. What the House of Lords is to the nation as an Appeal Court in temporals, the Upper House of Convocation would be in spirituals.

4. The objection that bishops may differ applies to every deliberative assembly, whether lay or clerical, and is no valid argument against such bodies.

[By referring then our ecclesiastical cases to our bishops rather than to lawyers, who are neither office-bearers in the Church or learned in theology, prelates whom God has set over us as our rulers in the Church, and to whom we might assuredly expect the Divine guidance, according to our Lord's commission on the Galilean mount, would be vouchsafed, we should not impugn the prerogative of the royal supremacy. On the contrary, we should give the Sovereign a better Court, a new set of judges more conversant with the subject-matter of the cases to be decided—men holding in their hands peculiar credentials from the great Head of the Church—by which the Crown might give that justice to all estates of the realm which is their due.

I enter not into details as to the practical working and evolution of the proposal; whether the bishops of one province, or two, or all, should be convocate, the Irish as well as English; whether the united episcopate or their delegates, or a joint committee; whether sitting in person, or merely reserving the power of final ratification; nor how called together by the Crown; whether by royal writ, or letters of business, or act of parliament, or order in council: these matters could be settled by Convocation and Parliament. We only advocate the adoption of the *principle*—"ecclesiastical causes and laws by ecclesiastical judges." Then, and not till then, will our Church have authority in controversies of faith; then will she have power to cast out the leper, and cleanse the sanctuary of the Lord; then will she prove herself what her Lord would have her be, the pillar and ground of the faith; the herald of primitive truth; the Church of the latter day; the restorer of the union of Christendom, and the converter of the heathen.]

## DISCUSSION.

MR. HERBERT HOPKINS, M.P. : I fear, my Lord, that within the ten minutes to which I am confined, I shall not be able to do anything like rivalling the minute subdivision of the question which my reverend predecessor brought before you. I shall only attempt to give you, as a layman—as one who has mixed himself up with public life—something like a few practical conclusions on this most important, entangled, and difficult question. Difficult it, indeed, is;—in proof of that, I need go no further than the papers and addresses we have heard to night. We have heard only four. The learned and eloquent head of the English bar, who spoke second to night, laid down that in his opinion the only possible satisfactory court, speaking roughly and generally, was one composed of laymen only. [Sir R. Phillimore intimated his dissent from this statement.] Well, it was something very near that. It was something like a Judicial Committee without the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London. On the other hand, the reverend clergyman who addressed you last, pretty well turned the laity out and the Bishops in. I do not want to talk lightly on such a serious subject as this; but the point on which I would wish, my Lord, to call this Congress quietly to ponder is, the fact that so grave and great and difficult a question as this, is one of those questions which, if we have faith in the perpetuity of the Universal Church—if we have faith in the fact that the Church of England is a branch of that Universal Church—if we have faith in the great truth which His Grace (the Archbishop of York) pointed out to-day, that the Church of England is not the whole of that Universal Church—I say, that if we have faith in all that, this is a question which we ought not anxiously and feverishly to desire to be settled in this or the next session, or the session after that—a question not to be settled by the government over which an eminent noble Viscount presides, or by another government, over which a distinguished noble Earl might equally well preside. It is not a question of Ministers; no more is it a question of Church parties; and if we attempt to force it on, we shall only force on ruin and confusion to the Church of England. Why, what is the fact? The sore point, the weak point that the enemy will hit is, that this question of the Court of Appeal is now, as the same question was in 1848, taken up as a supposed grievance. I withdraw the word “supposed.” I do consider it a grievance, and a very great one. But when a grievance is put forward which others in the Established Church do not think a grievance but an advantage—when a question arises, not merely of abstract canon law, not of the Catholic faith, presumed to be interpreted by a presumed infallible head, and about which, therefore, there could not be a difference, but as to what the Church of England holds of that Catholic faith—when one side holds to one interpretation and one to another—are we, being as we are in such a distempered condition, capable of dealing with it? Are we in that judicial mind, that calm impartial condition of thinking, that we can come forward and apply a remedy? This, I know, will seem to many rather a cold and apathetic view. I admit that it may be so; but I appeal to all here present, what may be the result of another course. Suppose there are those who writh under, not merely what they think a misinterpretation of the faith, but a misinterpretation of the faith insolently and contemptuously pronounced from high quarters, from which one would expect the grave recognition of Christian truth,—I would say to them, suffer a little longer, for see what you may come to. The present condition of things all parties acknowledge as more or less the result of an accident. Those oft-quoted words of Lord Brougham which were referred to to-night were conclusive on that point. But create a new Court of Appeal, create it either in the sense of giving the legal lay mind more unbounded scope, or of putting the theological mind in a more authoritative position: reform your court either way, and what will be the result? You will have got what you wanted, and you are then morally bound by what you have got. You have created a new court. That new court you must bow to—that new court you must accept—or you are mere discontented revolutionists. As you are; there is still that unsolved mystery of the divided Christian Church, which we heard so eloquently expatiated upon this morning. There is that great mystery of our resting under the covering of that seamless vest, which appears to be rent into a thousand portions. Our present difficulties as to the Court of Appeal are only a part of that great problem, mystery, and difficulty of the Universal Church. Come forward rashly and create a tribunal to which you will be morally, as well as legally, bound to succumb as the authoritative interpreter of doctrine, and you put into the hands of that tribunal the arbitrament of the truth or heresy of the faith professed by the Established Church

of England. Now, is that a risk to run hastily? Is that a thing to incur rather than wait a few years longer, in the face of that great appreciation of Christian truth and Christian life which the Church of England, for the last twenty or thirty years, has been more and more manifesting; when a few years more waiting could hardly make us worse off than now, and might, as in all political questions so in this, lead us to a safe and a satisfactory conclusion? I appeal, therefore, to all present not to optimise, not to speak up and write up what is indefensible, but, remembering that the days of the years of Israel are innumerable, remembering how great trials the Christian Church has gone through, remembering what trials our own Church has gone through, remembering how the faith once delivered to the saints is a faith which a few "essays" more or less cannot upset,—I appeal to all to wait, to take counsel; analyse canonists, analyse public opinion, analyse the newspapers, analyse the laity and clergy, and wait till some conclusion shall be attained which shall give us what we want—a tribunal in which the bias of the judges shall not be suspected before the tribunal meets—a tribunal in which the law shall be administered according to those principles of eternal equity on which every police magistrate administers justice in his court; but which shall not stand in place of oecumenical council, and define the faith of this Catholic Church so as to bind her, for good or evil, to the interpretation of a few men sitting on the first floor of Whitehall. This is what we have to solve. We shall not solve it this session or next session. Be patient, then; be resolute!

The RIGHT HON. JOSEPH NAPIER said: I desire to speak on this subject with deference and with caution: I have therefore put my views in writing. It is important to bear in mind that the Church Catholic, *as such*, has not any coercive power. She has a spiritual authority which appeals to the interior forum, and claims a moral deference from her members. But the national Church has a coercive authority, conferred by the State. It is enforced by the laws which are administered in the courts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In the great marriage case in the House of Lords, Chief Justice Tindal, in delivering the opinion of all the Judges of England, cites with approbation the statements of Sir John Davies, "*that the interpretation and execution of the king's ecclesiastical laws belong solely to the king and his magistrates, within his dominions.*" The statute of 24 Hen. 8, c. 12, in its preamble recites the doctrines of the king's supremacy and the Church's independence, and it affirms in substance, what is more correctly set forth in the twentieth and thirty-fourth Articles of Religion. It asserts the power and the competence of the English Church, without foreign aid, "*to declare and determine any cause of the law divine.*" This is the power executed by Convocation as the representative body of the Church; and was exercised in 1636, (three years after the passing of the act) when the first dogmatic statement of the English Church was made in the ten Articles. The very learned prelates and judges who recommended the abolition of the Court of Delegates, state their opinion to be, "*That the Privy Council seems to comprise the materials of a most perfect tribunal, for deciding the appeals from ecclesiastical courts, including cases of Church discipline and others that are proceeded on in the way of criminal suits, &c.*" Amongst these they specify, "*Advancing doctrines not conformable to the Articles of the Church.*" The Articles are established as a part of the law of the State. There is this peculiarity as to all the ecclesiastical laws, that they are laws *both of the Church and of the State*. But as it is from the State they obtain the force of law so far as it is coercive or penal, they are subject to the conditions of judicial construction and procedure. It does not appear to me that any practical difficulty arises from the jurisdiction now vested in the Committee of Council, except in cases in which questions of Church doctrine are involved. They can only deal with Church doctrine *so far as it has been established by law*, that is to say, with the doctrine declared in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and in the dogmatical parts of the Formularies, of the Rubrics and the Canons of the Church. But this is far from exhausting all the vexed questions of doctrine. Many are left open, (at least the Church has not closed them by dogmatic declaration) and *the State does not interfere with these in any way*. They belong exclusively to the interior forum. It is material to attend to this, for *much misapprehension has arisen from not distinguishing between the claims of the Church Catholic and the authority of the Church National*. Had it been attended to as it deserves, I cannot but think that the judgment in the recent case of Mr. Wilson might have been freed from grave objection. When the disclaimer of Mr. Wilson was unanimously accepted, as to the meaning of his publication on the awful question of eternal punishment, there seemed to have been no sufficient reason for a further discussion of the question by the Judicial Committee. I do not object to the reference made to the withdrawal of the forty-second Article of Religion from the dogmatic code of the Church, or to the argument founded upon it, but I cannot understand why it should have been thought

necessary or proper to go further, and put the word "everlasting" into the Chancellor's crucible, in order to melt down its theological meaning. That part of the judgment is, as I conceive, but a private interpretation, and therefore *apocryphal*. On questions not closed by the dogmatic code which has been established by law, it is not the province of the Committee to decide, and I humbly conceive that it is not advisable that they should offer any opinion. It is objected that *opinions which the Committee have, in some cases, decided that the clergy of the national Church are not prohibited by law from professing or publishing, are at variance with doctrines of the Church*. That may be so. They have to decide whether certain opinions are prohibited by law from being published or professed, not whether they conflict with doctrines, however orthodox, which have not been dogmatically declared by the Church or established by the law of the State. When it is said that there is a *common law* of the Church, the importance of the distinction which I have drawn is obvious. What is here called the common law of the Church, is emphatically that with which our ecclesiastical tribunals have no jurisdiction to deal in question of doctrine. To call it common law, or compare it with common law, tends to mislead. The law of the Church's doctrine, which is administered by the ecclesiastical courts, is a *lex scripta*, and that which is miscalled the common law of the Church, must be remitted to the interior forum, where the Church appeals to the conscience of her members. I think it will be generally allowed, that if we desire to keep the Church national, we must be content to abide by the *lex scripta*, judicially construed, as the only standard of prohibited doctrine, the publication of which is punishable by law. It is plain that the State will not consent to narrow the limits of the outer court of the national Church, but the Church Catholic has full liberty to guard, with watchful care and jealousy, the true Catholic Faith that is kept pure and undefiled within the inner shrine. It could not be expected that the State should enforce the penalties of a violated law against any clergyman who had not been lawfully convicted of a breach of the law. And here State policy intervenes with its constitutional rules, which require the charge of the accuser to be stated with exactness and precision, and to be sustained by full proof. The facts and the law, upon which a criminal conviction is to rest, must be in all cases certain and clear. The truth of the matter is, that it is a mistake to look to the decision of the Tribunal of Appeal as an exposition of Catholic doctrine. That doctrine is "permanent and inviolable;" but the law may decline to interfere by way of prohibition or of penalty, with the profession or publication of opinions which learned and pious members of the Church conscientiously condemn. A proposal which seems to be much favoured is to exclude the bishops altogether, so as to leave the decision to be made exclusively by the judicial members of the Committee. I cannot agree to that. It is not quite consistent with the union of Church and State. Cases may come before the Committee on which the eminent prelates, who are members of the Council, may be able to give valuable aid, by their experience and their learning. In considering the evidence and in drawing the proper conclusions of fact; in correcting any misapprehension in the course of the argument; in expounding words of art in theology or such as have a set meaning; in presenting to the judicial members the aspect of the whole case as viewed from the stand-point of the Church, and in the general influence which these high prelates may exercise in moulding the ultimate conclusions of the Committee, I can well conceive how useful their presence and co-operation may be. I cannot conceive any case in which their intervention could be prejudicial to the Church. It is most reasonable that in a matter in which Church and State are jointly concerned, there should be a confluence of episcopal and judicial experience and authority. *Juncta juvant*. The constitutional policy of the State should be guarded by the members of the Council, and the protection of the rights and privileges of the Church is a part of that policy. To respect the religious feelings of her earnest and pious members, is a sacred duty. My opinion is, that every prelate who is a member of the Council, should be, *as of right*, a member of the Judicial Committee on every occasion on which a question arises, in which the Church is interested; I think they should all be summoned, and put *in pari jure* with the judicial members. It is not necessary to exclude them because the real character of the proceeding has been misapprehended. Why should there be misapprehension of the proceeding? The presence or absence of the prelates cannot alter its constitutional character. I fully sympathize with those who are offended by the open profession of loose opinions which vex and disquiet the Church, disturb its peace, and mar its unity. The gravamen in such cases is grievous to be borne. But I cannot find an adequate or practicable remedy for it in any of the organic changes in the constitution of the Court of Appeal, which have been proposed. That court has not jurisdiction to declare doctrine nor to establish it by law; its province is *ius dicere non ius dare*. Any further declaration of doctrine must be made by the representative body of the united Church of England and Ireland, synodically assembled.

MR. O'MALLEY, Q.C., Recorder of Norwich: My Lord Bishop, my friends round me on the platform remarked, that we had a very good example to-night of what clerical tribunals would be, for whereas a law was laid down by which speakers were limited to a certain number of minutes, that law has been transgressed with impunity in almost every instance. I venture to say that that is what would not have occurred if, instead of a clerical tribunal, we had had a lay tribunal. Now I do not wish, at this hour of the night, with only a few minutes to speak, to do more than make a few observations on what I consider the most sensible view of the case taken to-night. The first speaker who addressed you—the Ven. Archdeacon—seemed to me to take by far, not only the most judicial, but the most lawyer-like view of the question; and I would merely correct a misapprehension under which he seems to labour. The decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is not a final and irreversible decision. It is merely final upon all the courts of subordinate jurisdiction; but the same question may be mooted and discussed again, under a different constitution of the same court, by any one who chooses to go through the form of carrying the question through the subordinate courts up to the Court of Appeal, for it is inherent in every Court of Appeal to be able to review its own decisions, and it is not new to the highest courts of law in this kingdom to review their previous decisions, and to declare that to be, on better information, not law which previously they had declared to be law. There is, therefore, nothing binding, nothing final, nothing absolutely conclusive in a judgment of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, except as far as it relates to the one particular case of criminality alleged against the party who is before it. Now another gentleman, who, though not a lawyer, seemed to me to exhibit a great knowledge of law on the subject—Sir Willoughby Jones—appeared to me to have hit on the two great defects of the present system, the remedy of which would go far to make it an effective and satisfactory court. The first was the rule of procedure, by which in the ecclesiastical courts, the party whose doctrines are charged as heretical, may refer to every portion of the book in which those doctrines are contained, for the purpose of explaining away what may seem to be erroneous, while the party who charges him with erroneous doctrine is not at liberty to refer to other passages in his book, for the purpose of showing the real meaning of the passages complained of. Now, what would be the procedure in our courts of common law? and I have no hesitation in saying, that the more nearly the courts of ecclesiastical law can be conformed in procedure and rules of evidence and practice to the common law courts, the better their procedure would be. What would be the course at common law—I will not mention names or cases, but—in any of the cases which have come before the Judicial Committee of Privy Council? Supposing that some newspaper had stated that such and such a one, while enjoying the revenues of the Church of England, had been preaching doctrines directly opposed to her doctrines, and supposing the person against whom that charge was made, came into our courts of common law with an action of libel against the man who had so traduced his character, and the defendant said, "True enough, I have said these things of you, but what I have said is true, and I undertake to maintain their truth here." When it came to be inquired before a jury under the direction of a judge, whether those were the doctrines of the Church of England or not, instead of confining the defendant to the particular passage which might have been brought forward, he would be able to refer to every publication which the plaintiff had ever issued, to every declaration of doctrine he had ever made, and to every part of the book, in order to show the real meaning of passages which, if left to themselves, might be ambiguous; and the very defect which is rightly and justly complained of by Sir Willoughby Jones, and which I venture to say has led to so much failure in proceedings taken before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, could have been entirely avoided if the same course of procedure and rules of evidence had been adopted in that tribunal as are followed in the courts of common law. Another thing to which Sir Willoughby Jones referred is a point of the utmost possible importance. There is a rule of law which is gradually becoming exploded, and it is this, that where a man is charged with a criminal offence you must give a stricter interpretation to the law than you would in matters of civil right between man and man. That was explained to you—and explained like a lawyer—by Sir Willoughby Jones; and I think the great and manifest error which has prevailed in recent judgments of the Privy Council—at least in one of those judgments—is that, instead of treating the case as a criminal case affecting the character and the status and the income of an individual, the law ought to have been looked on, not as a penal law, but as a remedial law, or as a question of contract between the parties, and if so, instead of excluding all inferences from the statements in our Articles and Liturgy, and confining themselves to the mere naked expressions which are found there, I venture to say that the judges who sat in some of those cases would have been able to collect, as matters of inference

from our Articles, and Liturgy, and Homilies, doctrines which they were unable to find in the actual *litera scripta* of the Book of Common Prayer itself. These are the two points on which it appears to me the tribunal is defective. They are matters in which the defects may be very easily remedied, and then you could have, as I venture humbly to say, a satisfactory tribunal. I do not enter into the argument of my very learned and very respected friend, the Queen's Advocate. He has given you a very able and beautiful history of the growth of our common and civil law. No man is more able to do so, but no man, I venture to say, who is so acquainted with the subject, or who has been bred up in such a school as he has been, ever arrived at a more unsatisfactory and unsound conclusion. There seems to be a difference of opinion as to what Sir R. Phillimore was supposed to mean. One gentleman said he wished to exclude the bishops; but as far as I understood his argument, it was, that we were to have a sort of two-headed tribunal. [Sir R. Phillimore—No, no.] All I can say is that I should think it just as much worth while to discuss a proposition for driving a tunnel through a mountain in the moon, as to discuss whether the lay population of this country would endure an ecclesiastical tribunal to decide upon what were the doctrines of the Church. Just look what would be the position of every clergyman. Where would be the liberty of the Church—where would be the liberty of the clergy, if their *status* depended upon the opinions of men who were always in the habit of thinking what things ought to be and not what things are,—if they were to depend upon the opinions of men representing the different phases of religious opinion which the Church of England comprises? You, my Lord, in your opening address, alluded to those very different phases which are all represented here in this Congress. What would be the state of the clergyman whose case depended upon whether it was handed over to four or five bishops who took their stand on one side of the question, or to four or five bishops who took their stand on the other side of the question? What bishop is there who, sitting in any legal tribunal, sitting on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, could be able, I may say from those habits of integrity of mind which he has cultivated, to deliver a judgment, and then to say with a pure conscience, "I have decided so and so—that such and such is the doctrine of the Church of England, but I think that such and such is not the doctrine of the Bible." Who can say that? A lawyer can say that. A lawyer may say it because from his habits of thought he can distinguish between that which he believes ought to be the doctrine of the Church of England and that which he finds is the doctrine of the Church of England. He can say this—"I believe in such and such a doctrine, but I do not find it prescribed in the legislation of the Church of England." It is of the utmost importance for the liberty of the clergy themselves that they should be judged, not by any man's notions of what the doctrines of the Church of England ought to be, but by what the doctrines of the Church of England are as expressed in her Liturgy and her Articles. What a court of appeal or lay court says is this—"we are not entering into the scriptural doctrine; we are not entering into the question whether baptismal regeneration is the doctrine or not." [The learned gentleman was here interrupted by calls of "time," and resumed his seat.]

THE PRESIDENT: Sir Robert Phillimore asks for a few moments for the purpose of explaining. It is a good practice to remind a speaker who gets up to explain, that he should keep to explanation.

SIR R. PHILLIMORE: My learned friend, Mr. O'Malley, who sat behind me when I was reading, I suppose did not hear what I said; and I suppose my unlearned friend, Mr. Beresford Hope, only heard partially. I should like to be judged by what I have written. What I really did say was, that one of the many proposals put forward is, that it would be a better state of things if the Judicial Committee should be entirely composed of eminent lay judges, with the power of taking the opinion of the bishops on any point of doctrine that incidentally arises. I never said that that was the best possible tribunal, or one on which my mind was made up. I only said it was a suggestion that was well worthy of consideration.

THE PRESIDENT then pronounced the Benediction, and the meeting separated.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4th. MORNING MEETING.

THE RIGHT REV. PRESIDENT IN THE CHAIR.

CATHEDRALS AND CAPITULAR BODIES,  
AND HOW TO INCREASE THEIR USEFULNESS.

By THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF ELY.

IN commencing the remarks which I have to make upon the subject which has been assigned to me, I think it right to state that the title is not of my own choosing; I would add that the same thing is true of the subject itself, if this were not implied in the phrase which I have already used when I said that the subject had been *assigned* to me. I insert this preliminary caution, not because I have any wish to smother inquiry concerning Cathedrals and Capitular Bodies, nor because I desire to imply that their usefulness may not be increased—in truth it would be difficult to name any public institution whose usefulness could not be increased—but because I shrink from the thought of appearing in the character of amateur Church Reformer, or of being expected to produce some infallible nostrum for the cure of Cathedral and Capitular infirmities.

A Cambridge friend, calling upon the late Professor Blunt, and finding him superintending the operations of some workmen in his front garden, inquired, "What are you doing here, Professor?" To which the reply was as follows: "I am doing what is so common in the present day; I am *meddling with foundations*." Now I feel the responsibility of *meddling with foundations*; and therefore, though I have not shrunk from the task which the Committee of the Church Congress have put upon me, and though I do not quite sympathise with an opinion which I remember to have heard the late Bishop of Ely quote with approbation in a Charge to his clergy, namely, that when people have come to the conclusion that an institution must *be reformed*, they have very nearly come to the conclusion that it must *be abolished*, still I do think it right to declare that I speak with great diffidence, and that I regard myself more as calling attention to a few possible amendments, than as putting in a complete specification and estimate for the repairs and improvements needed in our Cathedral foundations.

At the same time I do not at all wonder that the Cathedral question should have claimed a place in the discussions of this Congress, and that the question should have assumed the utilitarian form which the title of this paper implies. The conspicuous beauty and size of our cathedrals, and the well-known fact that they still possess some endowments, suggest at once to this generation the notion of what is called *utilisation*; and if by increased usefulness be meant a larger contribution to the glory of God



and to the benefit of human souls, no one will complain that this result should be earnestly desired and judiciously attempted.

Before proceeding any further let me remark that almost everything that can possibly be said on this subject will be found in the Reports of the Cathedral Commission, presented to the Houses of Parliament about ten years ago, and permitted hitherto to remain a dead letter. It seems just possible that had the recommendations of the Commissioners been fewer in number, and less elaborate and minute in their character, they might have met with better success; but anyhow the Reports, with the accompanying evidence, form a most valuable document, which must always be the principal book of reference on this subject, and which contains the material out of which Cathedral reform must be constructed. I would also refer to an interesting letter from the late Lord Herbert of Lea to the then Dean of Salisbury, printed for private circulation in 1849, and to a letter by the present Bishop of Salisbury, published with other documents in 1855.

Now I do not intend to give to this paper a predominating tint of antiquarianism; my own experience as the Dean of a Cathedral rather suggests to me, and the title which forms the text of my discussion further urges me, to treat the subject mainly from a practical point of view. Nevertheless it will be desirable so far to consult the claims of antiquity as to remind you of what seems to be the original conception of a cathedral church. We must imagine a bishop settling himself down at some convenient spot, with his company of priests and deacons, for the evangelization of a district. They build themselves a church, and this becomes the cathedral church; as the cathedral church, or church of the bishop of the district, it becomes the missionary centre of the district, *metropolis*, or diocese; the clergy go out as missionaries from their bishop, and settle themselves down as curates of special sub-districts or (as we should say) parishes. The parochial clergy gradually become more numerous and more important, and at the same time their connection with the mother church becomes less and less close, until at length we arrive at the modern condition of things; that is to say, we find at the cathedral a bishop surrounded by a body of resident clergy; whilst in the diocese we find a number of clergy having stalls in the cathedral, but resident in their parishes; and a still larger number of clergy residing in their parishes and having no connection with the cathedral at all.

I do not say that every cathedral had the kind of history which I have sketched; the actual history of our English Cathedrals is various. To quote the case with which I am most familiar, the Cathedral of Ely was the Church of a Benedictine Convent, which existed before the See of Ely was separated from that of Lincoln, and the Abbot of Ely became in the reign of King Henry I. the Bishop of a new See constructed for him: but still the general idea of a Capitular body, and the reason why we never find in England a bishop without a Cathedral and a Chapter, are to be found by looking back to earlier times, when the bishop and his body of missionary priests settled themselves down at a convenient spot for the purpose of preaching the Gospel to the people of the surrounding country.

And if this be so, the conclusion seems inevitable, that it is impossible to reform our Cathedrals by simple recurrence to their original idea: we may gain, perhaps, an argument from the past in favour of Mr. Beresford Hope's conception of the Cathedral of the nineteenth century; that is to say, we may take a hint from the past to the effect, that the best method

of evangelizing our rapidly grown modern towns is not to cut them up into little independent Parishes, each with its little independent Church, and its little independent School, and its little independent Minister, but to place down in the midst of the population a large church with a staff of clergy, all working under one head: we may I say take this hint, but we do not gain much help towards the solution of the problem which the Committee of the Congress have asked me to solve. The question is, What is to be done with our existing Cathedrals? and how can they best be made to contribute to the strength (in the highest sense of the word) of the Church of England? Unfortunately, population is locomotive and cathedrals are not: if I could by help of the Great Eastern steamship, or Great Eastern Railway, set down Ely Cathedral in the midst of Liverpool, no doubt I could answer certain questions concerning the usefulness of that noble building in a more complete manner than I can now; but Cathedrals will not march, and the question is, what is best to be done when all the world is rushing about out of breath and the cathedrals by hypothesis are standing still? One answer I cannot refrain from suggesting by the way, and that is, that perhaps we might do as our forefathers did, and if we cannot move our old Cathedrals into new centres of population, we might at least regard them as patterns, and try whether we cannot raise in those wonderful modern factories of wealth and luxury worthy analogues to the magnificent Churches which earlier ages produced. But this answer does not meet the case which I have in hand, and I must endeavour to find another.

I should say in general that whatever is attempted or is done, with reference to our Cathedrals, must go upon the principle that the Cathedral is the mother church of the whole diocese, and that the whole diocese has an interest in it and its establishment. Every change which is made should have the effect of drawing more closely together the Diocese and the Cathedral—of making the inhabitants of the Diocese, whether lay or clerical, feel more deeply than at present that the Cathedral is their own church, and that they all have an interest in the institutions connected with it. Hence the short-comings of Cathedrals will not be mended by simply parochialising them: in a small city, such as Ely, this would scarcely be possible; but even in larger places the rough and ready suggestion of compelling each Canon to take the first city benefice which might fall vacant would not meet the wants of the Cathedral, as such: it would be simply to assert that the Church of England has but one principle, namely, the parochial, and to give up the Cathedral question in despair. I do not say that there may not possibly be individual cases in which a canonry and an important parochial charge might be advantageously joined together; but these cases must be regarded as the exception, not the rule, and the increase of usefulness produced in this way, would be not *through* the Cathedral, but in spite of it. What then can be done for the Cathedrals as Cathedrals, and as mother churches of their respective Dioceses?

There is one point upon which almost all those who have studied the subject seem to be agreed, and it is, I think, the pivot upon which the whole subject turns, namely, that in order to make the Cathedrals efficient, a change must be made with regard to residence. Whatever view be taken of the work which a Cathedral and its Clergy are to do, there is scarcely a possibility of improvement while the present law of residence remains in force. As a rule, a clergyman who holds a stall in a Cathedral, which requires three months' residence, will hold a parochial benefice as

well, and the latter will almost inevitably become the principal subject of the Canon's thoughts, and the distant parsonage will be the Canon's home: the "résidence" will be regarded as a visit, and any desire or power of performing special diocesan work will be almost neutralised by the transitory character of the Canon's connection with the Cathedral. If anything is really to be done for our Cathedrals, whatever the theory of the reform may be, it will be necessary to make the canonry the chief preferment that a Canon holds; a term of residence should be assigned to each Canon, such as is now assigned to the Dean; and if a parochial charge be held by a Canon, it should be either within the Cathedral town, or so near to it as to be properly tenable under the condition of residence within the Cathedral precincts.

I put this question of residence first, because in my opinion it is an antecedent condition of all other improvements. Indeed, so important does it seem to me to be, that I cannot but express an opinion that if Canons were resident, and if the patronage of Canonries were carefully and judiciously exercised, almost everything else would follow spontaneously. If the Capitular body consisted of well-chosen men bound to reside, then it would be almost unnecessary to dictate to them what they should do in discharge of their duty. The Bishop would have at hand a staff of superior men ready for any diocesan work; and there would be assured to the Church of England a certain number of clergymen having a sufficient amount of learned leisure to enable them to deal with the great theological questions of the day. On the other hand, it is utterly futile to devise plans for increased Capitular activity, if the Canons are residing upon other preferment, and merely paying a residential visit to the Cathedral. It is by no means invidious to say this; and I am sure I shall not be regarded as casting any blame upon my Capitular brethren, who are carrying out a system, which has been approved and perpetuated by the wisdom of the legislature; nay, further than this, I should be prepared to listen patiently to any competent person, who argued that the present plan was the right one, and that canonries ought to be held as pluralities; but I do say with some confidence that, unless we admit the principle of regarding the canonry as the chief preferment, and permitting it to be held in plurality only upon the condition of the parochial cure being so situated as to be capable of being looked after from under the shadow of the Cathedral, it is useless to write essays having for their subject that which the Congress has assigned to me. *With* residence, much may be done; *without* it, all substantial improvement seems to me impossible.

Passing on from the question of residence, I venture humbly to suggest that the usefulness of the Capitular bodies might be increased, if their connection with the bishop of the diocese were of a more vital character than it is usually supposed to be. It is almost unnecessary to remark that in such facts as that of the election of the bishop taking place nominally on the petition of the Dean and Chapter, and of the *congé d'élire* being addressed to them, and that of some of the bishop's acts requiring ratification under the Capitular seal, we have evidence of a closer communion between Bishop and Chapter being intended than that which usually exists. But beyond these somewhat archæological arguments, I am happy in being able to quote the following answer given by Sir Robert Phillimore and Dr. Tristram to a question submitted for their opinion by the present Bishop of Ely. Here is the question:—

“Has the Bishop power to convene his Chapter to assist him with their counsel, or is the ancient connection between them severed by modern usage?”

*Answer*—“We are of opinion that the Bishops have power to convene their Chapters, of the New as well as of the Old foundations, to act as their Council. In the Dean and Chapter of Norwich's case (*Co. Rep.* iii. 75*a*) it is stated, It was thought necessary that every Bishop should be assisted with a Council, *i. e.* with a Chapter, to consult with him in matters of difficulty, and to assist him in deciding controversies respecting religion, for which purpose every Bishop *habet Cathedram*.—*Godolphin Repertorium*, p. 35.

“The practice of Bishops to convene their Chapter as a Council has, we believe, in late years, not been often resorted to; but it is one of the objects of the original constitution of Chapters; it is in accordance with the Canon Law, and it appears to be a reasonable and convenient practice; and we therefore think it may be revived.”

There are obvious reasons why I should refrain from enlarging upon the view expressed in this opinion; but I cannot refrain from saying that it appears to me probable, that there may be in our own days not a few cases, in which the Bishop's hands might be usefully strengthened by the assistance of a recognised constitutional council.

This mode of increasing the usefulness of Capitular Bodies would be of a very unobtrusive kind, though perhaps not on that account the less valuable. And this observation applies in some other cases: any one who expects to hear of a scheme, which shall at once give something like a power of steam to our Cathedral institutions, will be disappointed; but those who are content with operations of a quieter kind may hope for improvement, and may perhaps live to see it.

In estimating the value of our Cathedral foundations, there is a view which till lately was in danger of being forgotten, but which ought to be kept well before us. The Cathedral ought to be the musical school of the churches of the Diocese. It seems to me unspeakably important that the service in the Cathedral should be of the highest order of chastened beauty; of course also all the accessories of worship, and especially the behaviour and character of all who take part in it, should be as nearly as possible faultless. But the point upon which I wish just now to lay chief stress is the music. I would have the service elaborate and erudite, not necessarily florid, to an extent which would be inadmissible in Parish churches, because this is necessary in order to stimulate both the composers and the teachers and the singers of Church Music, and still more because the music of the Cathedral, if really cared for and worked at conscientiously by the Cathedral body, will have a reflected influence of considerable magnitude and importance upon the music in the parishes. Music in churches and the preaching of the gospel in churches are not matters to be set upon the same level; but, having reference to the constitution of human nature and the necessity of making the dwellings of the Lord of Hosts “amiable,” I think it difficult to overrate the importance of the Cathedral service being regarded throughout the Diocese as the very best, that the Diocese has it in its power to offer to God.

It would be invidious to attempt to point to Cathedrals in which this great opportunity of usefulness is improved, and to other Cathedrals in which it is neglected; but my subject requires the remark, that in this department there is a great opportunity, which, without any change in

the existing constitution of the Cathedrals, may be turned to great account for the benefit of the Diocese and of the Church at large.

It has been thought by many persons who have considered the question of our Cathedrals, that much might be done by them for the improvement of the education and training of the clergy. I believe that this is the case, and that there are some Cathedrals, more than others, in which efforts might be advantageously made in this direction. Above all, I hold, and do not now for the first time express the opinion, that Ely, on account of its proximity to Cambridge, presents unrivalled advantages as the home of a theological school. But how can I enter upon this great question in a paper of twenty-five minutes' duration? I can only say that in any scheme for the reform of our Cathedrals, I think the Theological School question should be well considered, but that it should not be deemed necessary that every Diocese should have its own school.

One word upon Cathedral Statutes. Every person who has tried to govern a somewhat large and diverse body by means of a code of statutes carelessly drawn up or rather remodelled in the time of Charles II. will assent to the necessity of some reformation. Whether the time for that reformation is yet come or not, may be questioned; but whenever the time is permitted to arrive, I think that what we need is a Commission having power to receive and sanction proposals for the reformation of statutes. Each Chapter, with the help of its Visitor, should devise for itself a new Code, introducing such changes and improvements as might seem desirable, and should submit the Code for approval; certain general broad principles having been first, if necessary, laid down. A Cathedral situated in a large town like Norwich, and a Cathedral situated in a small town like Ely, would then be able to cut out their work accordingly; and each would have the privilege of being measured for the particular Code of Statutes, which it would be afterwards appointed to wear.

If such a Commission were granted, the following are the points for consideration which would seem to me of most importance.

1. The Relations of the Dean and Chapter to the Bishop.
2. The Residence of the Canons.
3. The Conditions under which Canonries can be held in plurality.
4. The Schools and Colleges connected with the Cathedral.

It should never be forgotten that the Cathedrals have the great misfortune of having been injudiciously pulled about, under the panic zeal which was infused into the public mind by that in-almost-all-respects admirable prelate the late Bishop Blomfield. They were reformed too soon; and one grieves over the work much in the same spirit as one does over a Church or Cathedral, which had the misfortune to be remodelled when the light of Gothic architecture was just beginning to shine again after its long eclipse. It would not be difficult to point to Cathedrals, in which a good deal of work was done years ago of a kind to reflect much credit upon the zeal of the governing body,—work nevertheless which it is impossible not to regret, because it puts the proper restoration of the building into the dim future: whereas there are Cathedrals, which are in such a manifest and undeniable condition of unsightly impropriety, that one feels confident that they must very soon be taken earnestly in hand. Now the Cathedral establishments are much in the condition of the former class of Cathedral buildings: they have been meddled with, but not by those who understood very much what they were handling; they have been regarded chiefly as milch cows for the feeding of small incumbencies; and so far as legislation is concerned,

they are nearly as weak now, as they were when their estates first made them objects of public interest.

I think therefore that their present position is not a satisfactory one : still it is not hopeless ; and I may properly conclude this essay with the expression of an earnest hope, that the discussion which takes place in the Congress may tend to the solution of a problem, of which most persons feel that there ought to be a solution, though they also agree that it is difficult to find.

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## CATHEDRALS AND CAPITULAR BODIES, AND HOW TO INCREASE THEIR USEFULNESS.

BY THE REV. R. SEYMOUR.

My Lord Bishop—To follow the Dean of Ely on such a subject as this might well appal the bravest of honorary canons. Dr. Harvey Goodwin has, by his abilities, his active zeal, and his eminent usefulness as a parish priest, raised himself to the dignity of a Dean in a Cathedral church ; and after now some years' experience in his office, he can speak to the question before us from an intimate acquaintance with the merits of the Cathedral system as now administered. I have no claim of this kind to offer. The connection of an Honorary Canon with the Cathedral of which he is a member is well known to be one of the most unsubstantial kind. But perhaps I have this advantage over the Dean : he has studied his subject with his Chapter all around him ; I have no such council to assist or to embarrass me, and thus, though I have doubtless less knowledge of the subject before us, I am more free to discuss it. And, my Lord, I can only suppose that the Committee selected so humble a member of the Cathedral body as myself to take a part in this discussion, because they desired to learn what is the mind of the non-capitular clergy on the present working of the Cathedral system.

The subject is so stated as to suggest the mode in which it should be treated. I accept it in the spirit in which the Committee did me the honour to intrust it to me.

On the capabilities of our Cathedrals and Capitular Bodies I will only say, looking at the grandeur of our Cathedral churches, the extent of their choir and nave, the suitableness of many of the chapter-houses, not only for the meeting of the greater Chapter, but as the scene of greater gatherings for Diocesan Synods under the presidency of the Bishop ; the extent also of the revenues still preserved for the maintenance of the Capitular Bodies and their dependants,—looking at this vast structure, both material and spiritual, forming the centre of each one of our ancient dioceses, is there any one in this Congress who thinks that the Cathedral system has attained its maximum of usefulness, and is open to no further developement, no better arrangements ? Or, if we try it by its theory and rationale,—that as the Cathedral is the mother of all the churches in the diocese, so “ it must be a model of all, more especially in the elevated character of its divine services ; ” that it is “ *potior et nobilior pars, et quasi cor ecclesiæ* ; ”

that it is "concilium et senatus episcopi;" as a late Bishop of Norwich, Bishop Hall, said "We admit that bishops of old had their ecclesiastical council of presbyters, and we still have them in our Deans and Chapters;" or again, that our Cathedrals are the retreats in which learned theologians pursue their labours for God and His Church; and again, that the Capitular Body are emphatically a religious community, of which "every member shall be to the diocese as a shining light and a strengthening salt." Is this the idea which we see in our Cathedrals so clearly as many of us desire to see it? Let it be granted that in several instances the Cathedral of 1865 presents a favourable contrast to the Cathedral of the last century, when the decay of the material edifice was often the type of the apathy and coldness of the spiritual body. Granted also that the chastisement which fell heavily upon the Capitular Bodies by the Acts of 1836 and 1840, in the spoliation of their endowments and the diminution of their numbers, has already borne some good fruits, both in the restoration of those glorious fabrics and also in the uses to which they are being put,—it yet, I believe, remains true that there is room for "an increase of usefulness."

I beg very briefly to remind the Congress, that the result of the Royal Commission on the "Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues" of the Church, appointed about the year 1833, was the passing of two Acts of Parliament in 1836 and 1840, which, subject to the lives of the canons and prebendaries of those days, suppressed 59 residentiary stalls, and the whole property of 284 non-residentiary prebendaries.. Fifty-nine canons residentiary were thus cut off, and 284 other prebendaries were thus deprived of the property which gave the Cathedrals a substantial claim to their services. Some whom I address no doubt well remember, and those who are younger will readily believe, the consternation which those acts of the State caused throughout the Church, and more particularly in the Capitular Bodies. By those acts of the State, besides the four canons residentiary there remained attached to nine of our English Cathedrals of the old foundation and to three of the Welsh Cathedrals a numerous body of prebendaries. But a majority of the English Cathedrals had no additional members of this kind. This it was that led to the appointment of honorary canons. It was urged that the annexation to the Cathedral of twenty-four clergymen, incumbents in the diocese, and selected by the Bishop, would both give the Bishop the means of bestowing some mark of honour upon his clergy, as was done in the dioceses of the old foundation, and would also form some compensation to the Cathedrals for the diminution of the residentiaries by adding both dignity and usefulness to the Capitular Bodies. In this way our Cathedrals attained their present staff; those of the old foundation having a dean and four residentiaries, with a large body of non-residentiary, and henceforth honorary, prebendaries; the rest, Oxford, for special reasons, excepted, having instead of these last each twenty-four honorary canons. The good men who urged the appointment of honorary canons did, I believe, intend that they should have the same privileges as the non-residentiary prebendaries. But that was not granted. Such are the Capitular Bodies, as left by the Act of 1840. How has this change worked? There were at that period many who prophesied that the Cathedral establishment, thus reduced, would not suffice for the proper services of the Cathedral. Have these forebodings been realized?

First of all, have the deans and canons carried out the spirit both of their ancient statutes and of the Acts of Parliament which affect them; and

have they used both their prebendaries and their honorary canons to the extent to which they might have used them for promoting the efficiency of their Cathedrals? I am bound to say that there is a general impression abroad that they have not done so. First, as regards their prebendaries: and I mention these first because they undoubtedly stand on higher ground than the honorary canon. Their foundations are ancient; and though deprived of their revenues, they retain their ancient privileges: *e.g.* they have a place in the greater Chapter; they assist at the election of the Bishop and of the chapter proctor; they have also by statute their appointed turns of preaching; and they have in their degree a share of that venerable prestige which belongs to the rest of the Cathedral body. These are, generally speaking, their statutable privileges. But I am told that they are awarded to them in very unequal degrees: *e.g.* in some Cathedrals they are duly summoned, as at Hereford, twice a year, to the greater Chapter, the Chapter, that is, which consists of both the canons and the prebendaries; but in others they know nothing at all of such a Chapter. Again, at Hereford they vote for the chapter proctor, but at Wells and at Chichester this privilege is not granted them. In some instances no provision is made for their vestments, though, as one of them informs me, if he appears in his stall without a surplice he is liable to a fine of five shillings. And as regards the preaching, I am told that the practice varies much in different Cathedrals; that while in a few instances the prebendaries preach periodically in the Cathedral, in others they never preach at all; and ordinarily no provision is made to meet the expense of their attendance for this purpose. There is an honourable exception in the case of Exeter. There the afternoon sermon is regularly taken by the prebendaries; £4 a Sunday is paid out of the capitular funds to the prebendary on duty; and by the consideration of the Dean and Chapter a furnished house in the Close is provided for his use. I am not aware that any other Chapter have thus provided for or are thus regularly using the gifts of their prebendaries. It may be well to add that at Exeter they also pay £30 a year to a lecturer who preaches on the mornings of Saints' days. And how is it with that more humble member of the Cathedral body, the honorary canon? There is an impression that honorary canons do not generally find much favour with the residentiaries; that in some cases their very appointment to the office has been delayed by bishops in deference to the dean and chapter, who said they did not want them; that though it has been convenient to employ them to keep the residence of aged canons or of suppressed canonries, any recognition of and any employment of them beyond this has been extremely limited. I have myself been nineteen years an honorary canon; in that period I have been three times called to the Cathedral by the Bishop to preach there, but only once by the Dean and Chapter. I have never been asked to undertake any other service there. I imagine that the experience of other honorary canons is much of the same kind. There is an exception at Peterborough, where, I believe, the honorary canons, by invitation of the Dean, take the afternoon sermon for six months in the year. And here also, where, as I am informed, the honorary canons preach for about half the year by authority of your Lordship. I am not aware that in any case the dean and chapter have paid the honorary canons the compliment of giving them a key of their library or of the chapter-house, or a place where they may keep and always find their proper vestments, without which they do not like to take their place in the choir. While I say



these things—and it is, I think, due to our honoured brethren, the Cathedral dignitaries, to say them plainly, in order that some of them who are present may correct me where I am wrong—but while I say this, I wish to add what is, I believe, the experience of all honorary canons, that the courtesy and hospitality of the deans and canons are all that we could desire; but then we receive this, not as honorary canons, but in common with all the clergy of the diocese.

Thus the answer, which, as far as my information goes, ought to be returned to the question—Are the Deans and Chapters using their resources in the best way for promoting the efficiency of their Cathedrals?—is this, that, as a general rule, they are not doing so; and that the result is an impression, of the extent of which I believe that Deans and Chapters are hardly aware, that the effects of the acts of 1836 and 1840 are proving very disastrous to our Cathedrals, and that in the great majority of cases the influence of the Cathedral, either in the city or upon the diocese at large, is not what it ought to be. *e.g.*: It is said that the attendance of the canons at the services is more scant than it should be; that in some instances also, in the absence of all the canons residentiary, the Cathedral has been put in charge of an honorary canon, not residing in the city, but in the country; that the want of a closer attendance of the canons has a bad effect upon the choir and the other subordinate members, and that often the services are not so exact nor so solemn as they ought to be. It is said, that in the cathedral of A. the holy communion is not administered on every Lord's day, though this is distinctly ordered by the Church; that at B. there is an early morning communion, but without the choir; and that this is not the commemoration of our Lord's death, which is intended in the rubrics concerning Cathedral worship; that at C. there are no sermons on Saints' days nor any endeavour to mark the sanctity of those days as distinguished from others; and again, that though at D. and E. there is a sermon preached in the nave on the afternoon of all Sundays in the year, with great encouragement and success, as regards the attendance; at F. and G. the congregation are confined to the limits of the choir, and the nave is rarely if ever used: in short, the allegation is—I hope it is not a just one—I am only repeating the *on dits* respecting our Cathedrals, which however I am bound to say are the *on dits* of good and thoughtful churchmen—the allegation is that if a religious layman, sojourning in some of our cities, goes to the Cathedral, he finds there a lower provision of spiritual things, a less rubrical service, and even in some cases a less perfect musical service, than is to be found in some of the parish churches of the same diocese; although the materials out of which the parish priest has to form and mould his services are not to be compared for a moment with the great resources of a Cathedral.

After this *free* statement—I hope, my Lord, not *too free*—it is the system and not its venerable members that I thus have been led to notice—of what is said of the deficiencies in the Cathedral system, I turn to some suggestions as to the mode of remedying them.

Assuming that our Cathedrals will be strong in the reverence and affections of the Church, in proportion as they are the centres of devout services and of earnest religious teaching, I would say, let the Capitular Bodies in all cases recognize their prebendaries and their honorary canons as a part of their body, and as their helpers in their work; let them further use them as they are now used at Exeter, and in some other cathedrals, and make, as at Exeter, some provision for their lodging and expenses. If the capitular

funds do not suffice for this, or their present statutes are any impediment to it, let them consult their Visitors or, if needful, go to Parliament for the means of effecting it. Let them twice in each year call together the greater Chapter and ask the Bishop again to recognize them as his *concilium et senatus*: this would go far towards raising the Capitular Bodies in the estimation of the diocese. Can it be wise in deans and chapters to cling to the position of close corporations, into which no counsel is ever admitted that can possibly be excluded? especially when, *first*, there is in every diocese a body of men who, either by statute or by act of parliament, have a close connection with the Cathedral, and might be made serviceable there; and, *secondly*, when they themselves have often no relations to the diocese excepting within the precincts of the Cathedral; *e.g.* at Worcester, one canon only has a cure of souls in the diocese; in the Cathedral of a neighbouring diocese, no canon has any relations with the diocese excepting as a high officer of the Cathedral. Each is resident for two or for three months, and is scarcely seen again for the remaining nine. The result of this must be to isolate the Capitular Body from the parochial clergy, and to narrow their usefulness as a component part of the diocese. Again, if it is necessary to call a prebendary or an honorary canon into residence, let the offer of taking this duty be made in turn to each, and not be given to one or two only as a matter of favour. Let all the services be strictly model services—strictly according to the order of the Church—it being the evident work of the Cathedral (which has no cure of souls) to aim at the perfection of Christian worship. Let the nave be used at the least once on every Sunday for sermons, and let all holy days and holy seasons, *e.g.* Lent and Advent, be marked by special sermons on week days. Let the Cathedral be always open, *i.e.* from sunrise to sunset, and let encouragement be given to its use for *private devotions*, as we see in some foreign Cathedrals. But the one great remedy for existing deficiencies is, I believe, to be found in requiring that the Dean and Canons shall reside at the Cathedral nine months in the year, and, I would say, hold no other preferment, *i.e.* no cure of souls. Is it possible that any clergyman, however zealous for God's glory, who passes nine months in his parish and only three at the Cathedral, can do justice to the interests of the Cathedral? I assume that their incomes must in most instances be increased for this purpose. In the Cathedrals of the old foundation this constant residence would simply be a return to the requirements of their ancient statutes. In the Report of the Cathedral Commissioners of 1852, the Bishops of Exeter and Lichfield, and also the late Bishop of Salisbury, are cited as strongly in favour of this change. And the present Bishop of Salisbury, then a canon and precentor of Salisbury Cathedral, gave his opinion to the Commission in these forcible words: "I am so satisfied that the state of Cathedrals will not be reformed unless *constant residence* be required, that I would, if it were necessary to do so, make a very great sacrifice of endowments to secure this all-important regulation. Cathedrals are, at present, confessedly the weakest instead of the strongest part of the Church; and I am persuaded that even if the best parish priests were appointed to the stalls, and not required to reside constantly at their Cathedrals in discharge of definite duties, the Cathedrals so served would not only fail of being what they ought to be,—the very hearts and centres of all that is good, and the greatest aids in their own especial work to the whole parochial system,—but would still be the same objects of rebuke and causes of weakness, which they have been for so many years." And if it is

asked, How would diligent men find occupation for their time? the answer is not difficult to find: select the right men, and, besides their common work, give to each his distinct sphere of duty, as was anciently done; *e. g.* let one be the Precentor, with special charge of the services and of the choristers, and the head of that musical school for the diocese of which the Dean of Ely spoke; let another be Chancellor of the Cathedral, to whom may be committed the department of theology and learning in general; let him also arrange the cycle of preachers, and himself deliver courses of theological lectures as is done by the present learned Chancellor at Lincoln. Why should not another be Principal of the Diocesan Theological College? and the fourth would be Sub-dean and Treasurer. If they have time for further duties, one might properly be the Secretary of the Diocesan Church Extension Society, and another of the Diocesan Board of Education. There is no difficulty in finding work for such men, provided you find the right men; and the allotment of special work to each will help to secure the selection of the right men. It would, I believe, be a great help to Patrons—Deans and Canons would thus have time to carry out a provision of some of their own statutes, and also of the 43rd Canon of 1603, that they be diligent in preaching the Word of God, not only in the Cathedral Church, but also in other churches of the same diocese; “and especially in those places where they or their Church receive any yearly rents or profits.” Such a practice would form a link which I am told is much needed between the Cathedral clergy and the clergy of the city.

I should offer some of these suggestions with more diffidence, but that they are indorsed by the Cathedral Commissioners of 1852; and when I remind this assembly that amongst the Bishops who sat on that Commission were the late Bishop Blomfield and the present Bishop of Oxford; that the Chapters were represented by Dr. Hook, Dr. Wordsworth, and Dr. Selwyn; and that amongst the Lay Commissioners were Mr. Justice Patteson and Sir W. Page Wood, they will, I think, agree with me in saying, that the recommendations of that Commission are deserving of the greatest respect. And after a careful consideration of their Reports, I cannot help saying that it is a crying shame, that the labours of such men, under the authority of the Crown, extending as they did over a period of two years and a half, and issuing in three Reports, together with a great mass of learned information, should be allowed to drop and bear no fruit for the Church.

I cannot conclude this humble contribution to the discussion of a great subject, without expressing a hope that this discussion may lead on to a Cathedral Congress,—a Congress, I mean, of the Capitular Bodies, to consider whether they cannot themselves agree to originate some mode of increasing the usefulness of their Cathedrals. Why should they wait again for the intervention of Parliament?

This age, my Lord, has been, by the especial working, as I believe, of the Holy Spirit, an age of restoration and revival in the Church of England,—restoration of holy places, and, what is still more important, revival of the inner and religious life of souls. It would be sad indeed if our Cathedrals, once the fountains of evangelical life to our land, and the mothers of our Parochial Churches, should at such a time lag behind, and should in any way cease to be honoured as centres of holy living, and the chief handmaids of the Church in her maintenance and her preaching of the faith.

## CATHEDRALS AND CAPITULAR BODIES,

AND HOW TO INCREASE THEIR USEFULNESS.

BY THE VEN. LORD ARTHUR HERVEY.

My Lord Bishop—In considering the case of any ancient institution which is worth preserving, but which requires alteration, it is essential that we distinguish the fundamental principles from the accidental uses. The accidental uses are necessarily varying and shifting as the opinions and manners and wants and capabilities of society shift and vary; but the fundamental principles of every really good institution will always be found to be laid deep in those common conditions of human nature which are the same at all times and in all countries of the world. Where this is not the case, I mean where institutions have no such foundation, but have merely been run up to meet the passing wants of the hour, it is useless and worse than useless to try and preserve them. It is better to sweep them away entirely, and erect something better suited to the actual condition of society in their room. But, where institutions are worth preserving, the best way of adapting them to the altered conditions of society is to distinguish what is fundamental and what is incidental; to preserve the former, and to change the latter, in accordance with the progress of the times and the wants of our own days.

To apply these remarks to Cathedrals and Capitular Bodies. The fundamental principles which lie at the bottom of the Cathedral system seem to me to be these—CONCENTRATION and COMMUNION; concentration of spiritual and intellectual forces with a view to their greater intensity; communion of men with a view to their mutual strengthening, encouragement, and support. In the very beginning of the Gospel, immediately after the Ascension of our Lord, these principles led to the College of the Apostles being fixed at Jerusalem. On the day of Pentecost the twelve were found all together. In all the early chapters of the Acts of the Apostles we find repeated reference to the company or fellowship of the Apostles, to their being together as a College or body (Acts ii. 43, 46; iv. 33, 37; v. 18; vi. 2, &c.), to their common action, and common possessions. The common fund of the Church presided over by the Apostles; the daily ministration to the widows of the Church; the going forth of the individual Apostles to preach the Word, and their return to their own company for common prayer and praise; their steady continuance, too, with the mother Church of Jerusalem through the persecution, (Acts viii. 1) to give her the full benefit of their joint wisdom, faith, and love, and to consolidate in that great central See the foundations of Christianity: these are all parts of the same system in which CONCENTRATION and COMMUNION are essential principles. The Apostolic powers in preaching, and teaching, and working signs and wonders, told with tenfold force from being thus concentrated; the Apostles themselves were strengthened and refreshed in their spiritual life, and made infinitely more effective for their work

by the mutual society, help, and comfort which they had of one another amidst their arduous labours and tribulations. A little later, when the Church sent forth her missions to take possession in the name of the Lord Jesus of the countries of Heathendom, we find the same fundamental principles in full vigour, but developing themselves with reference to somewhat altered circumstances. When, for instance, Augustine left Italy, at the end of the sixth century, to evangelize England, he came with forty missionaries, with choristers skilled in the Gregorian chants, and with a small library of sacred literature. When they arrived at Canterbury, instead of being scattered all over the country, they were formed into a College. Here, by their communion with one another in the midst of the heathen English, they maintained their own faith and love and courage; here, by the splendour of their ritual, by the beauty of their Church services, by the conspicuous spectacle of their holy and blameless lives, they deeply impressed the minds of the heathen, and so disposed them to receive the Gospel which they preached amongst them. Here, you see, were the same principles of CONCENTRATION and COMMUNION at work, and we know how successfully, by God's grace, the conversion of the English progressed. And so it was in the succeeding centuries, as we learn at large from Bede and other ecclesiastical historians. The Bishops gathered round them a college of priests and deacons; these had their rules and statutes to regulate their life; sacred learning was cultivated at these ecclesiastical centres; divine service was regularly and solemnly performed; and, by maintaining a strong and bright light of Christianity at the Cathedral See, the most effectual means were provided for sending the bright beams of Gospel light to the furthest circumference of the Diocese.

Thus we are told that in ancient times the thirty Canons of St. Paul's all resided with the Dean, in obedience, in chastity, in charity, in prayer, in fasting, in reading, and in meditation. They sang Psalms night and day in the choir, ministered by turns at the altar, managed in common all the affairs of the church, and lived in common according to the rule of St. Augustine. St. Chad, Bishop of Lichfield, used to pray and read with seven or eight of the brethren as often as he had any leisure from preaching the Word of God. [Bede's description of himself, "as giving his whole attention to the study of the Holy Scriptures; and in the intervals of time not occupied by the discipline of his rule, or the daily chanting in the church, taking delight in learning or teaching or writing," well describes the functions which were proper to those clergy whom the Bishops gathered around them in their Sees.] The ancient charters and statutes prescribe as the duties of the different members of the Chapter the maintenance of a continual round of divine service, the instruction of the choristers in sacred music, the careful reading of the Holy Scriptures, the delivery of theological lectures, the management of schools, and the preaching of the Word of God. And these duties were for a considerable time faithfully performed. As schools of piety and devotion, as centres of learning, as dispensers of hospitality, the Cathedral clergy for a long course of years exercised an important influence, in conjunction with the great monastic establishments of the land, in maintaining the life and power of Christianity amidst the adverse circumstances of the times.

It was, I think, an evidence of no little wisdom in Henry VIII.,

that when with remorseless vigour he swept away the monastic establishments, which had outlived their day and belonged to a bygone state of manners and polity, he discerned the enduring utility of the Cathedral bodies, and expressed in their new statutes the purposes for which they were founded and restored. "*Ut omnis generis pietatis officia illinc exuberanter in omnia vicina loca longè lateque dimanent, ad Dei omnipotentis gloriam et ad subditorum nostrorum communem utilitatem felicitatemque.*"

In what practical and practicable ways these same principles may be carried out in our own days, so as to increase the usefulness of Cathedrals and Capitular Bodies, I will now endeavour to point out in as few words as possible.

*First*, as regards the Cathedral itself. Every thing should, I think, be done with a view to make the whole clergy and laity of the Diocese feel that the Cathedral Church is their own Mother Church. It should be thrown open to them, and they should be encouraged to frequent it. They should be drawn to it in every possible way; they should be made to feel at home in their own Cathedral as much as in their own parish church. The best preaching, the most heart-stirring, the most edifying sermons, should be heard in the Cathedral, and at hours most suited for the concourse of people. The vast size of our glorious Cathedrals, the penetrating clear chant, the harmonious voices of the choir, are intended for multitudes, and multitudes should be attracted to them. Beautiful and elevating as is the architecture of those sublime temples, there is no ornament which the skill of man can devise that can compare with the furniture of living souls of men worshipping the God who made them, and receiving at the mouth of His servants the message of His love, or the sacraments of His grace. The opening of all Cathedrals for the worship of the multitude, and the making the services as devout and as edifying as possible, and especially securing the most eloquent and earnest preaching that can be got, I put first among the means of making Cathedrals useful.

Then, I would give every facility for making them schools of chanting and psalmody to the whole Diocese. Great importance was attached of old to the chanting. I have already mentioned St. Augustine's choristers. Bede learnt of John, the Archchaunter of St. Peter's at Rome, whom Pope Agatho sent into England, on purpose to teach the art to the English; and whose beautiful singing attracted vast multitudes of people in the neighbourhood of Weremouth. It would be a signal benefit to the various parishes of the Diocese, if means could be found for training Church singers at the Cathedral in the best style of chanting and singing; and if, moreover, a uniform system of pointing could be provided for the whole Diocese.

[The Cathedral should be the place for ordinations, for missionary sermons, for special services of praise and thanksgiving, for peace or harvest or any special mercies, or for public humiliation and solemn litanies, for Lenten services, and such like; and the Clergy of the Diocese should be attracted as much as possible, and employed to preach as occasion may offer.]

The Cathedral service should be the model for the whole Diocese, and its precedents should rule the practice of the Parish Churches, so that all voluntary and party rites and usages may be abolished and swallowed up in a dutiful following of the usages of the Cathedral

Church. In every possible way the Cathedral should be made the instrument for giving unity to the whole body of the clergy of the Diocese; and every Bishop should, to the utmost of his power, draw the clergy to him in bonds of Christian love and fellowship, as fellow-workers with him in doing the work of Christ in the Diocese.

*Secondly*, with regard to Capitular Bodies. If we keep in view the two principles of CONCENTRATION and COMMUNION, the direction which all practical steps for increasing their usefulness must take, will be plain and obvious.

[1. Simultaneous and continuous residence, for at least nine months in the year. The Capitular Body should be a college, the individual members of which should, indeed, go forth each to his own proper work, but return, like the apostles of old, "to their own company." We read of that company, "These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication," and we find them, in consequence, acting with wonderful unanimity, and no less conspicuous wisdom, in directing and managing the affairs of the Church. That company is the model on which, I think, Capitular Bodies should be formed; and if in every Cathedral there were a picked body of men, men of superior holiness of life, of superior wisdom and knowledge, of eminent abilities, and zealous for the truth of Christ and the well-being of His Church, who prayed together, received the Holy Communion together, consulted together for the Church's welfare, devised schemes of usefulness, and provoked one another unto love and good works, it could hardly fail but that some good would come of it.

2. Such a company of men might do much for the promotion of theological and other learning, and that in different ways. Exempt from parochial cares, except such pastoral work as they might do in the Cathedral town, or the immediate neighbourhood, they might (*a*) have leisure for the pursuits of solid learning themselves; and every Cathedral ought to possess a good library. (*b*) They might undertake valuable and laborious works in common,—histories of their Cathedral, biographies of their greatest men, translations of Holy Scripture, editions of valuable theological works, &c. (*c*) Courses of lectures in theology, church history, biblical criticism, church antiquities, and such like, which should be open to the clergy and laity of the Diocese, might be given, sometimes in the Cathedral town, sometimes elsewhere, which would be of immense value, especially to the younger clergy. (*d*) Lectures in the principal towns of the Diocese, on science, art, or literature, would diffuse the light of knowledge in connection with Revelation, and make the Capitular Bodies directly useful to the middle and lower classes of society, and so tend to bind them to the Church. I am tempted to quote an interesting account of a similar function performed by the Monks of Croyland, in the twelfth century. "Abbot Geoffrey (Joffrid) sent to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge, Gilbert and three other monks who were versed in philosophy and other primitive sciences, to read lectures at Cambridge, where, having hired a barn, they were soon attended by a numerous congregation. The second year after their coming, so great was the number of their hearers, that no house, barn, or church was large enough to receive them. They therefore separated to different places, and adopted the practice of the University of Orleans. Odo read lectures on grammar in the morning; Terric at noon on logic; brother William read on rhetoric in the after-

noon; while Gilbert preached regularly on every Sunday and Saint's-day in different churches; to the common people in English; in Latin and French against the Jews; and on the holiday evenings he explained the Scriptures to the learned and to the clergy."—(*Dugdale's Monast.* ii. p. 100.) *Mutatis mutandis*, I should like to see a similar stream of light issuing from our Capitular Bodies, and irradiating the darkness of the population of our towns.

3. Valuable aid in preaching in the towns and larger parishes of the Diocese might be given by the members of the Chapter, under certain limitations.

4. They might also do admirable service as Diocesan Inspectors of schools.

5. If the strongly-expressed opinion of the Bishop of London (*Append. to First Report of Cathed. Commiss.* p. 635,) that "a thoroughly good grammar-school, middle school, and lower school, ought to be attached to every cathedral" were carried out, the inspection and supervision of these would also be most important functions for the Capitular Body; and if to these a training institution for masters and mistresses were added, it would be most desirable that the Dean and Chapter should have the supervision of them.

6. I have reserved for the last place the mention of what I think would be one of the most important functions which the Capitular Body ought to exercise, I mean that of Council to the Bishop. That the hands of the Bishops need strengthening for the government of their Dioceses, and for the repression of the overflows of self-will which are so rife at the present day, no one can, I think, doubt. That arbitrary power in bishops any more than in kings is desirable, or will be tolerated in England by men of independent minds and characters, is what no man will wisely affirm. How desirable then does it seem, that the Bishop should have a council of wise, discreet, and able men ever at hand to aid his judgment, to support his authority, and to give weight to his decisions in matters which have not been decided by law! Surely the anarchy with which we are now threatened, or rather invaded, might be averted by reverting to the primitive practice of Bishops acting by and with the advice of the Presbytery, represented by the Dean and Chapter. Graver matters might be brought before the Diocesan Synod, or the Provincial Convocation.

Many other suggestions might doubtless be made for increasing the usefulness of Capitular Bodies. Most of those which I have adduced, with many others, will be found stated and urged with singular learning, force, and moderation in Canon Selwyn's "Attempt to investigate the true Principles of Cathedral Reform." To it, and to the great mass of valuable information contained in the Reports and Appendices of the Cathedral Commission, as well as to the practice of the Cathedral church of Ely, I am largely indebted on the present occasion.

Allow me to conclude what I have to say with a brief peroration.

(a) The principles of any practical amendments in our Cathedrals and Capitular Institutions must be sought in Holy Scripture and in primitive antiquity. (b) The ends to be sought in a development of those principles in ways conformable to the wants of our own age and country, are the giving the utmost possible weight and influence through the land to the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the Church as His appointed instrument for teaching and upholding that religion.



(e) The true method of giving that influence is, in the wise language of a deceased king, to make strong centres.

Let every Cathedral See be a strong centre of spiritual and intellectual light and life; let the faith and love and holy wisdom and Christian zeal and deep devotion of the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter burn out brightly and combinedly before the world, like a light-house, the splendour of whose combined lenses shines out far over the sea; let there be a power of piety, of energy, of sound judgment, of enlightened labours, of solid learning, of godly simplicity, of good works, of all holy living and apostolic union, gathered together and bestowed in the Cathedral precincts, as in a central treasury; and then the Church, by God's grace and blessing, will permeate and penetrate the whole area of the Diocese. By this concentration of spiritual and intellectual forces, and this communion of Christian brethren, the Cathedral college, with the Bishop at its head, will tread closely in the steps of the Apostolic College of old, and some nearer approach may perhaps be made to that happy condition of the new-born Church of Jerusalem, when the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul, and great grace was upon them all.]

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## CATHEDRALS AND CHAPTERS.

By A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq., M.P.

THERE are few worse political blunders than that of underrating the strength of one's own position—of palliating when it is time to dare adverse criticism, and offering to retrench when wisdom would be busying itself not to claim too much. I fear that now and then the apologists of our Cathedrals commit this error, and forget that the Cathedrals have always been popular in themselves, while any amount of unpopularity which may appear on the surface has been contracted by their administrators, and has its source in their not having been supposed to have turned the machine of which they had the working to the fullest practical use.

I test the truth of the assertion that our Cathedrals have always in themselves been popular by the simple inquiry, What at any period of the history of our reformed Church, except between 1640 and 1660, would have been public opinion had the sudden announcement appeared that any minster—York, or Westminster, or Norwich itself—was to be closed and wound up? no more chapter, no more vicars and lay clerks, no more choral service, but simply a large Gothic hall and show place, like St. Andrew's Hall? You will answer this question for yourselves, and in answering it you will have proved my point. Was there ever a time during which the Church of England was more dead than in the early years of George II.? and yet those days saw the three Cathedrals of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford leaguely together for that recurring festival which, open as it may be to criticism in its details, is in principle the popular recognition of sacred art subserved to temporal charity, and of the acceptance of the Cathedral as the place of

county gathering. I lay stress on this word *county*, for reflection has matured me in the opinion, on which I shall speak further on, that the principle of diocesan division by counties, which I threw out at Bristol last year, and which Lord Harrowby then accepted, is the true one.

The time which is allowed for these addresses compels me to assume when I should much rather prove. I am called upon to suggest means of promoting the usefulness of our Cathedrals; and I assume accordingly the lawfulness, the desirability, the wisdom, and the piety of that which is palpably one of their great external functions, the maintenance of public worship—prayer, praise, the sacraments, and for teaching—on a scale of grandeur, and with that amplitude of beauty, the undoubted legacy of the Tabernacle and of the Temple to the Christian Church, which may be physically impossible of achievement in too many of our less dignified churches, or which it might not in certain cases be judicious to set up, but, which is all the same, the equal privilege of all the faithful, who have a kind of common-law right to claim and to find at the mother church of their diocese whatever may be wanting at the mother church of their parish.

Had I more time I should also be bound to talk of the part which the Cathedrals ought to take in the administrative action of our Church. But I must ask your pardon for chiefly confining myself to what may be called the worship side of the Cathedral question.

The Englishman likes grandeur and magnificence when that grandeur and magnificence are wielded by authority traceable to old custom and identified with institutions either ancient in themselves or, although individually modern, yet copied from old precedents. The splendour which environs the opening of Parliament by the Sovereign in person has for some time been a regretful retrospect. The pomp of our old corporations is never imitated in a newly-chartered borough without accession of popularity to the mayor who first dons the gown or mounts the chain. Academic costume is the rule with all the newly-established colleges. Shall, then, the Church of England, the oldest, grandest, most useful of all corporations, be an exception to this rule? The rough plain sense of the Englishman answers, *No!* He sees the high overarching minster, with its long choir and its expansive nave, and he asks, wherefore this exuberance of material, of beauty, of height and width, of art, if not in order that the worship inside of it shall be as melodious, the preaching as stirring, and both as frequent as science, intellect, and piety can make them? If you fall back in their excellence from laziness or loss of help, you risk the popularity of the institution, because the institution is a defaulter in the realization of its material conception.

On three special occasions during the last few years it has been my good fortune to see a Cathedral really used, and, in the truest sense of the word, thoroughly popular. The first of these was the re-opening of Lichfield Cathedral after its magnificent and complete restoration. You all, I suppose, know Lichfield, a quiet, not to say sleepy, little town standing among the green meadows of South Staffordshire, but connected by railroads with those teeming centres of population, the Black Country, the Potteries, and Birmingham. So train upon train rolled in, bearing choristers for the choir by the hundred, heaped up I know not out of how many village churches, and worshippers for the nave—for at Lichfield the nave is seated and used—by the thousand. The

morning service was crowded, and equally so that of the afternoon, and Staffordshire rejoiced in the possession of a Cathedral whose grandeur was the test of its utility. Next let me take you to the choir of Canterbury, full to repletion with glad witnesses of the enthronization of Archbishop Longley. The third very memorable instance of a Cathedral truly used is one which I bring forward in no spirit of comparison with the similar scenes at Bristol last year, and here in Norwich during the present Congress, but because it was the first event of its own series, the broad expanse of Manchester Cathedral choke-full from end to end to hear the noble sermon with which the Dean of Chichester initiated the Church Congress of 1863. I only quote scenes which I have myself beheld. But, as all here know, similar spectacles have been witnessed at Llandaff, at Hereford, and last, not least, within S. Patrick's, Dublin.

You cannot have such events every day or every year in every Cathedral. But you may have something very often of which these are but the more perfect and more grandiose exemplars. You have choir festivals, which are happily becoming every year more firmly rooted in public favour, and confirmations, and harvest homes, such as we lately read of in Ely Cathedral, and all the multitudinous occasions of active and united county life. You have, moreover, the stated, ever-recurring worship of Almighty God, unstimulated by any extraordinary spasmodic incident. In fact, the Cathedrals have weathered the same revolution which has befallen great secular institutions, and they have again found dry land as those have likewise done. The House of Commons was unpopular thirty-five years since, and now it is reformed and powerful. The municipal corporations were tumbling to pieces a few years later : they were reformed, and the new municipal bodies seemed bent on extinguishing old civic traditions. Now the reformed corporations of the old boroughs and the new corporations of the new boroughs vie with each other in their maintenance of municipal dignity. The self-same story can be told of our Cathedrals. They had fallen asleep, and they were rocked to a rude waking by a panic-struck Commission, whose leading idea seemed to have been to increase their usefulness by cutting off the supplies which allowed them to be useful. Ready to perish, as they then appeared, discredited by statesmen, snubbed by prelates, and slipping down a sliding scale of depletion, they took light in the general recrudescence of Church zeal. The private chapel is no longer the preferential seat of ordination, nor the next parish church that of episcopal consecration. Choir gatherings and evening services, and special missionary anniversaries, have been successively excoagitated; the surplice of the singer is not exclusively worn by the paid professional; the daily service has been made choral in reality as well as in name; while, gradually, institutions of a practical character, educational or charitable, have been, not yet indeed universally, nor yet completely, but as much as it would be reasonable to anticipate, clustered round them, and have through their managers been aggregated to the Cathedral body.

Sometimes, as at Sherborne or at Southwell, the minster has, as it were, been pluming itself for its flight into Cathedral dignity, with the proclamation that, possessing such churches, and destitute withal of a bishop, Dorset and Nottingham fail in the full autonomy of shires. S. Alban's will not surely long lag in the course, though Herts was once

cut up between London and Lincoln, and now belongs to Rochester. I am convinced too that our revered President would not refuse to resign his share of Suffolk to the prelate who, seated in some church of Ipswich or of Bury, shall try to mould that important and famous county into an ecclesiastical entity. Under what modification the new Cathedral bodies may be usefully constituted, and the Cathedral churches built in the northern Province, where towns, not counties, must be told off and adopted as the units of Church organization, I do not at present ask.

Every conspicuous parish church in every large town—S. Peter's, Leeds, or All Souls, Halifax—which comes forward to supply the Cathedral's place, is the parent of that future multiplication of dioceses, and increase of Cathedrals, without which the improvement of those that now exist would be a futile enterprise. The Cathedral will serve, as an inferior church could never do, as a centre of diocesan administration of theological and choral education,—and, indeed, of all education from which distinctive doctrine is not banned—of solemn worship, of rousing preaching, and of every work of temporal charity which requires area, means, and centralization to win success. But you will pertinently ask, How is all this to be paid for, now that the Cathedrals of the land are commission-ridden? Consider as your answer, that where churches such as Leeds, not Cathedrals, and nearly unendowed, have undertaken to do the work of Cathedrals, the funds have not been wanting. Have the voluntary choirs ever failed where the special evening service has been set up? The Cathedral that throws itself upon the people will by the people be sustained.

## DISCUSSION.

THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY said, I thoroughly agree with everything the Dean of Ely has said, except on one point, namely, that there might be cases in which benefices might be held with canonries. I think we should be infinitely better off if no Canon was allowed to hold any benefice whatever. The mischief of the present system I have experienced at Canterbury, and I am sure that all Cathedral Deans and the clergy in general have experienced them likewise. I do not know whether the holding of benefices by Canons within the town is not almost equally as mischievous as holding a benefice in the country, for it puts the benefice in the town, be it what it may, on a footing disproportioned with regard to its expectations of liberality, and in other matters, to the position of other benefices in the same town. In a word, it creates an unnatural relation between the Cathedral and the parish. The question, as it seems to me, is whether the Cathedrals have or have not a definite and sufficiently recognisable work in the Church of England? If they have, keep them to it, and not bring them down in the least particular to the work of other departments in the Church; but if they have not a work to do, sweep them away and turn the buildings into museums and music halls. If we have magnificent churches very ill provided for, provide for them better, but let them not take the provision from the Cathedrals, which want their own resources for their own work. There are certain claims that might rankle in some minds with regard to great churches which are ill provided for. But why should those real or supposed claims stop the way to large liberality in the endowing of those great churches? Why should they not, for instance, raise £100,000 to endow St. Peter's Mancroft, and let the Cathedral alone? I agree with what has been said about the residence of Canons, but at Canterbury we have always three, and sometimes four, in residence, and we can, therefore, always summon a legal Chapter without difficulty. Passing through York on my way to Norwich, I observed that there was but one prebendal house for the whole Cathedral body. This is a specimen of the difficulties that

stand in the way of bringing the Canons into residence. There are houses to be erected in the precincts, and, indeed, at York there is hardly anything that can be called a precinct at all, for the Close is traversed by a recognized public road. What is needed is a college, self-enclosed, for the Dean and Canons, and for the Bishop when he chooses to come. I agree with what has fallen from Mr. Seymour, but think that that gentleman has not made any inquiries about one Cathedral, where he might have found his prophecy in the course of being accomplished. In Canterbury Cathedral the Honorary Canons have not existed until the last three years, when they were called into existence by the Archbishop, at the instance of the Chapter. There are already four, and I hope that before long there will be six; for I regard the office of Honorary Canon as a very important one. What I want is to make the Cathedral as diocesan in its character as possible, and to get away as far as possible from the theory embodied in a remarkable expression that was once made by a Canon in the midland counties—namely, that the Cathedral was “the private Chapel of the Dean and Chapter.” Mr. Seymour has said a great deal respecting the opening of naves of Cathedrals; but he did not, perhaps, quite take into account that in some cases the choir might be better suited than the nave for the assembling of large multitudes. At Canterbury the latter is the case; and, I believe, the existing practice will not be departed from. The same gentleman also made a passing observation that the Cathedral has no cure of souls; but at Canterbury that is not the case. There is in that city an actual and technical cure of souls, amounting to 200 or 300, belonging to the Cathedral clergy. But besides that, they have cure of souls in the widest sense of the term. In fact, their cure of souls is of the most important description, if we take into consideration the numerous and very peculiar congregations who attend the Cathedral on Sundays. There is one member of the Chapter who seems to be obliterated altogether in the schemes Mr. Seymour has suggested, and that is the Dean. Some of the offices which Mr. Seymour has enumerated are offices which the Dean is obliged to fill. With regard to the proposed Cathedral Congress, the idea has been suggested before, and has been taken up rather warmly, but I do not think that it could be adopted. Cathedrals differ so much, that you cannot lay down any rules with regard to them, and you all know pretty well, without any Congress, what is needed. What you want is, that proper men should be appointed. Only get proper men for your Deans and Chapters—men who know what to do and are prepared to do it—and there is an end of the matter. There is another view of the case which has not, perhaps, been sufficiently considered. Are our Cathedrals to be places of rest for men over-laboured, and of study for men whose studies would be interrupted by parochial work? Concede that, and everything else must follow. If you confer Cathedral appointments on over-worked men, to whom you wish to afford the solace of dignity and repose, you cannot expect them to be all first-rate preachers, or ensure their active co-operation with the Bishop in the work of the Diocese. Let the Cathedrals, however, be only provided with funds enough and men enough, and I will answer for it that there would be no complaints either on the part of the Congress or of the nation, that they had failed in the due performance of their functions.

THE REV. CANON HEAVISIDE said: As allusion has been made to some practices at Norwich Cathedral, I should like to offer a few remarks on this subject. A great deal of what I meant to say has been anticipated by the Dean of Ely. I most entirely agree with every part of the Very Rev. gentleman's address. I agree that Cathedrals never can be as efficient as they ought to be unless the conditions of residence are altogether altered. It is also most desirable in some way or other that a closer local connection should be established between the Bishop and the Chapter. I am happy to say that, as regards our present Chapter and Bishop, they are on terms of perfect concord with one another, and I am sure that I speak the sentiments of the whole clergy when I say there is no suggestion the Bishop can make to them with regard to their Cathedral that the Chapter would not consider with the most strong bias to adopt it; indeed, I might almost say that they would certainly adopt it unanimously. With regard to one of the uses to which Cathedrals might be put to—namely, that of setting the example for choral service throughout the diocese,—I would remark that it is a very great pity it has been so much overlooked, and that when Cathedrals were so hastily reformed no provision was made for efficiently keeping up the choral service. I also regret that no provision was made for pensioning off any lay clerks when they attain an age when it is very unlikely indeed that they would have anything but a croak for a voice. It would be a most wholesome thing if the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or the governors of the Church, considered that matter. Mr. Seymour has spoken, with some feeling of soreness, with respect to the position and *status* of Honorary Canons, and he has rather blamed the Deans and Chapters of

Cathedrals for not consulting them more frequently, and, in fact, utilising them more largely. Now, the Honorary Canons are not made participators, in any way, in the revenues of the Cathedral, and the meeting will very well understand that it is rather a delicate matter to ask gentlemen to come and take duties upon themselves for which they receive no remuneration. The charge with respect to the Honorary Canons not being invited to preach does not apply to Norwich. They are invited in their turn to preach at the morning service; and I am happy to say that the reproach of their not being treated with proper hospitality has no foundation; for the Right Rev. President always receives the preacher in his Palace from the Saturday to the Monday. Mr. Seymour has also spoken of having service in the nave, but that would be difficult in some cathedrals. Let any one go into the nave of Norwich, and contemplate it as applicable to the purposes of a great congregation. I have often looked at it with that view; but it is a Norman structure, and the pillars are so exceedingly massive and obstructive, that I am quite sure that in no portion of the church could so large a congregation be accommodated as in the choir and transepts as they are now arranged. A remark has been made which may be taken as a reproach to the Chapter of Norwich—namely, that they have no weekly Communion in their Cathedral. I will explain why the weekly Communion has been discontinued, but let me first say that the present members of the Chapter are not responsible for the alteration, for it was made before any member of it held his office—as far back as 1827. On looking at the books of the Cathedral I found that for the last few years before the weekly Communion was discontinued it had happened that for five or six Sundays together there had been no Communion because there were no communicants. I am telling you a fact; and if any person doubts it I will show him the book. Moreover, in the year after the discontinuance of the weekly, and the substitution of the monthly Communion, there were more celebrations in the Cathedral than there had been in the previous year, when they had weekly Communion. The meeting must not suppose for an instant that I am against weekly Communion, but I only say that they have justification, and a very good one, for what has been done. I am now going to touch upon another point, and that perhaps is rather tender ground. It is constantly said that the rubric requires weekly Communion in all Cathedrals. Now, that is a very positive statement, but when you come to look at the words of the rubric you will see that there is room for doubt whether it is intended that there should necessarily be weekly Communion in all Cathedrals. Moreover, there is a saving clause. The rubric says, “And in Cathedral and Collegiate churches and colleges, where there are many priests and deacons, they shall all receive the Holy Communion with the priest every Sunday at the least.” Is that a condition? If it is, then the altered state of the law with regard to Cathedral bodies has reduced the number of priests and deacons in residence below what could be called “many.” (Cries of “time.”)

The PRESIDENT, interposing, suggested that as the Congress had heard gentlemen on the opposite side, it would be only common fairness to allow the Rev. Canon an opportunity of expressing his views.

CANON HEAVISIDE resumed. Though the rubric says that the priests and deacons shall receive the Holy Communion with the priest, there is not one word said about administering it to the congregation. How that is to be done I do not exactly know. I believe that the rubric has some reference to the Roman practice of solitary Communion; but there is not a single word about administering it to the whole assembly or congregation. Lastly, the rubric adds “except there is a reasonable cause to the contrary;” and I submit that there was a reasonable cause, if they found that the substitution of monthly for weekly Communion led to an increase both of celebrations and of communicants. (No, no.) Very well. You may think so, but I think differently. I am not saying that weekly Communion is undesirable; but when it is put as a matter of law, and when it is said that the rubric requires it, I must say that I think there is a great deal of doubt about it, and I should like to have a good legal opinion upon the subject.

The EARL OF HARROWBY said, I have the misfortune on these occasions of generally appearing on the unpopular side. I had the misfortune at Manchester of appearing in defence of the Ecclesiastical Commission, which of course, like all public bodies which do not give all that is asked without reference to other claims, or the means of complying with what is wanted, was exceedingly unpopular. Happily, that body has since become less unpopular than it was, its means of giving being enlarged. Last year I had to fight a battle on a subject which I will not touch upon now; so you must excuse me if I come here as a sort of *advocatus diaboli*—to raise some doubts as to whether you can make Cathedral establishments what they confessedly never have been, yet—very strong parts of the Established Church of this country. We have this remarkable

fact always to appeal to, that those who set great value on Cathedral establishments are always obliged to appeal to what they might be and not to what they are, or even have been. I will defy any one to put his finger on any of our Cathedrals since the time of Augustine that has contributed largely to evangelization. This is a bold assertion, but it is perfectly true. I do not mean for this reason to undervalue Cathedral establishments, but I say to you, do not be run away with by the notion that they can be made a very popular part of the institutions of our Church. Nothing can be a greater evidence of the extreme difficulty of dealing with this question, than that very book which has been put into our hands on the subject as an authority upon it. When we look at the names which were mentioned by a former speaker, the names of men in the confidence of the Church and eminent for their learning and public services, and especially for their attachment to Cathedral establishments, we have, I think, a right to expect that they will recommend that which will be most likely to be of permanent utility. When, however, we look at their recommendations, we find them extremely faint and feeble, and this, I believe is one ground why no public measures have been taken to carry the recommendations into effect. With regard to education, what do we say in this Report? Various suggestions have been made with regard to the possibility of making the Cathedrals the great centres for religious education; now, in what terms is the recommendation on this subject couched? "That it will be advantageous to religion and learning if in each of the two provinces a certain number of theological seminaries were formed or restored." Now, that is a very faint thing. The next recommendation is, "Where it is practicable, one of the Canons should be assistant to the Bishop in the work of diocesan education." Really one looks almost in vain for any very distinct recommendation of general usefulness at all. When we find men like Dean Goodwin, Mr. Beresford Hope, and Canon Wordsworth, unable to recommend anything in the way of extending the usefulness of these establishments in a more bold and fearless tone, it is clear that there are considerable difficulties in giving to our Cathedrals a more distinct and a more efficient position in our whole Church system. We have had here recommendations in regard to music. Music is a good thing; but do not let us run away with the idea that music is everything; do not let us run away with the idea that it is the general feeling of the country that every parochial church should be formed on the model of the Cathedral Church with regard to music. It would be utterly futile to attempt it. At this moment there is a kind of æsthetic feeling in regard to all the arts: let them all be enlisted in the service of the Church, but let us take care that they are not used as a substitute for religion, nor on the ground that what is in use elsewhere should be in use here also, lest we should mistake enthusiasm for the sense of beauty around us, for a feeling of adoration for the great Creator for whose worship we assemble. Now, lamentation has been made as to the spoliation of Cathedrals; but I do not see that the Cathedrals have in any way lost by it. I do not believe that Cathedrals are of less use now than they were thirty or forty years ago. I believe, on the contrary, that they are more useful—that their usefulness has been extended by the pruning they have undergone. It has also been said, and I see no doubt of it, that everything depends upon the choice of men. There is great difficulty about the choice of men, and there is the same difficulty in the question of residence. Until you agree what a Cathedral should do, you never will have residence enforced, nor residents properly chosen; because when the person to be chosen has no very distinct or definite duties, people would say, "oh, my friend may be promoted—he can walk in and out of the Cathedral just as well as anybody else." Until you give to the Cathedral more distinct duties, whether in regard to theological education, or to education in the Diocese generally; and until you point out distinctly what class of men you want to be appointed, whether they should be retired parochial clergymen or men of learning who will be able to devote their earnest labour to the service of the Church, you will never have the right men chosen; and until you have also decided what their duties shall be, you will have no residence enforced; for people will not see the advantage of securing men who do nothing for nine months out of the twelve. These are the feelings that will govern public legislation and action on subjects like these; these discussions will have great value if they ripen public opinion as to the purposes to which Cathedral Bodies shall be appropriated. If you once agree what Cathedrals should do, no doubt legislation will follow in the wake; but until you agree what you want Cathedrals to be, and the men to be also, you will have no public legislation which will be final or satisfactory. I will just throw out one suggestion of my own in conclusion. My own favourite opinion has long been that every county should be a diocese of itself, with its own Cathedral, and that the four canons should be the four archdeacons. They are the men who are the effective and natural council of the Bishop. Then I would have them co-operate in the ordination of presbyters, and be present at the examinations,

and share the responsibility imposed upon the Bishop, in the matter of ordination. They would be a natural council for discipline, they have their eyes over the diocese, they are, as I have said, the Bishop's natural council and advisers. They are his co-operators in other things, and are accustomed to responsibility; and I believe if they were gathered round the Bishop in his Cathedral town, they would be a centre of usefulness and activity, the effect of which cannot be told.

THE BISHOP then gave the Benediction, and the Congress adjourned.

### WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4th, AFTERNOON MEETING.

THE MAYOR OF NORWICH IN THE CHAIR.

THE Sectional Meeting, held at St. Andrew's Hall, was presided over by the Mayor of Norwich, (C. E. TUCK, Esq.) The proceedings having been opened by prayer,

THE CHAIRMAN said: It is at the express desire of your Executive Committee, endorsed by your Right Reverend President, that I occupy this conspicuous position on the present occasion, as Mayor of Norwich, and not through any desire of my own; I therefore claim your indulgence for any short-comings of which I may be guilty. The subject for discussion this afternoon is the Duty of the Church towards the Home Population. The time allotted for the meeting is necessarily short, and it is proportionately important and valuable. I will not, therefore, occupy any portion of it by reading the rules laid down for the guidance of the Congress, which you have already before you in the Programme, nor will I waste your time by making any lengthened observations of my own. I wish only to observe, that such entire reliance have I on your kindness and good sense, that I feel perfectly convinced the same order and regularity which have hitherto marked the proceedings of the Congress, will be observed by all of you on the present occasion. I will not detain you longer, but I will proceed at once to call upon the various gentlemen who have been appointed to address you this afternoon. I must begin, however, by regretting a great disappointment to you all in the absence of the Dean of Chichester, who has been prevented by illness from being here to-day. It is some alleviation of that feeling of regret, to be able to inform you, that his son, a Minor Canon of Chichester, is present, with his father's Paper, and that he will, if agreeable to the meeting, read it in his stead, and I will at once call upon Mr. Hook to read his father's Paper.

## THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS THE HOME POPULATION.

BY THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF CHICHESTER, F.R.S.

I presume that our object, in this Congress, is not to dictate or to dogmatize, but to offer suggestions, to provoke friendly discussion, and to provide food for thought,—to set men a-thinking. As the time



allowed for reading the papers is short, I shall proceed at once to direct attention to three points which appear to me to be deserving of serious consideration.

I. I wish to speak first of the Parochial System. Ever since the publication of a little work written by Mr. Henry Wilberforce, many years ago, there has been a quiet enthusiasm in favor of the parochial system, so that it appears to some minds, not as a mere regulation of the Church, but almost in the light of a divine institution.

A better system we can hardly imagine, (so far as rural districts are concerned,) to effect the sustentation of Christianity, when it has once been established, than that which divides the country into parishes, placing in each parish a minister of God to preach the Gospel, to administer the Sacraments, and to visit the fatherless and widow in their affliction. Like most good systems it has been a gradual development, and like all gradual developments it lacks that regularity which the theorist would require; but the result of the conversion of the estates of Saxon thanes into parishes has been on the whole satisfactory.

But how is it in our larger towns? For most good purposes the parochial system is there defunct. You will find here and there an old-fashioned High Churchman who, believing in the special Providence of God, feels it his duty to accept the minister assigned to him not by chance but by the Divine will. He always goes to his parish church whether the minister be a good one or a bad, whether he be diligent or careless, eloquent as St. Chrysostom, or as dull as that preacher in the time of the Commonwealth, who is described as having had "such a faculty of dulness, that having lectured on the prophet Ezekiel for twenty years he had not advanced farther than the first chapter." If his rector or vicar be a good man, he is received as an undeserved blessing by "the holy and humble man of heart:" if he be a bad one, he feels that God is punishing the parish for their sins, and he believes that if they will seek to grow in grace, a pardoning God may remove the curse, and appoint a blessing.

But such characters are in these days rare, and perhaps some persons will regard their submissive temper with anything but approbation. The generality of those who live in large towns will select that church in which the truths are taught or the practices observed, which commend themselves to their judgment or their taste. One man will select his church because he approves of the preacher, and another will leave his parish church to attend a district chapel, where the ritualistic arrangements accord with his piety or his pedantry.

And thus, except in regard to marriages, the parochial arrangements are little regarded, if not entirely set aside. But the parochial system, the violation of which cannot be perverted in one direction, may nevertheless be so enforced in another direction as to become an impediment to the evangelization of a whole district.

There has risen up among us, of late years, a new class in Society—the skilled artizans, calling themselves by the proud title of the working class, forming in my opinion the most interesting and the most important class in the country. As it has been my happiness to labour among them, I know them well. Five and thirty years ago, when first I was called from a country parish to town work, the feeling of this class against the Church was decided and sometimes violent. This is no longer the case. No persons can be found more zealous—taking them

as a whole—than the clergy, in the cause of social progress and reform. Whatever their political opinions may be, they throw themselves heartily into the great business of assisting the working classes in their endeavour and determination to elevate themselves. Among the members of that class are many deep thinkers and well-informed men, who know and acknowledge this, and who, therefore, regard the clergy as their friends.

But there is a feeling prevalent, that Christianity has been on its trial for eighteen hundred years, that it has failed to effect that amelioration of society which it has professed to have in view. We may indeed remind such persons that the object of Christianity being to prepare men for a future state of existence, its operations upon society have been only incidental and indirect; but we may then advert to the fact, that until society was leavened by Christianity, the working classes were in a state of slavery; and we may prove from the page of history, that their emancipation and elevation has been in all, even the darkest ages, the first worldly object with the Church. But do what we will, the prejudice exists that Christianity is the religion of the upper and middle classes, not of the humbler classes of society.

Below this great and important class are the poor. Among them every clergyman can point to some who are very saints. But at the same time, it is to be remembered, that the slums and blind alleys, the back streets and dark yards of our towns are the resort now of the outlaws and the lawless, who in the middle ages were to be found in the wilds and woods, in the forest and in the cave, ready for any mischief to which, either from appetite of plunder, or from mere love of mischief, they may be allured.

Now to meet the wants of such a population, we require not the parochial system, but missionary stations. We must send forth missionaries,—men who will not wait till the sinner sends to them, but who will go to the sinner's home; who will be instant in season and out of season in warning men of their danger; and who will proclaim the Saviour who is Almighty to save. Men who will do all a missionary's work, and whose missionary's work is the hardest, for it is less difficult to deal with the infidelity of heathenism than to obtain acceptance for the Gospel among those, who (born where the light is shining) have loved darkness rather than light because of their evil deeds.

But when we commence our missionary labor, then it may happen, and too often does happen, that the parochial minister interferes and warns you off his manor. He is unable or unwilling to take this work himself; but with a canine spirit he will permit no one else to do it. He is a consistent man, he says, and he will maintain his parochial rights. We may admit this, but surely to regulate those rights may be a legitimate object in the view of those who believe that the one grand object of the Christian ministry is, not to seek each man his own, but to win men to Christ; to bring perishing sinners to the one and only Saviour. We are to value the means; but we must take care that the means shall not frustrate the end.

The question is whether this difficulty cannot be met; whether, admitting certain rights to exist, we may not prevent them from being despotically and unreasonably exercised.

I would not interfere with any right except the right of doing nothing, and of preventing others from acting. It would not be necessary to

interfere with congregations. Each clergyman might arrange his services as he might please within the limits prescribed by the Church, and we might permit the people to enjoy the liberty they have assumed of selecting their church. Some might go where they were attracted by a ritual, which they regard as most conformable to the rubrics of the Prayer-book, and others might attend where they hear preached those doctrines which they regard as exclusively scriptural. These, it will be remembered, are all of them persons who are more or less under the influence of Christian faith and principle. But for the missionary operations of a town, surely there might be appointed, under the Bishop, an Archdeacon with full authority to send missionaries into those places where the need of a Saviour is not acknowledged, and those still darker places where the Saviour's name is only heard to be blasphemed. He would have no right to interfere with the doctrinal teaching or ritualistic ordinances of any of the clergy,—this must be left to the Bishop. But he might be at the head of the town mission. Such an Archdeacon might be appointed to every town containing more than thirty thousand inhabitants; and in smaller towns the Bishop might appoint a rural dean with similar powers.

The Archdeaconry ought to be well endowed; and the Bishop ought to have power to supersede him, if inefficient.

To secure a competent person, the Bishop's power of appointment should be limited. He should be required to select some clergyman in the town, who has served either in a church or in a Peel district for ten years. An incidental advantage would thus be obtained. The new parishes are at present insufficiently endowed. The consequence is, that too often men are appointed who have not received a University education. In a Church where happily the clergy are permitted to marry, a man must look forward to some improvement of income, as his family increases. If the new parishes be raised to £300 a year, and a man knows that he has a prospect of succeeding to the additional salary of an Archdeaconry, many would feel justified in devoting themselves to town work, who now seek employment in country districts. And the importance of having a well-educated clergy in our towns can not be over-estimated. Our merchants and manufacturers are many of them men of the highest education, not unfrequently university men, whose chief attention is directed to scientific studies.

Now we cannot blind our eyes to the fact that although some men of the very highest eminence in scientific pursuits are among the holiest of Christians, still there is a tendency in scientific and even in literary circles to call in question the great truths of our holy religion. To provide such persons, ignorant of the Christian religion if not hostile to it, with a learned clergy, is one of the wants of the age.

But I only say this in passing; I speak now of converting our towns into missionary stations, the real work of the clergy there being missionary work.

II. I now come to the question, Where are we to find the labourers? We cannot confine ourselves to the employment of the clergy only. We should in that case be obliged to have persons ordained of inferior education, and so defeat that object to which I have just referred as one of very great importance. With the present endowments of the Church the number of the clergy cannot be materially increased. The same observation is applicable, to a certain extent, to a paid lay agency.

I say not a word against the employment of paid Scripture readers or lay agents, by whatever title you may think fit to designate them. It is better to employ a man of inferior education as a lay agent, whom you can relegate to a secular vocation, if he prove to be inefficient, than to ordain an inefficient man, whom you cannot send back to a trade; but for whom you must make provision, though he proves to be incapable of real ministerial work.

But this kind of agency is expensive, and must therefore be very limited; an immense amount of gratuitous assistance is therefore required, of which an active clergyman will soon have a large command.

Those who have received a truly Christian education have from their earliest years been habituated to works of piety and labours of love. These persons are quietly employed in our schools, and in the management of various religious and charitable societies. But besides these, there is another class petitioning for employment. Whenever a penitent man has been converted and renewed in the inner man by the grace of God's Holy Spirit, that man's first desire is to be employed in his Master's service. His own torch being kindled, he is eager to hand on the flame to others, that his own flame may burn the brighter. He is glowing with Christian charity. The same mind is in him as is in Christ Jesus our Lord,—the desire that all men may be brought under the saving influences of the Gospel, that God may be glorified by the salvation of sinners.

It is the pastor's pleasant duty to find employment for these. He must employ all, while he must exercise his judgment, his charity, his discretion, in apportioning his employment to each.

Each clergyman must do his own work in his own way. I do not therefore recommend my mode of acting to others, though I mention it, because to some it may be suggestive.

The difficulty that a clergyman has to encounter relates to the kind and amount of instruction to be given to the penitent, the infirm, the sorrowing or the sick.

You are sent for to a sick person. You see at once that what this person requires, either for his comfort or for instruction, is, that some one should read the Bible to him, devoting to this work, one, two, perhaps three hours, in a day. This time however you cannot yourself give, you must employ some one else,—some one, if you can find him, who can explain what he reads and expound it.

Now my plan was when I had the happiness to be a parish priest, if a person came to me under the happy enthusiasm which frequently marks the conversion of one, who at a former period of his or her life thought little or nothing of religion—the holy enthusiasm which is his consolation and support, the joy of the Holy Ghost—to ask him or her to consider seriously how many hours in the week he or she could give, one, two, six, sometimes one or two whole days. I would then appoint such a person reader to one or more of the invalids, each sick person being visited by me once a week. I would let the visitor take his own course as to reading and prayer, unless he asked my advice. After a time the visitor would inform me that the sick person was nearly prepared to receive the Holy Communion, when my visits of preparation would be daily; or sometimes he would tell me that the case was such as required the visits of a person more experienced than himself.

I never formed these persons into a society, though I had many classes for mutual counsel and instruction. I know that many of the clergy do form their lay helpers into a society, and if that is the course they find the easiest to pursue, it is well. But there is always this danger, that a kind of clique is thus formed from which people of humble pretensions shrink. There is always an inclination to coterie-ism, and in coteries there is always danger of party feeling and of spiritual pride.

If each lay agent acts independently, communicating only with his pastor, no one knowing, except the pastor, who they are who are thus employed, there is, in my opinion, though I say it with great diffidence, a better chance of the work being done in a more humble spirit and more thoroughly. In addition to this, no one is pledged to one class of opinion.

It is a mistake to suppose that there is any jealousy of lay help on the part of the great majority of the clergy. A churchman regards the clergy as the persons ordained to administer the sacraments, to perform exclusively the offices of religion in consecrated places, and there, where preaching is an ordinance, only he is to preach. But beyond this the help of the laity may be sought on most points. They may pray by the sick bed, (not of course using the Office for the Visitation of the Sick) they may read the Scriptures, they may expound them, and for my own part I should say they have quite as much right to preach in the open air as the clergy.

III. There is seldom a difficulty in obtaining the help which is required, when the clergyman is a man whose object it is not simply to uphold a system of theology, but to win souls to Christ. It is astonishing how soon this zeal spreads when once it has found existence.

To uphold that system of doctrine which we believe to be true is important; but let the first object be to bring men to the foot of the Cross.

And here I wish briefly to remark that we may have a considerable number of persons thus prepared to help, if some alteration could be made by the Bishops in what relates to the admission of young men into Holy Orders.

At present, the prevailing system is to require the attendance of a young man for a personal interview with the Bishop three months or six months before the time appointed for his ordination. That these interviews are often attended by happy results, from the impression made upon the mind of the young candidate for holy orders, we may rest assured.

But when the Ember week has arrived, the candidate for orders presents himself before the Bishop's chaplain for examination. For three or four months before, his whole mind has been occupied with the thoughts of this examination. Anxiously does he look for the examination papers. At night he compares his answers with those of the other candidates; he awaits with trepidation the result of his labours; he receives the intelligence that he has passed with feelings of triumph; and his exhausted mind accepts the spiritual admonitions of the Bishop without entering into a full sense of the awful responsibility which he is about to incur. He contemplates his ordination with feelings of exultation rather than of awe.

He goes to his parish, and then it may be that the awful sense of

responsibility comes over him. Having sought the grace of the Holy Spirit, then comes also, it may be, the blessed conviction, that as his needs are so will his strength be, that in his weakness the promise of the Most High will be made manifest. But this is not the case with every one. Some there are who find parochial work, upon trial, very different from what they expected it to be. Such a one feels his incapacity, he is conscious that he has mistaken his profession; but it is now too late, and he sinks into that which is of all positions the most dishonourable as well as dangerous, that of a careless clergyman.

If my lords the Bishops could see their way to have the examination at the first interview, and then after examination require the candidate to place himself under some experienced parish priest for six months, the ordination would become that solemn ordinance which, from its sacred character, it ought to be. It would be approached, not with the feelings of a school-boy just escaped from the hands of an examining master, but with a deep sense of the responsibility incurred by one who after preaching to others may be himself a castaway.

Six months of that kind of semi-pastoral labour which I have assigned to the lay agency of a parish would give him the opportunity of ascertaining his own capabilities and tastes, and he might be able, before it is too late, to signify his determination to serve God in a secular calling rather than as a Minister of the Gospel.

With some experienced parish priests I have conversed on this subject, and I think that we should find that such a course would commend itself to the judgment of most. The only objection I have heard offered to the proposal has reference to the expense.

The expense of the double journey is however incurred under the present arrangement, and we may venture to promise that subscriptions would soon be raised in large towns to support for six months as a lay agent, the young man who is destined at the end of that time to become their pastor, unless for the pastor's office he has proved himself to be incompetent.

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## THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS THE HOME POPULATION.

BY THE REV. J. B. M'CAUL.

"No crisis," wrote Bishop Horsley in 1800, "at any period of time since the moment of our Lord's departure from the earth, has more demanded than the present, the vigilant attention of the clergy of all ranks and orders, from the prelate to the village curate, to the duties of the weighty charge to which we are called."

When that illustrious churchman gave utterance to these words the horizon was black with clouds which threatened mischief, if not subversion, to Crown and Altar alike. The Papacy, it is true, was in no condition to prosecute her designs against the Church of England as heretofore. She yet reeled beneath the rude strokes wherewith her apostate eldest son had smitten the time-worn, if not time-honoured, tiara from her head. In the direction of Rome there was therefore a

temporary lull in the ancient strife. Englishmen looked with a pitying indignation upon the undoubted wrongs which had fallen with a cruel vehemence upon the Roman Catholic clergy. They averted their eyes in generous abhorrence from the deeds of blood and rapine inflicted by a nation of Atheists upon the hereditary enemy of the Reformed Faith. The bitterness of controversial zeal was forgotten in the necessities and the sacred calling of the sufferers.

But if Popery was for a season disabled and disarmed, Infidelity and Sectarianism menaced the Church of England with a more imminent catastrophe. A slumbering hierarchy and a non-resident clergy; a disregard, if not a disuse, of the means of grace; a lifeless morality foisted into our pulpits instead of the kindling doctrines and precepts of the Gospel; an unfeeling indifference to the social degradation of the poor; and a neglect, if not a disavowal, of their educational necessities had engendered feelings of a wide-spread alienation, if not of active hostility, to the Establishment, and prepared the way for the acceptance of the infidelities of Voltaire and his English imitators and disciples. There was a mighty danger lest the lower and middle classes should be imbued with those "doctrines of devils" that defined "personal interest" as "the only and universal criterion of human actions;" the immortality of the soul as "a doctrine of barbarians;" and modesty in the female sex as "an invention of refined voluptuousness."

Mischief was determined against the religious belief of the country. If possible, the Church was to be uprooted from our soil. The imminence of the danger was providentially made effectual to awaken the Establishment in some measure to a sense of her position. God raised up men from amongst her ordained ministers in the hour of her necessity, to stand in the breach, and to arouse the Church of England from her lethargy. The pious benevolence of Raikes and Wilberforce, Hannah More and Legh Richmond, became instrumental in setting the good work, continued to our own times, steadily in motion. Simultaneously, almost, with the returning consciousness of her duties at home, the Church of England remembered her responsibilities to the heathen and to the Jew. One after another those Missionary Societies which are the glory of our land sprang into existence. The storm clouds were transformed into the messengers of "refreshing from the Lord" unto our Church and nation; and then passed away to distant lands to revive the very ends of the earth with an unlooked-for residue of sweetness. Such were the position and the prospects of the Church of England sixty-five years ago. Many signs of the times seem to indicate that the days we live in are no less critical than those of which we have spoken. "It is a sad but instructive fact," says a recent writer, "that more people now habitually absent themselves from public worship than existed in all England at the Reformation."\*

Nor can we comfort ourselves with the reflection that the evil is a stationary one. It cannot be questioned that unless a very great augmentation of effort is put forth, the increase of population in our large cities will continue to baffle every endeavour to stem the torrent of irreligion and vice, until the magnitude of the task of evangelization will have swelled to the proportions of a paralyzing hopelessness.

\* The Rev. George Huntington: "The Church's Work in Large Towns," p. 20.

Look for instance at the annual increase of London. It is computed that 4000 new houses are erected every year to accommodate 45,000 new comers. We are assured by the same writer that, for the metropolis alone, in order to secure the services of one clergyman to every 2000 souls, the diocese of London would require, *for its present population, supposing it to be stationary*, at least an addition of 527 new clergymen. Before such calculations as these the most sanguine zeal stands perplexed.\*

To human foresight and sagacity the Church's work in London alone is of the most discouraging, not to say impossible, dimensions. Whilst however the religious machinery is totally inadequate to the wants of even a moderate fraction of the population, the inducements to irreligion and vice are put forward on a scale that is perfectly astounding. Twelve years ago, according to Sir R. Mayne, there were in London 3613 beer-shops, 5279 public-houses, and thirteen wine-rooms; whilst the entire number of churches and chapels in connexion with our Establishment did not exceed, if it amounted to, 400. The total amount of church room provided in London for 2,500,000 souls, of all denominations, was only 691,723. But on the Census Sunday in 1851, we are assured that little more than 500,000 persons were found attending any place of worship. London now contains nearly 3,000,000 souls. It will be seen therefore that, on a very moderate computation, three-fourths of the population of London are at the present time living destitute and careless of the means of grace.

In Birmingham the Church of England provides sittings for 30,000 people at one time, in a population of 300,000 in round numbers. The number of clergy computed to about the present date is 53, or nearly 6000 souls to every clergyman. In Liverpool we learn that 150,000 of the population go to no place of worship at all.

But where the Church is powerless for want of resources, Satan is working effectually to widen the alienation of these shepherdless multitudes. It is stated that in England there are 95,000 public-houses and 45,000 beer-shops, their occupiers bearing a proportion to the parochial clergy of seven to one! We are told that 29,000,000 of immoral publications are circulated every year amongst the teeming multitudes that comprise the mechanics, the artisans, and the other labouring classes of society. Secularism—in other words, a system of socialistic materialism, opposed not only to revealed religion, but aiming at the obliteration of all principles of moral restraint, atheistic in its principles, and revolutionary in its objects—is working unobserved amongst the more intelligent handicraftsmen. The infidel writings of former days are reprinted and circulated broadcast. Lectures and meetings for discussion are made the vehicles for disseminating destructive doctrines. The objections which have been put forward in these latter times against the authenticity of the Bible are paraded abroad and made much of. The unfaithfulness of some who have assailed the foundations of religious belief, and yet take the Church's pay, is turned to account to demonstrate the unverity of the Bible and the want of harmony amongst Christians in matters of faith. Wherever there is a chance of collecting a crowd, *e. g.* in the parks, at the railway stations, and other places of public resort, these disseminators of secularism are

\* Huntington: "The Church's Work in Large Towns," p. 24.



to be found, especially on the Sunday, turning away some from the faith, and hindering, if possible, those that would inquire.

Such, in brief, are some of the preliminary obstacles which the Church encounters in the discharge of her mission. Such is the unpromising field of labour upon which she must enter, in the performance of her duty to the home population. Is she then to fold her hands in despairing apathy, as if powerless to cope with the task placed before her by her Lord and Master Himself? God forbid that she should so faithlessly and treacherously abdicate the holy calling of her ministry! By God's mercy her eyes have been in some measure opened to her responsibilities. She sees plainly that she has not discharged her commission when she has collected the affluent and the middling classes into well-dressed congregations of seat-holders in parish churches, or of pew-renters in ornate district churches and chapels. Her work, her real calling, is as much a missionary work and calling as it was in the days of St. Paul. She begins to remember those "other sheep which are not of this fold," and to endeavour to seek and to save that which was lost!

A preliminary encouragement is to be found in the fact that the work is neither so great nor so unpromising as that of the first missionaries in the apostolic times. The harvest truly is great and the labourers are few, but the Lord of the Harvest is daily sending forth fresh labourers, and is also daily adding to the Church such as shall be saved.

The Church of England has a vantage ground unknown to the first preachers of the Gospel. She is no sect struggling for existence. She is no sect tolerated but looked down upon by the powerful classes of the community. The divine credentials of her mission meet with the respectful acquiescence of all ranks of society. She is the acknowledged instructress of the people of England. It is no presumption then for her to accept the favourable position in which God's providence has placed her. If she is only true to herself she is certain of a respectful hearing. She may take her stand and commence her labours with a happy consciousness that her teaching will be listened to with a grateful alacrity. Armed therefore with official authority "for the rise and fall of many," of this unsought advantage the Established Church will have to give account. She is on her trial. The crisis is great. Will she rise equal to it? How shall we avail ourselves of the open door set before us, and obtain access to the unconverted masses of the home-born heathendom of our land? Certainly not by lowering the spirituality of our office. We are not prepared to abate one jot of the purely religious nature of our commission. We are ministers of the Gospel; to us the people look naturally as their spiritual instructors, and not as the apostles of civilization or secular improvement or an hybrid philanthropy. Secularising our office and appearing ashamed of our position will not gain us a particle of good will; contempt and distrust will be the only results of this *ad captandum* lowering of the ministerial character. Toleration is not our aim. We seek not to court popularity, far less a forbearing indulgence. The Cross of Christ will always be an offence to the worldly-minded and those who are ashamed of its reproach, and the inevitable singularity which it brings with it will make a sorry attempt at doing the work of an evangelist.

Let us then beware how we seek to merge the ministry of Christ into the mere popular educator. With education, from a temporal

point of view, we have little or nothing to do; nor yet as social reformers. We are not ministers of this "world which passeth away," but of the "Word of God which abideth for ever." Our first duty is to preach the Gospel, as God's appointed means for the salvation of the soul. Whenever such preaching is effectual, social amelioration is sure to follow in its train. True and radical civilization always runs as a willing handmaid beside the chariot wheels of vital godliness.

Let me not be misunderstood: I do not say that the Church has nothing to do with the temporal wellbeing of her children. But this I do say, she needs no apology for her spiritual distinctiveness. Let her but realize her position as the minister of Christ, let her speak "as the oracles of God," and straightway the devils of misrule, of intemperance, of uncleanness, will be cast out from her listeners. The once possessed by them will be found sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in the right mind! These are the mountains which by the energy of faith shall be removed and cast into the sea.

I am persuaded that the minds of the masses are not infected with a distaste for wholesome teaching. If Christ be lifted up He will yet draw all men to Him. Make men Christians, you will make them good citizens, wise for time and wise for eternity. The Gospel message will always come home to the convictions of the people: it is the one thing needful. Albeit as skilful generals we must call to our aid all those subordinate helps which are essential to make good our position and to maintain and extend our outworks. If we can persuade men that we have their best interests at heart, that we have faith in our commission, that we believe that we are called of God to be ambassadors for Christ, they will give the more earnest heed to every other proposal for their good which we have to make.

Dr. Chalmers, in his admirable treatise on "*The Christian and Civic Economy of large Towns*," describes, in terms of forcible felicity, the depressing and deteriorating results of the multitude of secular distractions, which in his own day threatened permanently to transform the clergyman into the administrator of the temporalities of his congregation. The effects of such a system he depicts in the following memorable language: "Now just calculate the force of temptation to abandon study and to abandon scholarship, when personal comfort and the public voice both unite to have him (the clergyman) away from them; when the popular smile would insinuate him into such a path of employment as, if he once enter, he must bid adieu to all the stern exercise of a contemplative solitude, and the popular frown glares upon that retirement, in which he might consecrate his best powers to the best interests of a sadly misled and miscalculating generation. When the hosannahs of the multitude cheer him on to what may be comparatively termed a life of amusement, and the condemnation both of unlettered wealth and unlettered poverty is made to rest upon his name; should he refuse to let down the painful discipline of his mind, by frittering it all away amongst those lighter varieties of management, and of exertion, which by the practice of our cities are laid upon him? Such a temptation must come in time to be irresistible; and just in proportion as it is yielded to, must there be a portion of talent withdrawn from the literature of theology. There must be the desertion of all that is fine and exquisite and lofty in its contemplation. There must be a relapse from the science and the industry of a former generation.

There must be a decline of theological attainments and theological authorship. There must be a yearly process of decay and of deterioration in this branch of our national literature. There must be a descending movement towards the tame and the feeble and the commonplace. And thus, for the wretched *éclat* of getting clergy to do with their hands what thousands can do as well as they, may our cities come at length to barter away the labour of their minds, and give such a blow to theology, that amongst men of scholarship and general cultivation it will pass for the most languishing of the sciences."—Vol. i. p. 47.

These weighty words I would commend to the kindly consideration of our lay brethren—to those who, biassed by the insinuations of a section of would-be ecclesiastical reformers, (a section noisy if not numerous) have been led to contemplate the beau-ideal of a modern clergyman as consisting in a versatile combination of an athlete, a showman, a popular lecturer, a sanitary commissioner, an accountant, a relieving officer, a savings bank manager, a district visitor, a general adviser on every conceivable topic, from the choice of a trade or a profession down to the best method of cultivating plants in window pots in a blind alley.

People complain, and perhaps their complaints are not without foundation, that the sermons of many of the parochial clergy are alike deficient in interest, in energy, and in point. They are stigmatised as abstract dissertations, without any practical bearing upon the wants of the people or the topics of the day. The fault, in a great measure, my lay brethren, has been with yourselves. You expect impossibilities of the clergyman all the week. You pile upon his overtasked shoulders burdens grievous to be borne, but as a rule you do not offer to touch them with one of your fingers. Come forward and relieve him of the crushing weight of these temporal cares. Give him time to reflect upon the subjects of his discourses. Let him collect his thoughts, and find something to say to you, and depend upon it, when the Sunday comes, you will find that he has a message for you—that he will deliver it with the convincing persuasiveness of a mind pregnant with holy thoughts and important topics. Feeling that he has an errand from God to you, he will discharge it with energy. Give him an opportunity, I repeat, of finding something to say to you. He will say it well. The hearers will not only be interested, they will be edified.

If you desire to study a graphic picture, and a true one, of the life-destroying, soul-benumbing, paralysing results of the cares and anxieties of an unaided ministry, I can heartily recommend to your perusal a little volume, "*Twenty Years in the Church*," by the Rev. James Pycroft. There you will be convinced how powerless a clergyman is,—how his energies are wasted—how his usefulness is neutralized, by being left to fight alone without the efficient support of his laity.

The remedy which Dr. Chalmers recommended "is a numerous and well-appointed agency." Large parishes he would have divided into small manageable districts. These he would have assigned to one or more lay friends, in the capacity of visitors or school teachers. The school opened in every such district would soon exert a perceptible influence on the parents of the scholars. From the school-room services the Church congregations would be recruited, and thus gradually the largest town parishes would be brought under the same control as the most manageable country cures.

In the presence of so many more experienced of my brethren, it would be presumptuous for me to enlarge or enter into details as to the best mode of distributing the work and allotting the various spheres of labour, most suitably congenial to our unordained fellow-helpers. I desire only to add the modest testimony of my convictions, to the absolute necessity of at once enlisting, to the fullest extent, the co-operation of our laity. "Believe me, brethren (I say it emphatically)" writes the Bishop of Rochester, in his Primary Charge of 1860, "the cold, dry, repulsive system of times, scarcely, alas! yet gone by—the system that jealously restricts whatever savours of religious action to the clergyman, and looks with distrust on the warm-heartedness of any brother or sister who enters a cottage with the Bible, to read or to pray, will never bring the common people to intelligence or godliness, will never commend the Gospel to their regard."\*

The Charge from which I have quoted abounds with words of practical counsel upon the organization of lay agency, both in the country and in towns. If such auxiliary help is to be permanently efficient, it must be brought under system and pastoral control. But let not our lay brethren and sisters imagine that their usefulness depends in any degree upon assimilation, either in costume or rules of action, to the Romish confraternities, which, I say without hesitation, are foreign to the spirit of the times, and distasteful to the children of the Reformers. The authorities of our Church will, I trust, maturely weigh the probable consequences of reviving any obsolete and nondescript order of the ministry, which may, in these days of mediæval yearnings, prove a lasting embarrassment when once called into existence. The best qualification for the work of a sub-deacon or a deaconess, will be a loving heart, a zeal for Christ, and a meek and quiet mind. These will commend their exhortations to the consciences of the hearers with a force and power far beyond the ostentatious humility of a conventual garb, or the prestige of a semi-clerical commission. Leaving these distinctive trifles to the shallow ingenuity of vacant minds, rejoice rather in your call to be fellow-workers with God. "Apply yourselves" (as Bishop Horsley so forcibly describes the functions of the true ministry of Christ) "with the whole strength and power of your minds to do the work of evangelists. Proclaim to those who are at enmity with God, and children of His wrath, the glad tidings of Christ's pacification; sound the alarm to awaken to a life of righteousness a world lost and dead in trespasses and sins; lift aloft the blazing torch of revelation, to scatter its rays over them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death, and guide the footsteps of the benighted wanderer into the paths of life and peace."—*Charges*, p. 125.

\* "Fellowship with the Flock essential to the true Pastoral System. A Charge." London: Varty, 1860. 8vo.

## THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS THE HOME POPULATION.

BY THE REV. T. L. CLAUGHTON.

IN our rural parishes—I hope in many parts of this Diocese—the beautiful description of the influence of the Church of England, somewhere given by the late Dr. Arnold, is fully verified, that wherever the church tower or spire is seen, there both rich and poor, both sick and whole, have a friend at hand in every emergency—one to sympathize with them in joy and sorrow—to help them in their need, to be to them and their children a living influence for good. And the sense of this enters, I believe, into our very perception of the beauty of the landscape. It is not for its graceful proportion only that the village tower or spire is scarce ever omitted in the pictures of home scenery in England. But it cannot be supposed that the Church is doing its duty towards the home population in our vast mining and manufacturing districts; where it is evident by the number of meeting-houses that Dissent is the established religion of the locality; where the prevailing ignorance and roughness, and almost brutality, show at once that neither the teaching of the Church in those quarters, nor the efforts of Nonconformists, have brought the gentle influences of Christianity to bear upon the minds and hearts of the people.

But I would rather turn your thoughts towards those places where the Church has of late made great efforts to do her evangelical work.

It is difficult to realize to ourselves, when we go into a church in one of our large towns where the service is reverently performed, and the preacher is earnest and able, and there is a good middle-class congregation, and the free seats are well filled—that notwithstanding these tokens for good, there are streets and courts and alleys under the very shadow of that church where there is not one family of church-goers; and that if you extend your observations to the confines of the parish all around, drunkenness, idleness, blasphemy, and impurity, are scarce confined to lurking dens and the thievish corners of the streets; that though some of the children are sent to the parochial school, the father never, or very rarely, goes to any place of worship; the mother, often hindered by necessity, has at last become indifferent; and (which is the saddest evidence of the condition of the home population) you may look through many pages of the curate's visiting book without finding more than one name in a whole street marked as a communicant.

This is a state of things perfectly well known. Those among our bishops who have had the charge of parishes are well aware that, notwithstanding the decency and order of the service as they see it on a Confirmation day, or when they preach on some special occasion, notwithstanding the cordiality with which the Chief Pastor is always welcomed, when every one, from the principal resident to the lowliest peasant or artisan, who has a spark of Church feeling, or who has any sympathy with his clergyman, enters into the spirit of the occasion—I say that, notwithstanding all this, there is a deadness prevailing underneath; that the very next Lord's-day things will have gone back to their normal state; the sermon of the ordinary pastor will have no

more effect than it had before the temporary excitement, as regards any prospect of change arising out of the things lately said and done.

And there is another circumstance affecting the very root of the matter,—I mean as regards the Education of Children. The instructions issued in 1839 by the Committee of Council, with the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, as to the inspection of schools in religious knowledge, though still in force, have lost their savour. They are as follows:

“In the case of schools connected with the National Church, the inspectors will inquire with special care how far the doctrines and principles of the Church are instilled into the minds of the children. The inspectors will ascertain whether church accommodation of sufficient extent, and in a proper position, is provided for them; whether their attendance is regular, and proper means taken to insure their suitable behaviour during the service; whether inquiry is afterwards made by their teachers, how far they have profited by the public ordinances of religion which they have been attending. The inspectors will report also upon the daily practice of the school with reference to Divine worship; whether the duties of the day are begun and ended with prayer and psalmody; whether daily instruction is given in the Bible; whether the Catechism and Liturgy are explained, with the terms most commonly in use throughout the authorized version of Holy Scripture. They will inquire likewise, whether the children are taught private prayers to repeat at home; and whether the teachers keep up any intercourse with the parents, so that the authority of the latter may be combined with that of the former in the moral training of the pupils.”

(I cannot help feeling—in reference to something that was said yesterday—how completely we are free from the charge of interfering with the authority of parents: how, if we observe our standing orders, we recognize, confirm, and establish it in all things where it ought to be felt and acknowledged.)

But to return to the document from which I am quoting. “As an important part of moral discipline, the inspectors will inform themselves as to the regularity of the children in attending school, in what way registered, and how enforced: as to manners and behaviour, whether orderly and decorous; as to obedience, whether prompt and cheerful, or reluctant, and limited to the time when they are under the master's eye; and as to rewards and punishments, on what principle administered, and with what results. The inspectors will satisfy themselves whether the progress of the children in religious knowledge is in proportion to the time they have been at school; whether their attainments are showy or substantial; and whether their replies are made intelligently, or mechanically, or by rote.”

How greatly, and with what loss to the Church, the spirit of those instructions has been departed from! How much, not to touch upon the disputed questions of the Revised Code and the Conscience Clause, the religious character of our school teaching has degenerated! How much of the insubordination everywhere complained of in the young, and still perceptibly increasing, may be owing to the want of that tone and spirit which it was the object of these admirable instructions to infuse into the training and discipline of our parochial schools!

And it must be remembered, that simultaneously with the operation of this secular tendency of our school teaching, what I may call the

adult intelligence of this country, has been startled by bold questionings touching the foundation of our faith. It is astonishing (though perhaps, indeed, it was only to be expected) how this doubtfulness concerning the things we have received to hold, has laid hold of the minds of our artizans and their masters; so as to furnish every one who was already disinclined to hear the Church with a ready excuse for neglecting the duty of worship and service, because, as he mysteriously observes, "he does not agree with us on those points." And yet these points do nearly concern the everlasting verities on which our salvation rests.

And there is that in some of the expedients by which it has been sought to remedy this one great and crying evil,—the insufficiency of the ministrations of the Gospel,—which of itself has had a tendency to weaken, rather than to strengthen, the influence of the Church. I speak with the greatest deference to the opinions of my brethren, especially to the declared opinions of some of our Right Reverend Fathers. But I fear that the employment of Scripture Readers has not had the effect which the first promoters of that agency looked for, because the evils which surround us have assumed a form and a proportion for which the increase of uneducated teachers does not seem to be the remedy best calculated.

Where is the remedy to be found? I am obliged to be brief; but a few words will convey my meaning to such an audience as I am addressing quite as well as more diffuse statements. The remedy is to be sought, not in new plans, but in giving life and reality to ordinances already existing. In each case to which I have referred, we must look to the revival of the gift of God, not to many inventions. It is to the number, to the learning, to the piety, to the zeal of the clergy, that we must look for help for the souls that are perishing around. First, perhaps, to the increase of the Episcopate. It is most remarkable that while there is universal agreement about the division of parishes, there should be so much objection to the division of dioceses: and yet the principle of both measures is the same, viz., the desire for the multiplication of the gifts of Christ; those gifts which are given for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ. What were the gifts? not pastors and teachers only, but apostles, men chosen and set apart to direct and superintend the preaching of the Gospel to all nations. We do not seek only that there should be sufficient pastors in a large parish to prepare four or five hundred children for confirmation, but that there should never be so many confirmed at once, because then the fulness of the blessing of that ordinance cannot be brought home to individual consciences. It is quite true that a considerable improvement has taken place in this respect. In the year 1814 Bishop Cornwallis confirmed 2919 candidates at Wolverhampton in one day; in 1819, Bishop Legge confirmed 1785; in 1823, 1206; in 1829, Bishop Ryder, 1400. But still, in our towns the number to be confirmed within a limited time is a serious hindrance to a profitable administration of the ordinance. Again, we do not seek only that there should be an eye upon the pastor of a parish in his ministration, and in his own life and conversation, but that there should be a heart answering his heart, to work with him in those difficult and delicate cases occurring, not once or twice only during a long pastorate, but frequently, continually, where the higher office is

absolutely essential to the upholding and strengthening of the lower ; where, in a sense surpassing in importance all other applications of that saying, "Two are better than one." These things can never be, while there is but the same number of bishops as when the population of the country was much smaller ; when moreover Satan had not such great wrath as he has now, nor was putting forth all his strength to deceive ; when we ourselves almost see in the multitude of the Antichrists a sign that the last time is drawing on apace.

Again, for power to grapple with present evils, it is needful that great respect should be had to the learning of the clergy. The establishment of our theological colleges, the extension of the course of study in our public schools and universities, so as to include instruction in physical science and other branches of learning in the education of those who are being trained for Holy Orders, is a proof that this necessity is felt. But what is all this, unless there be in our ordained teachers that growth in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which comes by prayer and the reading of the Word ? How shall our home population be cared for and fed ? how shall the thief that comes to steal and to kill and to destroy be kept from the fold, unless by Him alone who is the Door of the Sheep, by Whom if any man enter in he shall be saved, and go in and out and find pasture ; unless by the ministration of those who were made ministers according to the gift of the grace of God given unto them by the effectual working of His power in the day when they were separated for the work unto which they were called by the Holy Ghost ?

Again, there is a duty to the home population by the Church in its largest sense ; by the laity, to provide, as their forefathers did, for the spiritual instruction of the people where they own the land, or dwell in affluence, while the minister of Jesus Christ labours earnestly among the people for a pittance so small that he can scarcely live, much less help the poor, much less be free from anxious care to preach the Word with an undivided heart. Yet, as things are at present, do the laity behold that straitness and difficulty, not indeed without frequent expressions of regret and sympathy, but without that for which the power of sympathy was implanted in the human heart, without self-sacrifice, to remedy the evil which they compassionate : and this often when they themselves possess and are enriched by the very property which the piety of former ages set apart for the support of the Church in that place. There is a duty of both men and women to help, according to the manifestation of the Spirit given them to profit withal, in their several localities—to teach the ignorant ; to reform the vicious, especially the prematurely vicious ; to encourage, by precept and example, every Christian virtue ; to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction ; to strengthen the hands of their minister in all things. And never, perhaps, at any period in the history of our Church was there so strong a disposition to help in this manner as has manifested itself during the revival of religion for the last quarter of a century. As though to confront Satan in his strongholds, reformatories, penitentiaries, (houses of mercy indeed,) guilds and brotherhoods, have been established in many places, often notwithstanding much discouragement, having this sole end in view, to relieve the ministers of God's Word under the pressure, daily becoming more fearful, of spiritual destitution in a thickly peopled land. Nor can we doubt that the



blessing of God has rested upon these institutions. The prejudices, once so strong against them, have gradually faded away as the reality of the work became apparent; and the Bishops of our Church have sanctioned and approved them as spiritual operations called forth by the requirements of the time.

Whether in addition to these "helps" it be advisable to add to the number of the clergy by an extension of the Diaconate, so as to employ as missionaries among the home population men who, by their experience, disposition, and learning, are capable of discharging a spiritual trust faithfully and effectually, while still following the craft or occupation by which they get their living; or whether after a time, when present exigencies have been met, ancient endowments may be again turned into their former channels, and the number of Canons and Prebendaries in our Cathedrals (which has been reduced, by the confession of all thinking men, to a point which threatens their extinction) may not again be augmented with great consent of the whole Church, and Home Missions be the work assigned to these,—are questions which must force themselves on the attention of such assemblies as the present, or the more ordinary and regular assemblies of the Church, at no long period hence.

I think we cannot help hoping, from the spirit in which our proceedings were inaugurated yesterday; from the tone which pervaded them; from the calmness with which, on the whole, subjects were discussed which were likely to provoke eager discussion; and from the general solemnity and reverence manifested; that these meetings, so long as they are sanctioned by authority, and convened with general consent, may conduce to further gradual and beneficial changes; to moderate conflicting ideas; and, in the end, to establish it in the minds of men that the clergy and laity of the Church of England may be trusted to deliberate on their own affairs, without imputation of trifling, or party spirit, or an assumption to themselves of any power which might justly provoke the jealousy of their rulers.

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## THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS THE HOME POPULATION.

BY THE REV. J. BARDSLEY.

OUR duty to our home population may be described, I think, in a single sentence, and that is the subdivision of our large and overgrown parishes, and to provide the people with efficient pastoral superintendence. There can be no doubt whatever that the picture which was drawn by a preceding speaker has a foundation in truth, and that there are hundreds of thousands in our mining and manufacturing districts who are living in contempt of the authority and in neglect of the ordinances of the Church; at the same time I do not think that the reason is very far to seek. During the close of the last century and the commencement of the present one, while our ecclesiastical family was increasing beyond all parallel, no attempt whatever

was made to provide additional accommodation in the ecclesiastical household. I believe that I shall answer the purpose of this Congress in the best way if I just confine myself to a few statements of facts. Now during the first decade of this century, in Lancashire,—and let it be remembered that the remark is substantially true of the West Riding of Yorkshire, South Cheshire, North Staffordshire, Surrey, and Middlesex,—in our mining and manufacturing districts during the first decade of this century the population increased twenty-two per cent., while the increase in the church accommodation was only one per cent. In the second decade, between the years 1811 and 1821, the increase in the population was twenty-seven per cent., while the increase in the church accommodation was only one per cent. In the third decade, from 1821 to 1831, the increase again, or, to use a different word, the increment in the population was twenty-seven per cent., while the increase in the church accommodation was only two per cent. In other words, to take these facts and at once condense them in a general statement; during the first thirty years of this century, the addition to the population of this country, where the population moves gregariously, was seventy-six per cent., while at the same time the increase in the church accommodation was only about four per cent. These are just the simple facts of the case. Now we know very well that the longer any substance is in undergoing the process of petrification the harder it grows, and so the longer human nature is left to itself the more vicious it becomes. If we neglect to dig and dress our gardens for a number of seasons, we shall find with regret the necessity for painstaking and protracted weeding. It must be so. You must have the surge after the storm has ceased, and you will have the prostration of the body after a fever is removed. Reference has just been made to the provision which our forefathers made for the religious instruction and accommodation of the population. Let me refer to this subject for a moment. Let it be understood that the population upon the highest authority at the time of the Reformation in this country was four millions, while at the commencement of the present century, upon the authority of one of our most eminent actuaries, the population was eight millions. But at the close of 1861 what was it? Why, the population of this country was then 20,000,000, or, in other words, the Saxon thanes, the Norman barons, and the commercial princes who lived in this city,—for Norwich was the Manchester of the middle ages, and the commerce of England passed through the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, five or six hundred years ago,—the Saxon thanes, the Norman barons, and commercial princes had eight or nine hundred years to provide for four millions of people, while the churchmen of the present day have only had sixty years to provide for twelve millions of people. It is most important to observe this. I say then that a great emergency has come upon us. There never was such a strain upon the territorial system of any organised church in the history of the world, and I think, in an emergency like this, that great freedom must be given to churchmen as to their operations. And we must not fetter them in the efforts they adopt. I would advise our friends when they speak about providing for or dealing with the working classes not to call them poor, and not to treat them as poor. It is with England as with every other country, the poor shall never cease out of the land;

but the labouring classes of England, our miners, our manufacturing operatives, our spinners, and our mechanics, are better off than the great mass of the clergy. Take my word for it, there is nothing the working classes of this country will so earnestly resent as that they should be called, treated, or talked to as being poor.

I said just now that there must be great freedom of action on this subject. I think it is an excellent thing for every Christian man to have a hobby, and I for my part would wish a man to ride his hobby as vigorously as he pleases; only I do say this, that he should not force everybody else to ride it. For example, with respect to the provision of churches. I have observed, not only to-day but yesterday, a disposition to listen to the statements of every speaker if he be only conscientious and earnest, and is anxious to make a contribution to the information of the Congress. Now, I say that if an individual, or a number of individuals, think it is well to build a church, and that that church should be absolutely and entirely free in every way, I may not regard that as being in agreement with the parochial system; but, I say by all means let them have it. If other individuals come forward and build churches and endow them, but appropriate the sittings, I may think that better; while at the same time, if other individuals come forward, build churches, endow them but in part, while leaving something to depend on the clergyman, I say in the same way, by all means let them pursue their own course. They will pursue it; they have done so. It would be ecclesiastical suicide to lay any restraint on churchmen in matters like this.

So much has been said by preceding speakers about what remains to be done, that I should be glad to make a remark or two to show you what has already been done to stimulate our zeal and encourage our exertions, and to show that altogether our labour in the Lord has not been in vain. In the decade from 1841 to 1851, although the population of the gregarious districts I have already referred to increased twenty-two per cent., the Church accommodation increased thirty-one per cent.; thus not only making a provision for the present increase of population, but paying off to some great extent old arrears, reclaiming lost ground, and repairing the mischief that had been entailed. Since the commencement of the present century, 4134 churches have been erected. Statistics furnished by one of the most distinguished statisticians of the day, show that within the last thirty years, 3482 churches have been built. Now I say that this is a result unexampled in the history of the Christian Church in any age. I do not say that there is not a great deal that requires to be supplemented, and a great deal that requires to be amended. On the contrary, I am sure it is so, but at the same time I say, that this is a result for which we ought to be devoutly thankful to Almighty God. Perhaps I may be permitted to supplement these remarks by a thought which occurs to me. I am very far from wishing to reflect on what are called our old endowed churches, and I hope nobody will suppose that I allude to those churches, because, to use a familiar expression, "the grapes are sour;" but I do say, that the evangelistic work of our Church has been very largely carried out by the churches built within the last thirty years. I am not now speaking carelessly; on the contrary, I have examined the reports of our Home and Missionary Societies, and I find, that while our old endowed parishes are doing a great deal of good, yet the evangelistic work of the Church of England, to a large extent,

is carried on by those churches which have been built within the last thirty years. It is a great satisfaction when you are going a journey, to know that you are going the right road; to know that you have entered upon the proper path. Of course, if you go wrong at first, the more energetically you walk, the further you will go wrong; and it is, therefore, a great matter to feel that you have entered upon a right path. I say that we have done so, and that fact, much as the work requires to be amended and supplemented, affords us great encouragement. My first remark was, that we must subdivide our large and overgrown parishes, and furnish them with adequate Church accommodation and efficient pastoral superintendence.

I entirely concur with the admirable addresses delivered this afternoon about the efficiency of the clergy and the learning of the clergy. We not only require to erect folds for the sheep, but we must have shepherds to collect the sheep into the folds, and we must also take care that we have shepherds who can feed the sheep when in the fold. What the Church of England wants is men whose hearts and lives have been touched by the Holy Ghost, men of good common sense, of sanctified wisdom; men deeply learned in the Old and New Testaments, and familiar with the grand old theology of the Church of England; men who can not merely make plausible speeches at Congresses, for it requires but a very moderate ability to do that, but men diligently labouring in their parishes, presiding over their services with discretion and dignity, and above all, men capable of dealing with individual souls. That is just what the Church of England wants. We want more godly bishops, more faithful pastors, and I will add, more conscientious patrons. If God grant us these, our Church will have a bright and glorious future.

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## DISCUSSION.

MR. JOHN M. KNOTT: In considering the duty of the Church towards the Home Population, it seems right to inquire whether the Church has not neglected, comparatively with dissent, a most important means of usefulness. In attempting to do this, it may be desirable also, that I advert to another impediment to Church efficiency. It is a momentous fact, that although the daily education of seventy-eight per cent., at least, of the children of England and Wales is in connexion with the Established Church, the number of the Sunday schools and of the scholars was reported by Horace Mann, in his analysis of the census of 1851, to be in a reverse condition; Sunday school education in the hands of Wesleyans and other sects of dissenters, is said to have outnumbered the Church. Doubtless the proportion due to the Church of England is considerably improved within the last fifteen years; but here is a statement demanding serious inquiry and deep consideration; herein a considerable portion of the present difficulties of our Church may find solution. It is known, in regard to our large towns especially, that those who have been trained in our daily National and Church schools, are largely attracted to the Sunday schools, for instance, of the Independents and Baptists. It is much to be feared that the education afforded in these schools impairs attachment to the Established Church. We are told, and the Church Institution affords clear evidence of the fact, that objection in principle to a Church in connexion with the State has been inculcated upon the Sunday school teachers, and a political tendency has thus been imparted. The Church government of both these denominations is democratic in theory, and if those who teach fail, under God, to afford real religious culture, the political bias remains, and is likely to govern future conduct both with respect to the young and the adult mind. Herein, partially, light is thrown upon the difficult problem, how it is that

comparatively so few of those who were taught in Church day schools remain with her in mature life. Here too may be found some solution of the unhappy spread of secularism in our manufactories. Those who have left Sunday schools unchanged in heart become fluent sceptics among their shopmates, for, whether in respect to church or dissent, knowledge is power for good or for evil, and day school teaching of the Church should be followed, not only by the appropriate theological training afforded in those of Sunday, in its full measure, and by Institutes and adult classes under clerical and parochial influence. Dean Close, as far back as 1839, then Vicar of Cheltenham, speaking of a class immediately above the poor, and who were educated in schools of small payments, and by masters not favourable to the Church, said,—“Of all the young people who have come to me to be prepared for Confirmation, without a single exception, those have been the most ignorant of the Bible, and the doctrines and discipline of the Established Church, who have been educated at the Middle schools.” Now do not such facts as these, regarding the lower and the middle class, go far to explain the posture of the Church of England in this day, with respect to our comparative want of adherents from those classes. Mr. Woodard, in Sussex, has set a most beneficial example in this direction. And what is the lesson suggested by these facts, and by others which will be before this Congress? If I am permitted to read a paper, giving the experience of a clergyman of thirty years’ labour in one of our densely populated towns—one which more than almost any other, has had assiduous cultivation by Church Sunday school teaching—what the lesson but prayerful, persevering, and improved efforts in Sunday school teaching? with all the benefit to be derived from a conference of some twenty wise and discreet clergy and laity, as suggested by the intelligent writer. “1. The large majority of the day scholars are in the Church schools. The proportion I cannot give, but I should think six to one. 2. The majority of Sunday scholars is doubtless in the dissenters’ schools. Every dissenting place of worship has a Sunday school attached to it, but only two or three have day schools. 3. The children attending Church day schools are seldom obliged to attend the Church Sunday school, and consequently many attend the Church day and the dissenting Sunday school. 4. And some who have attended Church Sunday schools while they were scholars in Church day schools, are drawn away afterwards to the dissenting Sunday schools. 5. But a great declension has taken place in regard to the attendance at Sunday schools in general; partly owing to the increase of day school instruction, which makes that on the Sunday apparently of less value, and partly (which applies especially to the elder scholars) to the attractions which have sprung up within the last ten years, and which are constantly increasing, for drawing them away both from Sunday schools and attendance on public worship. These attractions are railway excursions, public gardens, which are largely frequented, and large concert-rooms attached to taverns, in which, as at the gardens, are performances of music, with other more objectionable amusements. 6. The whole question as to the best mode of dealing with our young people and children, calls loudly for close and yet comprehensive consideration; and I could scarcely conceive a more important matter on which some twenty practical men, from different parts of the kingdom, might meet than this one. Having had charge of the same Sunday school for upwards of thirty years, of the same day school for twenty years, and these situated in a town locality well calculated to afford an extensive experience, I should say that the difficulties in the way of attaching young people of the working classes to our congregation are quadruple, and more than that since I began to labour. It ought also to be borne in mind, that a very serious injury has resulted to Sunday schools from the extensive movement of the upper and middle classes into the suburbs of our large towns, so that on Sundays and the evenings of working days they are not available in our Sunday and evening schools. And though the teachers we may obtain from the working classes be pious and well disposed, yet, as is well known, this does not stand in the place of education and refinement; nor do our teachers, however kind and earnest they may be, exercise that social influence over the children entrusted to their charge, which the higher classes would bring to bear. This separation of classes, and want of influence for good, on the part of the one over the other, may be found extensively hurtful for the future.” The first requisite, it is humbly submitted, is to find teachers with the grace of God in their hearts, really converted to God. The second, *intelligent* teachers, who will take pains to obtain instruction themselves, in order rightly to instruct their scholars. It is important that a young man or woman of the upper or middle class, who conscientiously takes charge of a class in the Sunday school, obliges himself or herself to a study of the Scripture, which is a most beneficial means of carrying on the religious education of the teacher. It were much to be desired that every clergyman who superintends a Sunday school, should have the teachers in attendance, in classes, during the week, so as to supply them with teaching to be communicated in turn to the children.

In Lancashire and Yorkshire, where this has been done, young men and women continue to attend the Sunday school until the age of marriage. There is another impediment to the development of religious character, which acts unfavourably to the number of worshippers in the Home population, and that arises from the lowering tendency of crowded dwellings, several of a family being huddled into the same room. It is difficult for an inmate in houses of the working classes to separate himself for prayer and meditation, after hearing, perhaps, a powerful appeal to his conscience. In this respect the large extension of improved lodging-houses, on a becoming scale for the working classes, is the remedy. It is satisfactory to know, that these beneficent erections may be made to afford an ample per centage for investment, and offers a fine opportunity for that of Christian men, who desire to render their wealth tributary to a great public good, while they might derive an income larger than that afforded by the public funds; associations for this purpose exist, and, where wisely conducted, only require to be known to be extended.

THE REV. J. S. JONES: The wording of the subject—"The Duty of the Church towards the Home Population,"—seems to suggest a consideration which I think it would be a pity to-day altogether to overlook, namely, that the way in which we have discharged our duty to the home population hitherto, has been a desultory and sectional way. Individuals have discharged their duty to the Church, particular parishes have discharged their duty to the home population, but the Church, as a whole, has not done so. It seems to me, that what we want is, *economy* of our resources; financial economy, material economy, and moral economy. I will only venture to say one word on each of these heads. I say that we want financial economy, and by that I mean the utilising of our money contributions, as congregations, for the benefit of the whole Church, or at all events of the whole diocese. Our riches and our economy do not come together. The riches are here—the spiritual poverty there. The rich parish is here, and can meet all its spiritual wants, while the poor parish is yonder, and can only meet a tithe or a per centage of its needs, and is left dependant, as it were, upon its neighbours. I think that we want organized, systematized, funds for missions and Church work, diocesan alms' funds for the poor, diocesan mission funds for the people, and diocesan sustentation funds for the clergy. Then we want also material economy—economy of churches and economy of space. We cannot afford to lose a single church or a single spot in a church. The encouraging facts brought before us by Mr. Bardsley fall short of proving, however, that we are anything near doing, by our present methods of Church extension, what we want to do. The time may come when we can afford to have monopoly in our churches, but that time has not yet come. At present we cannot spare a single foot of holy ground while the needs of the population are as they are. We want to have in such cities as Norwich and London, where churches are very numerous in proportion to those of other places, a free welcome to churches in the midst of a small population, to dense populations living, in many cases, within an easy walking distance of these comparatively unused churches. Then in each individual church, we want a utilizing of space, frequent services, and making one church do the work of two or three if you can. We are very glad, indeed, to find our people present with us in spirit, when they cannot be present in body, but we cannot allow the spirits to occupy the seats. We do not object to five hundred persons building an exclusive church if they like, but what we object to is, that when they have built it, they should take in a district of four or five thousand people, and then use for five hundred what belongs to five thousand. Lastly, we want moral economy. We want not only resources, but men and women with hearts, and hands, and earnest spirits now in places where their work, if used at all, cannot be exhausted. We have in London—I dare say you have in Norwich—I know we have in Liverpool—congregations with heads as well as hearts, people who can work, and would do so if they had work given them to do. We want a larger development of what the Bishop of London has begun—the bringing of the educated lever to move the mass of ungodliness surrounding us; the bringing of the army of intellect, associated with piety, to bear upon the ignorance and iniquity which is to be found outside the sphere in which we move. If we could thus utilize what we have, many a pastor's heart, now heavy, would be cheered; many a poor home, now sad and solitary, would be relieved; many a church, now empty, would be filled; and many a spiritual desert would rejoice and blossom as the rose.

THE REV. CHARLES CATOR: I should have been glad to say a few words on two subjects, but the time allotted is so short, I shall be able only to allude to one. You, Sir, and I, and all in this large Church Congress will have read of a certain *man who sowed good seed in his field, and while men slept, an enemy sowed tares*. I should not be justified in saying a single word on this occasion were it not for the length of time I have been in harness. I recollect fighting a battle for the Church in 1812, in the very focus of Judaism.

in Nottinghamshire. In a deserted Church there, I rescued funds that had been misapplied, and established a school under the auspices of the Church of England. In my long life, I have seen how *men slept*, and in their sleep they seemed to dream that the clergy alone constituted the Church, alike forgetful of their own privileges and responsibilities as lay-members of the same, and they have legislated accordingly. But now, awaking from their dream, they see the mischief that the *enemy* has done. There is not a speaker on this platform who has not mentioned the prosperous days that are in store for the Church. We have certainly one great benefit. We have got rid of one of the most disgraceful things that did injury to the Church, namely, the levying of fines for the maintenance of the canons. But as Shakespeare says,—

“ You take my life

When you do take away the means whereby I live.”

So have you left the canons without a bare subsistence. The canons ought to have had, as has been recently stated, no incumbent curacy: they should have been a staff for the Bishops. I live in a region far from hence, where, within the last thirty years, from a single farm-house, 26,000 inhabitants have been raised up. In another village, which ten years ago was occupied by 400 individuals, there were two years since between 8000 and 9000, and those places, with a connecting link, now make altogether about 40,000 inhabitants; while the church, at the present moment has not the means of providing for more than 1500 of them. This has, no doubt, been occasioned by extraordinary circumstances, but it shows that our Diocesans ought to have at their disposal a staff; and if the canons had been made to live upon their own estates, without any cure of souls, they might have been sent as missionaries into such lost and desolate regions. It is true that chapels rise up where churches cannot so easily be built, for which, various reasons may be assigned. As it is, however, in a hamlet attached to a perpetual curacy, the income of which does not at this present time amount to £100 per annum, there is a population exceeding 25,000, without any provision except that which comes from the Church Commission or private contributions. I am thankful to say that a new Incumbency has been created, and a new church about to be consecrated; but what can one man do among 10,000 people? What can he do without help? The Canons might have been a staff to help the Diocesan; they might have been sent into such districts as I have described, to have preserved many in the doctrine and creed of the Church of England. I do hope, with all my heart, especially when I see so large an assembly here, that the laity will awake and consider the part which they have to perform, in providing means which are at present wanting for the purpose of building churches, and providing ministers to carry out the spiritual ministrations of the Church. I should be glad if our Archbishop had a Suffragan Bishop, so that he might be better able to superintend the whole Province, and have a larger staff about him. We wish also to have such a subdivision of parishes, as will enable every man to hear the Gospel as it is taught and maintained by our beloved Church.

THE REV. CHARLES DEANE: I suppose that the duty of the Church towards the Home Population is not confined to sending out preachers and teachers into the highways and byways of the cities and lanes of the country, nor yet to providing for their use fit and appropriate places of worship. I suppose that it is also their duty to remove, if such exist, any hindrances to the entrance of the people whom she has invited. I suppose if it can be shown that she attaches unnecessary conditions to their entry, that it is her duty to remove those conditions, inasmuch as she is accredited with the message of a free Gospel, and inasmuch as she sends out her messengers to carry out a welcome to all—“Come to Christ—come to God through your Saviour.” I say that if there be anything that interferes with the people coming forward, in answer to the message, then it seems to be the duty of the Church towards her people to remove that something, whatever it may be. Now, Sir, I believe that such a hindrance exists in the second rubric of the Baptismal Service. It is a bold thing for an unknown man to come among you and to speak on such a subject as any part of the rubrics and the liturgy of our Church, but I have been waiting for years to hear others bring the subject before the Church at large, and I have failed to meet with that which I have expected, looked for, and longed for. I will venture to give four reasons why this rubric should be revised, and they are—That its effect is to cause a scandal in the Church; to be an offence in the Church; to be an injustice to the laity of the Church; and a grievance to the ministering brethren of the Church. If I shall be able to establish these points, I am sure I shall have little left me to do in order to persuade you to join with the humble person who now addresses you, in trying to have this grievance removed from our shoulders. In the first place I say it is a scandal; I assert this because I know of many scandals which have been perpetrated in connection with it. I say it is a scandal because the office of sponsors, which that rubric insists on

to the number of three, other than parents, for infants brought to Holy Baptism, has been bought and sold, and if that is not a scandal, in connection with the worship of God, I should like to know what is.

The CHAIRMAN : I am sorry to interpose, but I must request you to confine yourself to the subject fixed for discussion.

The Rev. C. DEANE : I venture to think that in speaking of the duty of the Church to receive the Home Population she has invited, I am speaking to the question before the meeting. If I am wrong I bow to the chair, but if I am right—

The CHAIRMAN : I think you are travelling a little wide of the subject.

The Rev. C. DEANE : I said that the office of sponsor had been bought and sold.—

The CHAIRMAN : I am unwilling to interrupt, but the feeling of the meeting is manifestly against you.

The Rev. C. DEANE : I am sorry to have detained the meeting, and to have mistaken the question which was to be brought before you.

The Benediction was then pronounced by the BISHOP OF NORWICH, and the meeting adjourned.

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### WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4th. AFTERNOON MEETING.

SIR J. P. BOILEAU, BART., IN THE CHAIR.

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THIS Sectional Meeting was held in St. Peter's Hall.

After prayer, the CHAIRMAN said : Ladies and Gentlemen, In compliance with the request of the Executive Committee of the Church Congress, and of our excellent Bishop, I have ventured to become Chairman of this section of the Congress. I can assure you that it is not an honor which I should have sought for myself, or even have desired, but when the wish was expressed to me by the Executive Committee, I felt that I should fail in my duty to the Church Congress, and to the county to which I have the honor to belong, and to this intelligent city also, if I refused to undertake the office. My duty will be to see that the rules which have been read to you, of which every Member of the Congress has a copy, are faithfully carried out ; but I am sure there will be that feeling of Christian unity amongst us which was so beautifully recommended by our Bishop, and which has been so ably carried out in St. Andrew's Hall. Of course, I can do nothing of myself, but I look for your indulgence and support, and with the help of Almighty God I do trust that the proceedings of this Congress will be conducted with all order and decency, and tend to the honor and happiness of our kingdom.

## THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS FOREIGN CHRISTIANS.

By THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.

THE meaning of this thesis, expressed more fully, amounts, I shall suppose, to this : The duty of ourselves as Christians and members of the Church in this country, towards brother Christians, who living in foreign lands are members of other Churches, or, in a more general sense, members by Christian baptism of the Church universal.

In dealing with the subject thus stated, I shall take as the basis of what I have to say the admonition of the Spirit in the Book of Revelation



to the Church of Sardis: "Remember how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent." (iii. 3.)

From the word "remember," I infer that we are to look for guidance not, mainly, to the present, and still less to the future, but to the past.

From the words "how thou hast received and heard," I infer that, on the one hand, for the conveyance of Divine grace, some definite system of ministration had been given, and, on the other hand, for the teaching of Divine truth, some definite scheme of doctrine had been delivered to the Church as founded by the Apostles under the direction of the Holy Ghost.

And lastly, from the words "hold fast and repent," I infer that it was, and still is, the Church's duty to abide by the same system of ministration, and the same scheme of doctrine, or so far as either has been departed from, "to repent," that is to do all that can be done to recover the position lost.

Now, it might be rash, and would certainly be inconclusive as against the argument of an opponent, to infer all this from the verse of Scripture which I have quoted, even though the same inferences are abundantly confirmed by other texts (see 1 Tim. vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 13, 14; 1 John ii. 24), if it were not that the history of the founding of the Church in all countries affords such a remarkable counterpart to these conclusions. In other words, the *inductive argument* which we derive from an historical survey of the universal facts of the case entirely corresponds with and corroborates the *deductive* or *a priori* argument which we had already derived from the language of Scripture as now interpreted. And from the two sources of evidence combined we may determine, I think, with perfect certainty, that the providence of God, acting for and with the Holy Spirit abiding in his Church, was engaged in bringing about those practical results which during the first ages of the Church everywhere present themselves in harmony with the requirements of His written Word.

And what are those requirements of God's Word in respect to the question with which we are now concerned? The essence of them would appear to lie in the command of visible unity, to be secured mainly in the two ways which have been already indicated, viz.—

1. By obedience to those who have (legitimately) the rule over us. (Heb. xiii. 17.)
2. By holding fast the faith which has been once (for all) delivered to us. (2 Tim. i. 13; Jude 3; Rev. ii. 25.)

Now, if we find that in every Church, so soon as it became fully constituted, they who originally had the spiritual rule were a ministry of bishops,\* priests, and deacons, and if we find also that God's providence

\* At the time of the first General Council, A.D. 325, it is calculated that the Episcopate of the whole Church consisted of about eighteen hundred bishops; of whom one thousand were in the Eastern and eight hundred in the Western Churches. The Apostolic Church of Sardis, above referred to, may be taken as an example. The "Angel," (i.e. Bishop, as we believe upon the strongest grounds) contemporary with S. John had for a successor, inter alios, *Melito*, whom we know to have been "Bishop of Sardis" in A.D. 170.—(See Euseb. Hist. Lib. iv. c. 26, and S. Jerom. Lib. de Viris Illustr. c. 24.) And we also know that the same Melito was one of the Asiatic Bishops whom Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, refers to in support of his views, (regarding the observance of Easter) against Victor, Bishop of Rome, in that famous letter which forms the first and most conclusive negation of the Papal Supremacy as now claimed and exercised.—(See Euseb. Lib. v. c. 24.) The primitive Church of Sardis therefore was neither Presbyterian nor Popish.

preserved the world under one universal\* government, speaking or understanding for the most part one (the Greek) language, until the faith had been, in avowed concord with the written Word, formally determined against all gainsayers by the two first General Councils (of Nicæa and Constantinople) in which universal Christendom was represented; if we find these things, we seem to have found all that is necessary to guide us to the practical fulfilment of those two requirements.

And this reasonable conclusion is still further confirmed by the evidence which we discover of a mysterious sympathy existing between the two,—I mean the *true ministry* and the *true faith*,—and which appears to indicate their common origin; for it is certain that the one has in general been found necessary to the preservation of the other; and, moreover, it is remarkable that while on the one hand an exaggerated form of ministry has led to an exaggerated form of faith, as in the Church of Rome, a defective form of Ministry has been followed by a defective form of faith, as at Geneva, in Holland, and elsewhere.†

But, in addition to the principles so far stated and confirmed, there is another fundamental argument which now claims our notice, and which is of a still wider and more comprehensive kind. The God of the Church is the God also of the world. As the world, we know, was gradually prepared for the appearance of Christ, so was it ordered with a view first to the foundation, and then to the propagation, of the Church of Christ. With a view to the foundation of the Church, the world was gathered under one government up to the time of the fifth century; with a view to the propagation and extension of the Church, the world has been disjointed and dissevered under many governments from the fifth century until now, and I do not doubt will continue so until the end of time. And, together with its many governments, it understood and spoke for the most part no longer one predominant language but many languages. Now, these facts in the world's history are indications, as I think, of the kind of unity which God designed and requires in His Church, viz., a unity which in the two great essentials of the faith and the ministry should be founded upon "a remembrance" of what had been "received and heard" from the beginning, but in less important points, and in matters of detail, should admit of diversities such as would naturally be incident to the differences in language, in mind and character, in physical and political constitution, of diverse nations. And here again we mark a very significant correspondence between the orderings of God's providence and the teachings of His written Word.

\* The formal division of the Roman Empire into two parts took place in A.D. 395, when Arcadius succeeded to the Eastern and Honorius to the Western portion of the dominions of their father Theodosius. The Council of Constantinople, from which we have received our Nicene (or, more properly speaking, Niceno-Constantinopolitan) Creed, had taken place fourteen years before, viz., in A.D. 381.

† The allusion here (in regard to a defective form of ministry) is necessarily to times subsequent to the Reformation in the sixteenth century; there being no sufficient evidence of the existence of a Church avowedly Presbyterian previous to that period. For instance, at the time of the first General Council, A.D. 325, when (as stated before) there were eighteen hundred episcopal Churches in the world, there was not (so far as we know) a single Presbyterian one. The proof to the contrary, if found at all, must lie in discovering, among the countless number of synods and councils of which the record has been preserved, a single one held during the first fifteen centuries without the *presence and presidency of a Bishop*, except in those few cases in which Presbyters have presided as a Bishop's legates.

On the one hand, according to Scripture, the Gospel was to be preached to *all the nations* (S. Mark, xiii. 10). Christian baptism itself was to be a baptising of the nations, of the nations as such (S. Matt. xxviii. 19); and national authorities were to *kiss*, that is to worship, the Saviour, and to *nurse*, that is, to establish and support, His Church if they would hope to escape His wrath (Ps. ii. 12; Is. xlix. 23, xl. 10, 11); and the nation and kingdom that would not *serve*, that is, consent to assist and promote the Church's cause, was to perish, (Ps. lx. 12) until in the end, the kingdoms of this world shall have become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ (Rev. xi. 15.) On the other hand, as there is no declaration in Scripture of a supreme or central authority to be expected in the Church, but many intimations to the contrary, so it is certain in point of fact, that, during the first ages of Christianity, no such authority was exercised by the Church of Rome or by any other, and that wherever the attempt was made to exercise it, the usurpation (for so it was regarded) was uniformly and successfully resisted,\* a resistance the more noticeable and the more conclusive because it did not prevent the paying, at the same time, of that respect, and the yielding of that precedence which it was reasonable to pay and to yield to Churches situated geographically and politically, as, for example, the Churches both of Rome and Constantinople then were. [Nor need we doubt that in times of confusion such as accompanied the breaking up of the Roman empire, much advantage might be gained to the disjointed parts by the existence of an independent spiritual agency; so long as the said agency, when admitted to arbitrate, or interpose, exerted itself in the interests of truth, of peace, and love. But when, in course of time, the interference as it became less needed became also doubly sinful; on the one hand, from the exactions unduly made and the consequent building up of a monstrous despotism on the part of a single Church; on the other hand, from the concessions unduly granted, and the consequent overthrow of the liberties of national Churches throughout the West; and when truth was sacrificed to error, and peace and love gave way to discord and distrust; when such had become the character of the interference, and when, as I have said, the Scripture is in vain appealed to in behalf of any such development of the primitive system, we need no other proof to lead us to condemn it than the practical results—degradation and corruption well-nigh universal—to which it led.]

\* The following facts, among others, are conclusive in regard to the non-recognition of the Roman supremacy in the primitive Church.

1. The conduct of Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, and of other *Asiatic* Bishops, towards Pope Victor, A.D. 190—201. (See Eusebius Hist. v. 24.)

2. The conduct of S. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, and other *African* Bishops, towards Pope Stephen, A.D. 253—257. (See Cyprian Epist. lxxii. and lxxiv.)

3. The conduct of the Council of Antioch, A.D. 342, towards Pope Julius. (See Socr. Hist. ii. 15.)

4. The conduct of the Council of Sardica, A.D. 347, in affecting to grant a right of appeal to the same Pope Julius, which right therefore did not before exist.

5. The correspondence of S. Basil, Bishop of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, and other Eastern Bishops, with Pope Damasus and the Bishops of the West A.D. 377. (Compare the Encyclical of the Eastern Patriarchs, p. 19, A.D. 1848.)

6. The absence of the Bishop of Rome from each of the three first General Councils—Nicaea A.D. 325; Constantinople A.D. 381; Ephesus, 431—and the presidentship exercised neither by him in person, nor by legates in his name. It was not till the fourth General Council—Ephesus A.D. 451—that this honor was assigned to Rome, the Pope, S. Leo, being allowed to preside in the person of his legates.

I have felt it necessary to draw out this line of argument in the first instance, because it would be idle to talk of "our duty towards foreign Christians," unless we see our way with perfect clearness in regard to the true character both of our own position and of theirs. [Nor do I know of any possible objection that can be urged with any force whatever against what has been now said, unless it be to this effect, viz., that we have no sufficient ground to justify what Romanists will call the arbitrary distinction which we draw between the testimony of the first four or five centuries and of those which follow. To this I answer that, although we do certainly draw this distinction, for reasons which are matters of fact and of history and which appear to us amply sufficient, we do so in favour of nothing new, of nothing that could not be "remembered" as having been "received and heard" from the beginning. It is well known that the first General Councils made this the ground of all that they determined. They assumed to authorize nothing which had not been, as they believed, already authorized in fact by the general acceptance of the Christian world. Their office, as they rightly understood it, was not to *develop* but to enunciate, and to order what required ordering in harmony with the system which the Apostles had set on foot. If it could be shown that the supremacy or the infallibility of a single bishop had been authorized from the first, or was capable of being harmonized with the Apostolic system, we should be prepared to accept that supremacy, or that infallibility, no less than we accept the orders of the ministry or the form of doctrine which we hold to be of Apostolic descent. As it is, however, we are able, as we think, to prove the contrary as plainly as anything can be proved in the history of the world, and as plainly as we prove that a mere parity in the ministry was not authorized from the first, and is not capable of being harmonized with the Apostolic system.\*]

And now, having laid this necessary foundation, I proceed to build upon it the edifice of our Christian duty, such as I understand it, in reference to the question which I have been invited to bring before you.

First, then, our duty towards foreign Christians is TO BE AT ONE WITH THEM, so far as the reasonable application of the rule of Christian unity requires in the actual circumstances of the political world. I say emphatically the political world. I hold the non-recognition of the political and national status upon this question to be as unscriptural as, practically, I am persuaded, it would be found, if not Utopian, productive of evil rather than good. I look, as I have said, to the workings of God's providence, and I find them in harmony with His written Word. By separating the nations and confounding their language, so soon as the safety of the Church would warrant such a procedure, He has set His everlasting ban against the building-up of a spiritual Babel such as that of the Church of Rome. At the same time, He says to the Church of every nation as He said to the Church of Sardis: "Remember how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast (accordingly) and repent." Do this in obedience to those who legitimately have the rule over you, and in belief of the faith as delivered from the beginning. In such a system every national Church, being equally a member of the one body, while it preserves its own proper rights as against other Churches,

\* It is scarcely necessary to explain that in the case of Churches founded subsequently to the first five centuries, or after the period when usurpation and corruption had crept in, the duty of "remembering how they had received and heard" is to be interpreted with reference to that which the universal undivided Church had received and heard.

will have the greatest possible inducement to make its people, so far as it can, good Christians, and to keep them such; otherwise it must expect to pay the penalty of its neglect (as we ourselves are now paying it in part) by suffering from the civil power an undue interference with its position, and the abridgment of its legitimate privileges. But then we, that is, members of the Church, must not attempt to make matters worse by turning round upon the State or civil power, as if that were alone to blame,\* or by suing for a divorce—still less by calling in the interference of a foreign authority—but patiently of our own selves, and as speedily as we can, work out our own repentance, our own amendment. A Church cannot really escape from the consequences of its neglect or sin any more than an individual can, except through repentance. And it would be cruel and unnatural to make the attempt at the expense of those towards whom it has been neglectful, more especially when we consider, as we are bound to do, the Divine threat before alluded to: “The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee (the Christian Church) shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.” (Isaiah lx. 12.) Moreover it is to be borne in mind, in confirmation of the view now taken, that the Church of a nation, no less than its other institutions, which are merely human (as the Church is not) does nevertheless in many things require, or may at least be greatly benefitted by, a steady and controlling as well as an establishing and supporting power; and that if that power be not found in an equitable connection between each Church and the State of its own nation, it will probably be sought either in assigning to its own laity a position *quasi-clerical*, as in the system of Geneva, or in some form of extra-national alliance with a politico-spiritual system like that of Rome, which has too often proved destructive to the liberties both of Church and State.

[In objection to the view which has now been stated, it may be urged that union among Churches is a matter so infinitely higher and more important in its nature, that it overrides, nay even supersedes, all considerations which are merely national. I admit the proposition, but I deny the inference. Disunion between Christians who are foreigners to each other is greatly to be lamented; but so is war between nations which are foreigners to each other. Either may arise through misunderstanding or mistake, but both are contrary to the will of God. “He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.” (Acts xvii. 26.) And though this blood-relationship derived from the first Adam be very different from and beyond comparison inferior to that mysterious brotherhood which all Christians have with each other through the second Adam, the former is not less real, nor is it less the appointment of God Himself.]

If it be asked what I have to say in reference to the Church of the United States of America and our own Colonial Churches, regarded from the same point of view, I reply that I look forward to their arriving in due time at the consummation which is, I believe, at once their duty, their interest, and their privilege. A nation which can boast of a Christian Church, ought also to be able to boast of a Christian State; without which no great political question can be safely or wisely solved, because all great

\* The truth is—and it is one sadly forgotten by many churchmen at the present time—the Church, even now, is not straitened in the State so much as it is straitened in its own bowels, that is in the care of the offspring whom, while holding for the most part the education of the country, and especially of the upper and politically-influential classes in its own hands, it has imperfectly taught and trained up in the doctrine and duties of its own Church membership.

those Churches are doing what it is in their power to do, manfully and successfully. Nor will they, I trust, neglect to teach that every Christian government, while it is bound not to suppress or to discourage free and full discussion, is also bound not to leave its people in ignorance or perplexity as to certain well ascertained—not opinions but—facts, viz., that the Christian religion has (because for the first five centuries it had universally) a definite ministry and a definite creed, neither of which they can wisely or prudently reject.]

I repeat, then, that our first duty towards foreign Christians is to *be at one with them*, so far as the rule of unity in the actual circumstances of Christendom can reasonably be applied. And what is this reasonable application? It extends, I maintain, no further than to the requirement of that which was required at the beginning. A sound international code between Churches (no less necessary than an international code between civil governments) should be based upon this principle, that each Church is to *remember what it received and heard at the first, in harmony with the determinations of the Church universal*, when, through God's Providence, the Church universal spoke also as the voice of the undivided Church of an universal empire. Under such a code the Bishop of Rome would be required to *remember* what the authority of his See was, for instance, in the days of S. Ambrose, and to be content to enjoy the same.\* The communities of foreign Protestants would be required to *remember* what the faith and what the organisation was which their Christian forefathers first received, and what Luther and Melancthon and even Calvin desired both the one and the other still to be at the time of the Reformation.† The same code would equally forbid all Churches to claim dominion over each other's practice or belief, in regard to matters which were not held essential to either from the time of the first settlement of both, and which are not plainly and incontestably contained in Holy Scripture. [In this manner each Church being left to the management of its own affairs, there must needs arise out of these several managements no inconsiderable differences; but such differences will constitute no proper ground of separation, in the sense of one Church virtually excommunicating another, so long as they do not extend to denial of the Articles of the Catholic faith, or to repudiation of the Catholic ministry, which is at once the

\* There is now an influential party of native Italians prepared to act upon this principle.—See the address of the Bishop of Western New York, (Dr. Cleveland Coxe, the well-known author of "Sympathies of the Continent,") delivered at the General New York Seminary on last S. Peter's day. "For the first time during 1000 years there is now a genuine Catholic party within the Roman Communion. It is a party which goes back to the old and truly General Councils, and impeaches the Pope of usurpation, being anxious to make him once more simply what he used to be—Bishop of Rome and Patriarch of the Suburbicarian region." An Italian Layman, writing to the Rev. F. Meyrick about the same time in the present year, expressed himself as follows: "Good Italians no longer recognize the Pope . . . as despot over the whole of Catholicism. We want a reformed Catholic Church, a national Italian Catholic Church, modelled after the primitive Church of Christ. Let there be still a Bishop of Rome, and let him be constituted Primate of the Italian Catholic Church, but . . . let him be amongst the other Bishops of Italy only *primus inter pares*. If the wise religious reform for which I and my friends are continually laboring is not accomplished, the future strength and grandeur of Italy become a question."

† For instance, they accepted the three creeds precisely as the Anglican eighth Article does, consequently the same creeds still retain their place at the beginning of the Symbolical Books both of the (so-called) Lutheran and Reformed Churches; and they admitted again and again that they had abandoned episcopacy only from necessity. (See this fully shewn by the author in the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. ii. pp. 3—7.)

safeguard of that faith and the most assured channel of Divine grace. Even in the primitive Church, be it remembered, there were many different forms of Liturgy, and that too among those who spoke the same language; many different codes of disciplinary canons.]

In accordance with this principle, a *formal disclaimer of disunion* between Churches, without making ourselves responsible for each other's management in details, is, I think, the great point to aim at. This, together with an exchange of mutual courtesies from time to time, would seem to be all, or nearly all, that is practicable or, perhaps, desirable at the present day between national Churches, whose language and other characteristics being different necessarily preclude on either side the hope of much or generally edifying intercourse in the celebration of Divine worship. [Nor do I see that much, if anything, is (for the same and other reasons) to be expected or desired even towards the defence of the Faith, in the circumstances of Christendom, political and ecclesiastical, as they now are. One might even conjecture that after the fifth century God's Providence designed to prevent the meeting of General Councils, as no longer necessary, and liable to be dangerous, when attempts to enunciate the truth still further could scarcely be made without developing it beyond the limit where the obligation to receive it fairly ends. There is now no power to bind independent Churches to results which they themselves do not concur in, nor is there any likelihood that such a power will ever again exist. But though I assign these apparently narrow limits to the exercise of practical unity on the widest scale, I hold that every encouragement might and ought to be given, and all brotherly fellowship shewn, in regard to the forming of congregations which one Christian Church might desire to establish for the benefit of its own members residing temporarily within the territory of another. This is virtually, though not so avowedly as might be wished in cases where it may be safely done, the condition in which we now are.]

It has been said—and, I believe, with truth—that the Church of England has separated from no Church, not even from the Church of Rome. But, on the other hand, may it not be said, with almost equal truth, that the Church of England has given, formally and avowedly given, to no Church (except the Churches which are or have been of the same nation with herself) the right hand of fellowship? The defensive and protesting spirit which was necessary for the recovery, and is still perhaps necessary for the safeguard, of our liberties as a national Church, has at the same time led us, or at least has led individuals among us, much too far in various directions, as though we had a call to act as lords over other men's faith. For my own part, I see no sufficient reason on our side why our relations with the orthodox Churches of Russia and of the East\* with the Church of Sweden,† with the Syrian Church of Malabar,‡ *perhaps*

\* In the Churches of the East the principle of a regard for Nationalities in an ecclesiastical point of view has been always recognized. Religion and patriotism have gone hand in hand. This alone should form a strong bond of union between them and ourselves, especially when we look to the contrary principle of the Church of Rome.

† I have been informed, on good authority, that Roman Catholics in Sweden are content to receive the Holy Communion from the clergy of the National Church. If this be correct, it may be held to determine sufficiently for all practical purposes the much disputed question in regard to the legitimacy of that ministry.

‡ It was with reference to the Syrian Christians of Malabar that the late Bishop of Calcutta (Dr. D. Wilson, in his Charge, 1838) made the very just and charitable remark that, "we should readily acknowledge what is good in them *without requiring of them*

with the Moravians, and even with the Gallican Church, so far as it maintains the liberties which it formerly insisted on, might not be placed upon the footing I have now described. This, on the one hand, would of course include admission to the Holy Communion, when desired, on either side; and, on the other hand, all attempts at interfering with one another in matters of ritual, *e. g.* in the mode of administering the Sacraments, or even in tenets which do not infringe upon Catholic orthodoxy, would be disclaimed and disallowed; from whence would follow, in matters of ritual, the additional advantage that the existing temptation to urge uniformity to an unnatural extent between Churches of foreign lands, would in great measure be withdrawn. And in regard to those points, whether of discipline or of doctrine, which many of us might consider questionable, we must be prepared in each case to accept the interpretation, not which we ourselves may be inclined to put upon them, but which is put upon them authoritatively by the Church which holds them. I must add that in any formal call from us to restoration of union with the Churches of the East, we should be careful not to assume that separation on our part has ever been committed, or that we as a Church are to be held responsible for the consequences of acts committed by the Church of Rome before the Reformation.

Such then would seem to be the course of duty which we have to pursue as between one Church and another. But as regards the proper subjects or members of each particular Church, the case is materially different. And here the second great rule which I would venture to lay down is this: *viz., to do nothing to encourage separation, but everything to promote formal union among themselves on the part of foreign Christians who are of the same country and nation.* The liberty of difference between different Churches, upon the grounds and to the extent which I have named, cannot properly be extended to the members of each particular Church. Each individual member must be free (at least in lay communion) to argue and contend in favour of a determination in accordance with his own judgment, but his judgment being legitimately overruled, he may not separate on that account.\* That no just exception to the application of this rule can possibly arise under any circumstances, I will not now undertake to argue; † let it be sufficient to say, that the axiom of S. Augustin, which he laid down when the Church was undivided—“*Præcidendæ unitatis nulla est justa necessitas*” ‡—this axiom, as still applicable to each individual Church, is, I believe, in strict accordance with the will of God, and with the requirements of His written Word. It is in this matter as in regard to war. A war between different nations may admit of justification, but a civil war is rarely, if ever, justifiable. No doubt efforts are to be made on the part of each Church for union, as far as may be, with all sister Churches; but they are to be made on the part of each, far more urgently and more assiduously, for union at home; because our responsibility in regard to schism at home is greater and more direct, and the evil consequences are infinitely greater and more melancholy.

*conformity to our Protestant models of liturgical worship or our western notions.*”—(See *The Christians of St. Thomas*, by Rev. G. R. Howard, p. 104.) Bishop Heber had written and acted in the same spirit.—(See *ibid.* p. 71, 75.)

\* And Separatists from each particular Church must *ipso facto* be held to be separated from all other Churches with which that Church is in communion.

† The question was fully argued in an address which I delivered not long ago at Berwick-upon-Tweed.—See *Scottish Guardian* for Feb. 1866.

‡ S. August. *Contr. Epist. Parmen.* Lib. ii. 25, vol. ix. p. 103.



What then is it that we have to aim at in accordance with this second rule, if we are to do our duty towards foreign Christians? In Italy we have to aim first at reducing the Bishop of Rome to his just dimensions; and then not at separating his people from him, but at reminding both him and them how at the beginning their first fathers received and heard. In Lutheran or Calvinistic countries we have to recommend, not the keeping apart and perfecting of their imperfect ministries,\* but a mutual approachment, on both sides, of the reformed and unreformed communities; and the same as between the Gallican Churches and the French Protestants.† We have to urge that change in divine things, and in regard to any portion of a body which has received a universal organization, is not admissible, both on other accounts and because it is at variance with the first principles of unity; and that a ministry which is at once *de facto* and *de jure* (if we except its dependence on the See of Rome) may rightly challenge the submission of a ministry subsequently introduced, and therefore not *de jure*, but only, at best, *de facto*. In short, wherever there has been a succession of a Catholic Episcopate, our duty is to strengthen its hands, provided it be willing to act freely and temperately in the interests of the Christian people of its own country, and with an eye to the things which it originally received and heard.

To sum up what has now been said. The twofold rule to be laid down for ourselves and for others is—Unity and substantial uniformity at home; and unity without uniformity abroad; that is, with foreign Christians, save only in regard to the Catholic ministry and the Catholic creed.‡ Upon these principles, which are simple, definite, practical, and as I believe, *upon no other*, the web of schism which is now spread so widely over Christendom may be disentangled. Nor need any thing perhaps be added to these fundamental principles, unless it be that Holy Scripture is to the Church, at this distance from the fountain head, the sole rule of Faith, and Antiquity its best and safest interpreter.§ If it be objected that I have appeared to

\* It is therefore perhaps not to be regretted that the attempt (which was to have proceeded upon that plan) to introduce Episcopacy and a Liturgy into Prussia at the beginning of the last century proved abortive, being terminated by the death of the king in 1713.—See an interesting account of that attempt in the *Life of Archbishop Sharp* (of York) vol. i. p. 403—449, and an article in the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, vol. i. p. 70. It is interesting to observe how similar attempts at union followed one upon another about the same period. For instance, on the part of the Non-Jurors, English and Scotch,—calling themselves “the Catholic Remnant in Britain,”—to effect reconciliation with the Eastern Church, A.D. 1716; on the part of the Jansenist Archbishop of Utrecht, for the same purpose;—both which attempts were broken off by the death of the Czar Peter the Great, A.D. 1725; and the correspondence between Archbishop Wake and Dr. Du Pin, 1717–1718, with a view to a better understanding between the Anglican and Gallican Churches. It is hoped that the time is at hand when (if the mistake be avoided of descending too much into particulars) such attempts may no longer be made without success.

† No attempt was made at the time of the Reformation to keep up an unreformed succession in Scotland, nor, I believe in any part of Scandinavia. The three Roman Catholic Bishops now in Scotland, the two now in Scandinavia (one resident at Stockholm and the other at Copenhagen) are all of a succession introduced at a later period.

‡ When I speak of the Catholic Creed, I mean the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, together with the determinations virtually put upon it by the third and fourth General Councils (of Ephesus A.D. 431, and Chalcedon A.D. 451), and expressed in the Creed of S. Athanasius.

§ Even Lord Macaulay has borne witness to this sound principle. “It is generally held, with much appearance of reason, that the most trustworthy comment on the Text of the Gospels and Epistles is to be found in the practice of the primitive Christians, when that practice can be satisfactorily ascertained.”—*Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 67.

lay too much stress upon the Catholic ministry, by putting it on the same footing, and holding it of the same necessity as the Catholic faith, I answer that I have done so because it would seem, in the dispensation of God's Providence, to be essential (as I have before observed) for the preservation of that faith, in its purity and integrity; and because I see in it the only sufficient safeguard against that which the Patriarchs of the East, in their memorable Encyclical of 1848, denominated not the great schism only, but "**THE GREAT HERESY OF THESE LATTER DAYS**," viz., the Papacy of Rome in its present form. Whatever may be the case in regard to individuals, in regard to Churches it would seem to be God's will that real or fancied pursuit of *truth* apart from *order*, while it leads to confusion and every evil work, should also lead to *untruth* as great or greater than that which it designed to shun.

In conclusion, I would express my fear that a mere skeleton such as that now offered, of so vast a subject, cannot but leave much room for doubt, and perhaps for misunderstanding; but it seemed better to occupy the allotted time by a sketch in outline, however slight, of the entire subject, than by the fuller exhibition of any single part. And I would add, that the rules suggested are to be urged by us, if urged at all, not as though we ourselves had already attained, or were already perfect, but as desiring to receive in our turn the word of exhortation and admonition from other Churches.

What has been said is tendered in a truth-seeking spirit, with faith and love; and may God bless it (so far as it accords with His holy will for the unity of His Church on earth) to our common edification!

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## INTERCOMMUNION WITH THE SCANDINAVIAN CHURCH.

BY THE REV. F. S. MAY.

IN consequence of the melancholy decease of my friend the Rev. Charles Oakley, with whom the last words that I ever exchanged were on the proceedings of this day, it now devolves on me to invite your attention to a special branch of the topic of this meeting, which, even before I was ordained in this city nine years ago, had impressed me with an absorbing sense of its importance. But first permit me to congratulate the Managing Committee of this Congress of "the United Church of England and Ireland," that they have put so large and truly Catholic an interpretation on the wording of its constitution as to invite to instruct us in the person of Bishop Wordsworth, a father of a Church which is not, in the more narrow and temporal sense, a portion of our "United Church," nor is even, like our Colonial branches, in union and full communion with it, but is simply a Sister-Church, in full communion with us indeed, but completely independent. I am glad of this, especially because the precedent is thus given for the similar participation in subsequent Congresses of dignitaries from any other Church holding communion with us, and hence encourages the hope that hereafter the subject now to be introduced by me will be more satisfactorily handled by Scandinavians themselves.

However, this subject could have been introduced nowhere more fittingly than here—in the midst of a region which is mainly Scandinavian in population, which was under Scandinavian rule even when Alfred was king of the “Shires,” wherein the first Scandinavian prince was brought to the faith and font, and where, moreover, at the present day, a Scandinavian princess again resides.

Since I am anxious to avoid going over the same ground as other speakers, I will but briefly say that a sense of common danger has indeed already led to some instinctive drawing together of those Christian believers who, under whatever outward diversities, really agree in the main, against the multiform attacks of the one common foe. It is in all quarters more or less consciously felt that one of the most prime conditions for success in the warfare of Christ's Church on earth, is the abatement of the numerous divisions among the faithful—the abandonment (as far as may be) of the narrow isolation into which, whether by our fault or by our misfortune, we have gradually declined. Peace, indeed, is in no wise to be sought for at the expense of truth; but, with that limitation, many now feel it more and more deeply that we are to watch and pray and venture in faith for the widest possible restoration of what we know was once a fact, and is still the will of God and the genuine tendency of the Gospel—Catholic Intercommunion.

Bishop Burnet says that a German divine once replied to his urgings to attempt a fusion of the Continental Lutherans and Calvinists, “Let the Church of England heal her own breaches, and all the rest of the reformed Churches will with great respect admit of her mediation to heal theirs.” If, in like manner, any of ourselves are inclined to think that to look abroad for more Church union is beginning at the wrong end, and that we ought naturally to commence with trying to win back Dissenters at home, I would plead, on the contrary, that our Dissenters would be much more likely to defer to our representations if they saw us backed by powerful allies, would be much more likely to admit the mediation of some third party, of which they could not so colourably say that it was already interested and committed to a side. I believe that this consideration is quite enough to meet such a demur to an opinion on the soundness of which I for one profoundly rely, that to labour for the Restoration of Intercommunion, as it is one of our most bounden, so it is also one of our most immediate duties.

Now, it would seem a self-evident maxim that, in endeavours for Intercommunion, we ought at least not to neglect making advances towards those who already are nearest to us, especially to those, if any, whose communion with us is not in fact broken off, but is merely (to a great extent) dormant. This maxim doubtless sends us directly to one specific region of Christendom—the Scandinavian North. Recently, the American General Convention and the Convocation of Canterbury have, as we know, made overtures towards the Russo-Greek Church. We ought of course to seize everything that looks like an opportunity for promoting Christian oneness, and in every direction to hope against hope; and there are none but would rejoice at any increase of union with the ancient East, not inconsistent with our present Formularies and Articles; yet surely it would be a course both impolitic and laying us open to unkind suspicions if we only gave vent to our sympathies in *that* direction. But the Church in Scandinavia stands nearest to us of all foreign Christendom, and we are drawn towards her by the cumulative

force of motives both ecclesiastical and mixed, which all together can be pleaded for her alone. Not only is she Episcopal, but she is also Reformed; in her origin she is mainly Anglican; nor, though the consideration is unecclesiastical, would it be natural to forget that the great bulk of our own population, whether so-called Norman or Danish or Angle or even Saxon, is of common ancestry with that of the North. Further, so far as regards at least Sweden and Finland, the Church there has ever continued, however little this may have been noted, in eucharistic and ministerial communion with us.

I will now proceed to support what I have asserted of these remarkable motives, in a rapid sketch of the Scandinavian Church's formation and reformation. (1.) First, then, as to the *formation* of the Church in Scandinavia. The first missionaries of name who crossed the Eyder into Denmark were Wilfrid of York, and Willibrod of Utrecht, both Englishmen (at the close of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth centuries.) A more persistent endeavour to convert Scandinavia was commenced in the century following, by the apostolic Ansgar, and continued by other less single-hearted occupants of the see of Hamburg or Bremen; but, as that archdiocese and all the contiguous parts of Germany had been themselves but recently indebted for their Christianity to our Saint Boniface and his companions, this German mission may be regarded as English second-hand. But this German mission effected a footing only on the mainland provinces of Denmark and in the south of Sweden. It was reserved for England to complete directly that conversion which she had directly begun. The union of this Crown with that of Denmark in the person of Canute occasioned the erection of sees in the Danish islands which were first filled with Englishmen consecrated at Canterbury, whose names and relics are still reverently cherished. Other bishops and priests were sent forth from our Church who finished the evangelization of Sweden, and to whom the reduction of Norway to the obedience of faith is due entirely. Among them we may instance Bishops Sigfrid and Godbald and Bothwid. Sigfrid, who fixed his See at Wexio, baptized the first Swedish king in the well still accounted holy at Husaby. Thus the national establishment of a Scandinavian Church, independent of the Germans, was eventually accomplished, which was not long in extending itself—still with many missionaries from England, such as St. Henry of Upsal—over the whole of its spiritual heritage, inclusive of Finland, Iceland, Greenland, and successfully spreading the Gospel (as then understood) even beyond those borders.

Such in brief was the formation of the Scandinavian or Northern Church; thus, her being mainly Anglican in origin, is the *first* motive, at least in order of time, for our being specially drawn to her in all apostolic love.

The Church thus founded, may be said to have received the fulness of its mediæval organization at the Synod of Skenning in 1248, at the hands of our countryman Nicholas Breakspeare, once of St. Alban's Abbey, then Papal Legate, and finally Pope Adrian IV. This organization, though mediæval in general type, left greater play for evangelical and national workings, than was the case with the Roman obedience on the Continent. Whether the freer self-consciousness of the Scandinavian Church was fostered or not by her closer intercourse with ourselves, as being usually comprised in the portion of the West, termed in

Universities and at Councils, the "Anglican Nation," it is certain that the Roman Canon-law never succeeded in obtaining recognition, and that few did more to pave the way for reform than that remarkable woman, who, though canonized as St. Bridget, spared not even the so-called Vicar of Christ in her prophet-like denunciations.

(2.) But with the Reformation in the sixteenth century arose the second great and enduring motive for our special attraction to the North. Sweden, including Finland, had just before been made an independent state by Gustave Wasa (leaving only Norway and the Islands in the hands of Denmark); and it was in this portion of the Scandinavian Church that the Reformation was earliest begun and best carried out. Here alone, of all countries except England and Ireland, can it be said on sufficient evidence that the Reformation was not followed by the loss of the Apostolic Succession.\* The succession was preserved by Peter Manson who, before the breach with Rome was accomplished, was duly elected Bishop of Westeraes, and whose election was confirmed by the Pope. At that time all the sees in Sweden were vacant except two, and the Bishops of these two shortly after left the kingdom; but Peter Manson, who was then residing at Rome, as Warden of the Swedish Hospital, was consecrated in that city by a Cardinal. The name of his consecrator, indeed, is not now known, and the Vatican denies the existence of any record of his consecration. But during Manson's lifetime, the Romish party, as well as the Protestant, owned him as a valid Bishop; some of the Bishops he consecrated were ultimately ejected for resisting the Reformation; and when, with the assistance of one of these, he afterwards consecrated the Reformer Laurence Peterson to the Archdiocese of Upsal, he and his brother prelate secretly framed a protest against the validity of all their episcopal acts, *not* on the ground that they had never been consecrated, but because what they had done "had been done under the constraint of force and the influence of fear, and not according to the Roman forms." A doubt has also of late years been raised, both by Romanists and by some among ourselves, respecting the valid consecration of the successor to the first Reformed Archbishop, since neither in this case is the documentary evidence complete of the consecration of the (single) Bishop who performed that act; but here again is an opposite consideration of immense weight, namely, that this new Archbishop was a man of the highest Patristic school of Theology, accused of Romanizing, and certainly fully awake to the short-comings and excesses of the Continental Lutherans. I cannot here enter into a defence of the Swedish succession from the attacks on these two links in its chain; but I would refer those who wish for such, to several papers which I contributed to the "Colonial Church Chronicle" in 1861. They were the fruit of considerable research, and in entering on the inquiry, I strove to divest my mind of bias, and honestly to examine all that could be gathered, both for and against. I have since seen no cause for altering the conclusion I then arrived at, but all I have observed (whether at home or in Sweden) has only tended to confirm me in my persuasion of its correctness. The documentary evidence is indeed not perfect; but a contrary hypothesis would involve such gross improbabilities, that we—who as

\* The claim of the "Moravians," being unaffected by the Reformation of the sixteenth century, is not here referred to.

Christians must in the highest matters be content with proof short of demonstration—may here also accept the Apostolic Succession of Sweden, on the ground of a moral certainty. In so doing, we follow the unanimous consent of our past divines, among whom are especially noteworthy the names of Grabe and of Routh; in so doing, we follow the compilers of the Oxford "Catechism," who enumerated the Swedish Church among those which "continue both in the doctrine and in the fellowship of the Apostles;" in so doing, we agree also with our American brethren, whose Convention has recently decided that "no reason exists to think the Swedish Succession lost," and by whose Bishops the orders of Swedish priests have ever been and still are admitted.

In Denmark, however, and its dependencies, the Scandinavian Church was in this respect not so happy. The Reformation was at first opposed by the whole Episcopate. On this account, and also for political crimes, the King, Christian III., in 1536, suddenly placed most of them under arrest, made them resign their sees, and promise not to oppose the Reformation for the future. These were then presented to deaneries, canonries, &c.; and there, true to their promise, remained in communion with the Church till their deaths. But their successors were consecrated by Bugenhagen, a "Superintendent" invited from Germany for that purpose. Hence the new Episcopate of Denmark became irregular; the former Bishops had either peaceably resigned to it, or remained in their sees side by side with it; but it cannot be proved, though indeed it cannot be *disproved*, that any of the former Bishops took part in consecrations of their successors, nor (again) that our Bishop Coverdale did so while sheltered in Denmark, in Queen Mary's time. Only *this* is certain, that the old Episcopate vacated its authority in favour of the new. Thus viewed, the position of the Church now in Denmark, Norway, and Iceland, is singular; being neither that of ourselves nor of Sweden, but neither again that of the Protestants in Germany, who abandoned all pretence of giving episcopal consecration to their Superintendents.

But, to pass on to the *doctrinal* position which Scandinavia assumed at the Reformation. It is incorrect to speak at least of the Swedish Church as Lutheran; the epithet is not official, and has never wanted divines to condemn its popular use. In Denmark, though the Germanizing has gone further, the Lutheran (so-called) "*Liber Concordiæ*" was solemnly rejected; the school of Calixtus (himself a Sleswicker) next became predominant; and now, after recovering from the contagion of continental Rationalism, the school of Grundtvig has arisen and gained power, though it is called by opponents not only un-Lutheran but un-Protestant.

But this is not a question of mere names: Maro was probably a heretic, but Rome was too wise to reject the Maronites on that account. Let us look to the authorized standards of the Scandinavian Church. In the Synod of Upsal, in 1593, she declared, "Our doctrine is grounded on nothing other than on the Holy Scriptures, and hath the testimony of the ancient Fathers of the Church." Like us, she maintains the three Creeds of the West, and the Latin originals are of equal validity with the local versions, so that any imperfection in the latter is destitute of importance. And if in the Danish version of the Apostles' Creed, *Christian* is substituted for the native equivalent of *Catholic* elsewhere used, Calixtus has long since shown against Jesuit objectors that the same

inaccuracy is found in versions of the Belief made by German Bishops a century before Luther, and we meet with it in Anglo-Saxon times in our own Church. As to the rituals, these, like our own, are more or less judicious revisions of the Mediæval Uses, reformed in so conservative a spirit as to have constantly provoked the dislike of foreign ultra-Protestants. Their character is tolerably well known, so that I will only speak of what they contain on the one point on which, if any, they might be suspected of coming short. The Swedish Church Ordinance of Laurence Peterson declares, after copying the Patristic quotation on episcopacy which still stands in the Roman Catholic standards, that the "Order of Bishops hath proceeded from God the Holy Ghost, the Author of all good gifts, hath been universally received and acknowledged by Catholic Christendom, and must so stand until the world's end." This solemn statement is followed by an equally solemn form of episcopal consecration, equally sufficient and distinctive with that used among ourselves. It is remarkable that the Danish ritual also is in the same respect unexceptionable, if only the Bugenhagenian irregularity had been overcome.

I have spoken of the Rituals of the North, because the *lex orandi* is of necessity *lex credendi*. The Augustan Confession has there been admitted to a place like that of the Thirty-nine Articles here. So the Scandinavian Clerical Test is the Confession which Bishop Bull declared to be "for many reasons the noblest of all such, sanctioned at the time of its publication by all the reformed divines, and copied or imitated by the English Church in her own Articles." It is that Confession of whose subscribers (as Mr. Keble has remarked) our revisers, in 1661, declared with satisfaction that they had never found fault with the English Prayer-book. We know, indeed, that some men have raised objections to the Augustan Confession—one class detecting in it Solifidianism, though content with its teaching on the Sacraments—another, again, applauding its doctrine of Justification, but charging it with Consubstantiation. Time forbids, even if it were requisite, to discuss these disputes. But I am content, as to the first point, to refer to such divines as Cassander, and Bull, and Thorndike, and Forbes, who have vindicated or excused the language of this Confession, against the complaint raised by Bellarmine and oddly re-echoed by Baxter. As for the latter point, a *catena* can be produced of Anglican divines, from Barnes, Bucer, Guest, and Saravia to the present day, who have taught in precisely the same language; and the charge of Consubstantiation has ever been denied by all the Scandinavian subscribers of this Confession. Dr. King was thanked by the Bishop and University of Copenhagen, for saying "They believe a real and true presence . . . . in a manner ineffable, which our Saviour Himself is best able to know and do; whereas Consubstantiation would imply something more natural and carnal." And he adds, "They are very desirous to be rightly understood. Did princes think it worth their while to promote their union with the Church of England, this business would make no difference. It would be of wonderful consequence if princes should really promote this union between Churches so considerable, and no better work could be performed in this turbulent and divided state of the Church of Christ."

Rapid and defective as this sketch has been, I trust it has established the assertion that in the state to which the Reformation has brought

the Scandinavian Church, exists a second great and enduring reason for our cultivating with her the most friendly relations—full intercommunion with her where, as in Sweden and Finland, her succession is regular, and a respectful readiness to contribute to its rectification where it is not. Such has in fact been the attitude of our communion. Before the United States became independent the pastors of the Swedish congregations of the part of Pennsylvania then styled *New Sweden*, were freely admitted to officiate in the English churches across the Atlantic; and to one of these pastors was twice offered a colonial incumbency by the Bishop of London's Commissary. The correspondence respecting the Swedish-American clergy which passed between Swedish Bishops and the See of London shows how affectionately Bishop Robinson regarded their Church, and how fully he recognized their episcopal character. When the Swedish-American mission came to an end, its congregations were merged in the newly-perfected Anglo-Episcopal Church; and the last surviving Swedish rector, the Rev. Dr. Collin, was admitted as a legitimately ordained presbyter into the Diocesan Convention of Pennsylvania. In the same manner, at the present time, the Rev. Jacob Bredberg, who was ordained by the Swedish Bishop of Scara, is officiating in the State of Illinois, having been instituted by the Bishop of that Diocese (Dr. Whitehouse) without re-ordination, to the Rectory of St. Ansgar, Chicago. Only short of this has been our intimacy with the Danish part of the Northern Church. The long and happy connexion of the *Christian Knowledge Society* with the Danish Mission in Tranquebar can never be forgotten. When Bishop Heber landed in India he went to Trichinopoly, blessed the Danish priests and their work, and worshipped with them at their altar.

The population of all Scandinavia, including Finland and Sleswig, is now not much short of ten millions; and except three or four thousand Dissenters, puritan or popish, composes a Church ruled over by twenty-nine bishops. The importance of the geographical position of the country, between Russia and Germany, is increasingly felt by British politicians; the importance of the position of its Church, similarly intermediate, demands an equal share of attention from English Churchmen. No change of policy, no novelty in our attitude is needed; we have simply to develop the principles of our forefathers, and act as they would have acted had they lived in our days.

In two matters we might thus hope to effect a *tangible* good, alike to our Northern brethren and to ourselves. Thousands of Scandinavian immigrants have of late years collected in the Western States of America. While unassisted from at home, or by our sister Church on the spot, they became largely united to Methodists or German Lutherans; but those who joined the latter have since withdrawn, and in a new organization have restored the copy of their Church at home in all but episcopacy (though their clergy are partly English in ordination). If proper efforts were made by us to strengthen the hands of those who, in Scandinavia, are already reviving a higher estimate of that "gift of God," which Archbishop Peterson declared "needful for ever," then (as Bishop Coxe has pointed out) an episcopate planted from Sweden among the Scandinavians of America, would be a great step in unity at once, and a prospect would be opened up of recovering to a better path the Germans there of Lutheran name, who have split into a score of



sects. The union of all under one common episcopate would, indeed, be more normal; but an episcopate side by side is an intermediate expedient practised in many lands and from early times.

The second great matter in which our judicious aid would do tangible good, is by promoting the rectification of the episcopate in Denmark and Norway. As the Bishop of Oxford has said, "We might unite in common action, and by consecrating . . . . . for one of the sees promote communion." This our laws admit, and precedent has sanctioned it—I mean the rectification of the Scottish Church under our first King James. It is now no secret, that the idea is already entertained with favour in some of the highest quarters in the lands on both sides of the North Sea. But for all such ideas to be realized, forbearance and modesty are essential. While we offer Scandinavia our assistance to overcome the effects of Germanizing influences, once too indiscriminately admitted, we must not behave as if our Prayer-book or Articles were absolute perfection; we must grant our brethren the same liberty which we take for ourselves—namely, to prefer their own rites and standard, and to refrain from new definitions on questions which at present are left open. But if, laying aside ambitious conceit and insular narrowness, we seek a better acquaintance by literary and personal intercourse, my own recent visit to the North assures me, that we shall on their part be met in the same spirit of Christian humility and catholic love.

It has been feared by some (with Professor Goldwin Smith) that as the yearning for intercommunion increases, incited by so many concurrent causes—as the wane of the Popedom, the upgrowth of infidelity, the facilitation of all human intercourse—the diversities of national Church establishments will make them come at length to be regarded as "standing organizations of hopeless schism." Let it not be so, as regards at least ourselves and the Scandinavians, already nearest and dearest to us of all our Christian brethren abroad. As Judah and Benjamin, let these two tribes worship together in the Second Temple of the Reformation: as the two Witnesses in the Apocalypse, let them—even though they shall yet be clothed in sackcloth—prophecy, in the harmony of unflinching faithfulness and mutual attestation, preparing for the return of One Lord to One Church!

## THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS FOREIGN CHRISTIANS.

By THE REV. LORD C. A. HERVEY.

HAVING been invited by the Committee to address this meeting upon the subject which has been brought before us, I feel that an apology is due for having accepted the invitation, for it is only owing to the kindness of an individual member, that one so incompetent and unworthy as myself is placed in such a position. The first paper, read by the Bishop of St. Andrews, has laid the foundation which appears to me as necessary for the consideration of the subject. In the first instance, we must know

what we are, and what our objects are, before we can possibly understand what our duties to the foreign Church can be. Those duties and objects, as laid down, I entirely and cordially assent to, as I feel them to be of the utmost importance. Amongst other things, special churches have been alluded to, but there are other duties to which I believe I am rather expected to draw attention, in the few words which I shall address to you. Those are duties of a different kind, and apply to the special state and circumstances of the people of Italy at the present time. We see that people calling upon us—not in a mere figurative sense—to go and help them to do for themselves what we have done for ourselves, namely, to bring about a reformation. I will not attempt to go into details, but the political circumstances of Italy generally seem to have a likeness to our own. They seem to afford great facilities for a very important work. The desire for spiritual good is spreading far and wide, and whatever our own protestant ideas may be, we must perceive that the priesthood is doing its duty as the divinely-appointed teacher of the people. It is a most interesting fact to know, that the priesthood is calling upon us at the present time, through very many of its leading members, to give help of a marked kind. They would not like us to interfere in any way, but there are means, doubtless, by which we may show our sympathy more than by a mere expression of words. Our duty with reference to that people, as a national Church, is to be measured very much by our duties as individuals. We must remember that a city set upon a hill cannot be hid, and that we, as a city set upon a hill, ought to let our light shine before men. We ought to let our Church system be looked to at home; and if we would do the people good, we must certainly begin at home, and see that we can present to them not a mere book system, but a practical and real life system of Church unity. We must remember the purpose for which it pleased our blessed Lord to establish His Church in the world. In its outward form we believe it was established a divinely-appointed system of ministry, as we have our bishops, priests, and deacons, who are the means to an end—the end being the salvation and sanctification of man, the redemption of sinners. This is a point which we ought never to lose sight of. We ought never to lay more stress upon that which is, after all, but a means, than we do upon that which is the great end of those means. No doubt, in attempting to make our sympathies practical, a great many important difficulties will arise. Some of our friends, who have met privately, know well what those difficulties are, but it is not for us on the present occasion to go into details.

In contemplating the work we must contemplate the results, and if we do show our sympathies in a way which I think we ought to shew them in—to let them know what we are and how we have done our work, and how we profit by it—we must contemplate what will be the result of letting them know such experience. If there is any truth in the statement which I believe is universally accepted, that the Church of Rome has not fulfilled her mission, that under her care corruption is rampant throughout the land, and that infidelity is to be met with on all hands—if this be a true statement, and I believe nobody will deny it who has considered the subject, we ought not to withhold from the people of Italy the light which we ourselves possess, and we ought to expect that some consequences will result from our efforts. You cannot stir up the minds of men, and especially the minds of warm-blooded Italians, by the constant efforts which you are making to enlighten them, without stirring up in some

hearts a desire to gain a better position of things. No doubt our duty as a Church would be to do nothing but set before them what they ought to aim at, but I think we must contemplate that whilst we are so working there will be many crying cases calling for something more than a mere feeling of sympathy to which we should all have hearts to respond. I will give but a single instance. A parish priest, a most excellent man, going on as long as he could in his own parish church, preaching the truth, endeavoured to supplement his work by preaching to his parishioners in private rooms, and using the Common Prayer-book of our Church, but he was suspended by the bishop, and his means of living were taken away. Now, what is a man in that position to do? Was he not doing the very thing which we told him to do? We have encouraged him. We have endeavoured to make him feel that he could leaven the lump, but not come out of it, otherwise the lump would not be leavened. We cannot say, "What ought to be shall be." We may form our theories, but after all if we must deal with men we must deal with the practice. We must deal with what is practicable, understanding the feelings and hearts and minds of the people with whom we have to deal. I feel that we have duties with respect to these persons; I think we ought to have Christian sympathies towards them, even if they are doing things which we may not think are best for them to do. Clearly they are in a state which demands our sympathy, but surely they demand something more than this. Surely we ought to give them help. If a man, in all conscience, feels that he is bound as a priest in Holy Orders to minister the Word and Sacraments, I can well forgive that man if he has a doubt in his mind as to whether he owes allegiance to some usurped power of a kind foreign to his own personal Church, or whether he is bound by him over whom no bishop has authority—the Great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls—to minister the Word and Sacraments. Understand me. I do not venture to speak authoritatively on these matters, but at all events I venture to say we are bound to feel that a man in such circumstances as these, and they are not fancied or imaginary cases, but real practical cases of which many examples exist; I say we may fancy that such a man may feel bound to minister the Word and Sacrament as his people may wish according to our teaching. Then shall we, because he may have stepped just beyond the line marked out for him, at once withdraw our sympathy from him, and say, "Now we have brought you out; we have awakened you to see the state of corruption which exists all around you; we shall now cut off your supplies, and you must be left to yourself to earn your own livelihood?" This is a question which I must leave to wiser men than myself to dispose of, but I confess that, so far as my own individual feeling goes, I think we might assist the Italian people in some quiet way; not by any regular plan, but in a quiet unobtrusive way we might find means to give them some real positive help. I would urge in the strongest way that our friends in Italy should remain in the society of the Church of Rome if possible, in order that they might use that influence which we as a Church ought to desire to see used for the purpose of bringing about the enjoyment which we in this country enjoy, namely, independence of usurped tyrannical authority of a bishop professing an universal jurisdiction, which we know we have no claim to, and which, as we can prove from the writers of his own Church, he has no claim to whatever.

## THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS FOREIGN CHRISTIANS.

BY THE REV. J. S. HOWSON.

IN asking you to listen to what is modestly called an address, as opposed to a formal paper, I have this advantage, that I am sure you will all extend your indulgence to one who appears before you at the last moment in consequence of the death of a gentleman whom you hoped to have listened to. It is true that I am not going to speak upon a subject to which I have not given careful attention. Some months ago, the Secretaries of the Congress did me the favour of asking me to read one of the principal papers, but at that time I had not the prospect of being able to attend the Congress, and of course I could not give a promise. The part which I was to have taken was assigned to Dr. Jacobson, but he was shortly afterwards appointed to the Bishopric of Chester, and Bishop Wordsworth took his place. Subsequently it pleased God to call Mr. Oakley away by death, and so it happens that I am before you to speak upon a subject on which, under other circumstances, I might have been able to dwell more at length. I have, however, had the benefit of conversing with Dr. Jacobson about it, and I believe that, though I can hardly be called his representative, I shall say nothing of which he would not approve.

The subject is of peculiar difficulty on two grounds. In the first place, when we are invited to consider what is our duty towards Continental Christians, I imagine we have to think, in answer to that question, of an aggregate of very various duties. The countries of Europe vary so much that our duties to them must necessarily vary. Our duties in Roman Catholic countries cannot be the same as our duties in Protestant countries. Our attitude in the Church of England is both Protestant and Catholic, but there is great ground for prudence. Are we to put our Protestant side foremost in a Roman Catholic country and our Catholic side foremost in a Protestant country, or are we to reverse the process?

These differences and varieties suggest to us the need of very careful and watchful discrimination. But there is a difficulty of another kind. If we visit any one country, we cannot find it easy to thoroughly understand and fathom the whole religious mind of that country. Imagine a foreigner coming to England this week, and paying one visit to Norwich—visiting the Cathedral and its cloisters, and attending our meetings, and then going to such a town as Liverpool, where I live, and walking amongst the gin-shops. He would then have two views of England as different as it would be possible to conceive. And such is the case with ourselves. I am sometimes astonished at the easy way in which a man will take a tour through a country of which he knows nothing, and after an absence of three or four weeks come back to enlighten us on the whole religious state of that country. It is extremely important to ascertain the facts before we apply what we conceive to be the remedy for a defective state of religion.

Having ventured upon these preliminary remarks, I will say a few words about the subject which Lord C. Hervey has brought before us.—I mean the country of Italy. I think there is great reason why we should

take pains in considering the condition of that country, because the interest connected with Italy is very remarkable just now. The state of public feeling there on religion is something quite unexampled, and it is not by any means impossible that some of those great religious problems which have perplexed men for generations, may receive their solution near the centre of the Papacy itself. I have visited Italy two years in succession, and though my time there has been short, yet I have been very much with those who are interested in practical religious subjects; and I think I could confidently and clearly define six\* phases of religious opinion and feeling.

In the first place you have the hierarchical party, a party which would subordinate everything, even the national life of Italy, to the retention of the Papal power, temporal and spiritual, as it is, and with the principles on which it was consolidated by such men as Gregory the Seventh and Innocent the Third. These men have no real patriotic feeling. Their whole being is absorbed in the maintenance of the Papal power as it is. And it would be quite a mistake to suppose that this is a weak party. It is not an impossibility that there may be a complete reaction, and that all the reform movement may be re-absorbed in a strong hierarchical recovery on the part of the clergy, backed by the peasantry. Almost all the higher clergy—I mean the Bishops—are of this party, and it is not at all unnatural that it should be so, when their interests and peculiar circumstances are taken into consideration.

The second party which I think can be clearly defined, is one which desires large ecclesiastical, though not as yet doctrinal reform—a party of which the most distinguished man is Passaglia, who has an intense and vehement desire for Italian nationality, and who has a great dislike of the French and a great love of the English. I remember he spoke to me in the most affectionate terms of the brother of Bishop Wordsworth, while he spoke in the most respectful manner of Dr. Wordsworth's Greek Testament. One of the great desires of this party is to elevate and educate the clergy; as any one may see who reads the periodicals edited by Passaglia.

The third party is eminently deserving of our sympathy, and includes a large number of the clergy, though the laymen predominate. They advocate such measures as the perfect freedom of the clergy to marry, the adoption of a service in the Italian language, a free and full circulation of the Scriptures, a most careful study of the Scriptures by every human being, the administration of the Communion in both kinds, and the reduction of the Pope to what one of the previous speakers described as his proper dimensions, which means, I suppose, a certain honourable precedence over other Bishops of Italy. Still in this party also the reforming tendencies are rather on the practical than on the doctrinal side. This again is very evident, that there exists amongst this party a most cordial feeling towards England. I may mention one periodical which represents them, the *Esaminatore*, because those who are here may speak of it to others, besides seeking opportunities of seeing it themselves. They will be glad to see letters written by laymen and priests expressing cordially their desire for such a reform as we may hope to see effected in Italy, if we help the people without interfering with them. We may help them, as a nation which we honour, according to the principles stated in

\* In consequence of want of time, the speaker was only able to allude to three of them.

the preface to our Prayer-book. "In these our doings we condemn no other Nations, nor prescribe anything but to our own people only: for we think it convenient that every Country should use such Ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living."

## DISCUSSION.

THE REV. F. G. LEE, General Secretary of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, said: I venture to advocate the claims of this society, the aim and object of which bears very strongly and pointedly upon the subject now before the Congress. And first I would remark, with reference to what has just fallen from one of the speakers, that though it was quite accurate to say that the actual decrees of the Council of Trent were not received by the Eastern Church; yet the Synod of Bethlehem in the seventeenth century had substantially affirmed the main points of principle in regard to the doctrines of faith and of the sacraments as generally held by Latins, and that to all intents and purposes, the dogma of the *Filioque* excepted, Greeks and Latins were agreed. I wish to point out the absence of a sufficient form for conveying the character of the priesthood in the Scandinavian community, as well as the elimination of the words of consecration in their "Form for the Supper of the Lord," warning those who propose to begin the work of reunion with the reformed sects abroad, that it would be wiser and more likely to bring down a general blessing on Christendom generally if the three great portions of the Christian family were first again visibly united. Four points need to be very earnestly and seriously pressed in our communications with foreign Churches; first, that we are identical with the English Church of former ages; secondly, that we are catholic both in doctrine and practice; thirdly, that in our relations with them, we wish to treat both East and West as portions of the one catholic family; and fourthly, that in any ministrations needful for Church of England people abroad, no attempts be made to insult nor disparage foreign Catholics. If such a policy as this were generally adopted, instead of distributing tracts and sermons of more than questionable orthodoxy, which only tend to widen the breach and to degrade the English Church in the eyes of foreigners to the position of a mere modern sect; if we proclaim on all hands the existence of such an organization as the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, the needful change of sentiment will soon be perceptible. Foreign Catholics would thus learn that we hold principles in common with themselves; and, when they are further informed of the existence of a sodality which originated in England, numbering between eight and nine thousand persons praying daily for unity, they would see that a reunion was not only desired but possible. This Association has been signally blessed since its foundation: about twelve hundred Roman Catholics and more than three hundred and fifty Greeks already belong to it, and its numbers are increasing day by day. It may be hoped, therefore, that those who are not yet members will enrol their names. Nothing more deserves consideration than the absence of visible unity; nothing more successfully hinders our work at home or cripples our missionary operations abroad. Visible disunion must blight the fairest hopes and mar the best-laid plans. In too many cases those who have gone forth to spread the Gospel have been reluctantly forced to admit that failure stares them in the face. The need of visible unity, in the place of division and contradiction, in the stead of divisions ever multiplying divisions, is felt in real earnest by those who speak with lamentation of their missionary difficulties in private letters, rather than garnish a questionable story or suppress a glaring failure for home-circulated Reports. True, difficulties are great, but hitherto success has been so manifest—God having signally blessed the work—that progress and triumph are certain. What has been may be. The Church has been one of old; and in due course, if Faith and Patience and Hope—with Energy labouring hand in hand with Discretion—are increasing and deepening, the untold blessings of a reunited Christendom—the blessings upon the peacemakers—will be known in their fullness either to ourselves, our children, or children's children.

MR. O'MALLEY: I have no wish to enter into the discussion which is the subject of our meeting to-day, but, as a layman of the Church of England, I desire that it should

not be taken as the general feeling of the laity that in all questions of Christian unity the non-episcopal Churches of the Continent are to be entirely ignored. (Cries of "Question!") I am speaking to the question. The gentleman who cries "question" does not know what the meaning of the word is. If I understand the proposition laid down by the Bishop of St. Andrews, it is that our union with foreign Christians must be based upon this condition—that they are one with us upon the question of Christian doctrine and Christian ministry. Now, if that means anything it means that if the members of Christian Churches abroad are not brought under the episcopate, we cannot hold out the hand of brotherhood to them as Christian Churches. Therefore, the first condition of our acknowledgment of them as Christian brethren must be that they are content to resign their present position, which is said to be an irregular position, and to become members of a Church acknowledging only episcopalian orders. If that be the proposition of the Right Rev. Prelate, I desire to protest against it in the name of a large body of the laity, whose opinions I can venture to express, and in the name of a large body of the clergy of the Church of England too. ("No, no!") It is a matter of indifference to me whether the sentiments which I utter be acceptable to the majority of this meeting or not. I am standing in the sight of God, as a member of the Church of England, and above all as a member of the Church of Christ, and as such I do protest against the doctrine that a question of episcopal or non-episcopal orders should separate Christians who acknowledge a common Lord; when I find it written in the Word of God that we are to hold out the hand of brotherhood to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ and desire His appearing. Now, a word with respect to what has fallen from the last speaker. I received, I believe, from the hands of the gentleman himself a very extraordinary document which advocates the union of prayer amongst the members of the Anglican, the Roman Catholic, and the Greek Churches, the object of which prayer is the unity of Christendom. Now, that can mean nothing unless it means that persons who do not belong to the Anglican, the Roman Catholic, or the Greek Churches, whether they be Christians or not, are not entitled to range under the association. It must mean either the one or the other. (No, no.) If gentlemen will hear the finish of the sentence which I am about to utter before they express an opinion upon it they will do more credit to themselves. It either means that the bodies who are not ranged under either of those three Churches are not entitled to be considered as parts of Christendom, or it means that they are to be technically ranged according to the districts in which they exist as schismatic members of some one of these three Churches; or else it must mean that they may be Christians, but in the question of an appeal to God for unity their prayers are not to be invited. (No, no.) I ask any gentleman who says "no," to stand up and give another interpretation of the words. Against any one of those propositions I entirely protest, and I believe that the Church of England and its Articles protest against them too. I know that there are persons here who differ from me, who suppose that the question which has been so elaborately mooted to-day as to the validity of an old Scandinavian bishop's consecration title is one on which the right of a Church to be called a sister Church depends, but I beg to say that those who hold that opinion do not represent the entire opinion of the Church of England either clerical or lay. I will not enter into any discussion on the question. I merely rose as I felt compelled by a sense of duty to enter my protest against doctrines which I believe to be not shared in by a great many of the laity of the Church; and I will only add with respect to the proposition for the three Churches to unite in prayer for the unity of Christendom, that I am afraid the persons who offered up such prayer would do so with very different intentions. The Church of England might be praying with the intention that the Church of Rome should resign some part of its utter and absolute corruptions, and the Church of Rome might be praying that the Church of England would repent of its heresy and schism and go back to the bosom of the Universal Church. For different individuals in different Churches to offer up such a prayer, and to suppose that they are united together for one common object, seems to me to be a delusion, and the name of union in such a case would be an absolute mockery and contradiction.

**THE BISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS:** I honour the motives with which the Recorder of Norwich has spoken, but I must venture to suggest that he has put before you a very harsh interpretation of my words. My words with reference to the Continental reformed bodies were these, That communities of foreign Protestants would be required to remember what faith their Christian forefathers first received. Now, I do not know whether the Recorder of Norwich has examined this question as minutely as I have.

**MR. O'MALLEY:** I must rise to order. The Right Rev. Prelate has a perfect right to go into an explanation, but he is going beyond that.

**THE BISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS:** I did not mean to make the slightest reflection upon

the Recorder. I meant to refer to the single fact that I have been at the pains to do what I venture to say has not been done by any one else—I have been at the pains to examine from the first moment, from his breaking off from the Church of Rome to the moment of his death, what the opinions of Luther were upon the subject of the episcopate, and I do not think that it can be a reflection upon foreign Protestants to remind them of what those persons were from whom they derived their names. They call themselves Lutherans, if they are Lutherans let them act as Luther.

MR. O'MALLEY again protested against the Bishop going into the subject, and the Right Rev. Prelate resumed his seat.

THE REV. F. MEYRICK: It was a beautiful simile which the Archbishop used in his sermon yesterday morning, when he likened the Church, if not to the one ocean united and indivisible, yet to the hundred lakes nestled among the sheltering hills, or to oceans contiguous though not united. Now, Sir, I desire to cut those isthmuses of Panama and Suez, which separate the neighbouring seas. But would I do so if there were thereby risk of our purified ocean becoming contaminated by the extraneous elements which might thereby be poured into it? No, I say; a hundred times No. I would rather heap Pelion on Ossa, and Ossa on Pelion, and pile them up upon those isthmuses, if there were any danger of such results following from cutting a channel between sea and sea. If there were any risk of our losing the deeply-implanted conviction that we entertain of the advantage and necessity of an apostolically constituted ministry, I would say to Mr. May, when urging union with Scandinavia, I will have nothing to do with it. But there is no such risk. In like manner, if there were any danger, in the attempts made to unite with the unreformed Churches of Europe, to the purity of the faith which we have inherited, I would have nothing to do with it. But when these attempts are conducted on right principles there is no such danger.

The only true principle on which Unity can be sought is that of unity in the Truth. The only union which is possible for the separated fragments of the Church of Christ is union in the faith and the discipline of the Primitive Church. Now I desire to show that there is at the present moment greater hope than ever heretofore of such an union being effected. I have not time to refer to other countries; I must refer only to one—to Italy. I wish to show that there is there a possibility and a likelihood of a return to primitive truth and practice, which may make once again possible the intercommunion and unity of the national Churches of Italy and of England. That this effect should be produced, it is necessary that two causes should conspire in Italy, and they both exist. One is a political exigency, which imperiously demands the repudiation of the authority of the Church of Rome; the other is, the power of enlightened public opinion in matters of theology. With regard to the first, there is no doubt that there is a strong feeling in Italy, that the resuscitation of the nation cannot be perfect, until the nation has its Church independent of the authority of the now alien and hostile Bishop of Rome. It is well known that if an Italian statesman, who has already been Prime Minister, should again take office, his first measure would be to recommend to the King to fill up the fifty or sixty now vacant Bishopsrics in Italy—vacant because the Pope will not confirm the nominations of King Victor Emmanuel, whom he has virtually excommunicated—and to pass a law forbidding the oaths of vassalage now taken by the Italian Bishops to the Pope of Rome. Were these measures carried, there would at once exist an Independent National Church of the kingdom of Italy, delivered from the thralldom of the Papacy and constituted under its own Archbishops and Bishops; which Church would then naturally throw itself back, as the Church of England did three centuries ago, on Primitive Doctrine and Practice. And I must next show that there is a strong public opinion in Italy tending in this direction. There are three centres of thought at present in Italy—Turin, Florence, Naples. At Turin the feeling of the people is shewn by the fact that Don Ambrogio (whose doings, however, I do not altogether approve or indorse,) is in the habit of preaching in the public streets against the Papacy, the Pope, and the Roman Curia. Neither the party of the ultramontane priests, nor the government, dare interfere, because his words are eagerly drunk in by the populace, and to interfere with him would cause a popular tumult. In Florence there has been proposed, and in Naples and in Messina there have been instituted, associations for bringing about a Reformation in the Church; and to the association at Naples there belong, be it noted, no less than 971 Priests. The following is the programme of the society:—

1. "The Pope to be Bishop of Rome and Primate of the Universal Church; an Ecumenical Council, presided over by the Pope, to be the supreme judge of questions of faith.
2. "Restitution to Bishops, Archbishops, and Metropolitans, of their rights of jurisdiction as they possessed them up to the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries.
3. "Preservation of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy entire, and the free exercise of the



votes of the clergy and the people in the election of Bishops, Pariah Priests, and even the Pontiff.

4. "Church service in the national tongue, and free circulation of the Holy Bible.
5. "Sacramental Confession free on the part of the penitent, and conducted according to the Canons of the third and fourth centuries on the part of the Priest.
6. "Restoration to the Priesthood of its consultative and deliberative voice in Diocesan and Provincial Synods.
7. "Abolition of Compulsory Celibacy.
8. "Full and entire liberty of Conscience."

And this is only a specimen of what may be found throughout Italy. I say, then, that by the combined agency of political need, and of public religious opinion, there is hope of a return on the part of the Italian Church to primitive truth. And I say that the Church of England has a duty towards these foreign Christians—the duty of aiding them as a sister Church with all friendly importunity in their search after truth—not drawing away a convert here and a convert there, or setting up rival congregations or new churches, nor on the other hand uniting with them in their corruptions, but helping them to purify for themselves the historical Church of Italy to which they belong. With these men, when their work is accomplished, union and communion will be possible. But this I say again, that all Unity, to be Unity, must be unity in the Truth—the Truth which was once delivered to the Saints, and which we should pray and hope, if we can hardly expect, to see once again the faith of the re-united Church.

The REV. W. FRASER said: I will confine myself to the duties we owe to the Christians of the Eastern Church. They are three-fold—first sympathy and respect, next charity, and lastly, if possible, Intercommunion. The Eastern Church has a claim upon our sympathy and respect, because for centuries she has preserved the Christian faith through persecutions and trials of the severest kind. The Christians who are under Turkish tyranny have lived in a normal state of confessorship. The Greek Church has, by her Mahometan oppressors, been cast into a den of lions with the cross in her hand, and now by God's providence she is emerging from that abode of terror, grasping the cross still. Surely such constancy to the faith of the Gospel under such bitter trials sets us an example, and imperatively calls for our sympathy and our respect. Then, if we accord these, we must add to them the duty of Christian charity. Happily there exists between us and them none of those great divergences of doctrine and practice which form hindrances to Charity and Christian love. The Eastern Church, like ourselves, has a married priesthood, like ourselves an open Bible, like ourselves prayers in the vernacular tongue, like ourselves but one holy Table in each church. She, as we do, administers the blessed Sacrament in both kinds to her people; and with us she rejects the claim of a single Bishop to hold supremacy over the whole Church by Divine right. There may be some superstitions prevailing among her people, but some little superstition may be pardoned where the spirit of martyrdom is so strong. The one great point of difference between us is the doctrine of the Double Procession, and that cannot be discussed here, but I trust it may be arranged by proper Church authority. A previous speaker has alluded to the decrees of the Synod of Bethlehem as forming an obstacle to union; but the decrees of the Synod of Bethlehem do not appear to me to be analogous to those of the Council of Trent. I speak as representing a society which numbers Archbishops, Metropolitans, and Bishops of both Churches among its members—the "Eastern Church Association;" and I have been in correspondence with many members of the Greek Church, and have found much of charity and good-will among them, though in some cases they know as little of our Church as we, many of us, do of theirs. Much may be done to obviate this ignorance by distributing Latin copies of our Prayer-Book, a new translation of which has recently been made at Oxford. If, then, we discharge these duties of sympathy, respect, and charity, the next duty that presents itself is that of Intercommunion. Much is now being done to bring about this happy result, which will help to fulfil our Saviour's prayer that the Church "might be made perfect in one." A clergyman who was a member of the "Eastern Church Association," travelling in Northern Turkey and in autonomous Serbia, had lately received the Holy Communion at a monastery in the latter country, without signing any additional profession of faith, simply on the grounds of his being an Anglican Priest. You have probably seen a paragraph in reference to this fact which has recently been going the round of the newspapers, stating, on the authority of the *Levant Herald*, that the Archimandrite of the monastery of Studenitza, who had admitted thus an English priest to communion, had been suspended and degraded by the Archbishop of Belgrade for doing so. This has been widely circulated. I hold in my hand a letter which I have just received: it states, on the authority of a gentleman of Belgrade, who had it from the Archbishop's own mouth, that, "on the Archimandrite of Studenitza appraising

the Metropolitan of what he had done, he had inquired his reasons. The reply is now in the Archbishop's hands, and he intends at the next meeting of the Bishops to make a proposition for the establishment of rules to be observed on any like occasion. As to censure or degradation of the Archimandrite, it has not been thought of, and the assertion is a fiction of the writer in the *Levant Herald*."

THE REV. SUB-DEAN MACKENZIE: In offering a few words upon the Duty of the Church of England to Foreign Christians, I do so with the less hesitation, in consequence of the position I formerly occupied as Vicar of St. Martin in the Fields. That position enabled me to realize, in some sort, what the duty of the English Church was; and it is with great humiliation that I feel compelled to say its Duty to Foreign Christians has not been fulfilled. We have not shown that sympathy, that desire for their spiritual welfare, that care for their souls, which we ought to have shown. There are many thousands of foreign Christians constantly living in the Metropolis; and at special seasons, such as the political convulsions of 1848, or the great International Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862, the centre of London is deluged with foreigners. No systematic effort on an efficient scale has been made by the Church of England to reach the souls of those who, separated from the religious influences of their own countries, have no authoritative teaching through which they may be led to God. Therefore I say with great humiliation, that this Congress can scarcely have discharged its duty on the subject before us, until it has indicated some steps with regard to the evangelization of those foreigners who have taken refuge beneath the shadow of our flag, but have as yet received no token of the light shed from the Cross wherewith that flag is adorned. I see in this meeting three members of Congress (Lord Charles Hervey, Rev. Nugent Wade, and Dr. Camilleri), who in former years co-operated with me in organizing, first, an Anglo-French, and secondly, an Anglo-Italian mission, in London. Feeble as our efforts were, they were productive of a temporary Anglo-Italian congregation of worshippers, and of the more permanent establishment of an Anglo-French school in connection with the Protestant Episcopal French Church in Bloomsbury. What I desire to be specially borne in mind by this meeting is, that we cannot expect the blessing of God upon our prayers for Unity, until we show, by an energetic self-denial, that we are faithfully striving after unity ourselves. It would be a great mistake to allow words to go forth from this Congress, upon the wings of the press to the ends of the world, giving to foreign Christians abroad the idea that we were reaching out our hands to them for the grasp of fellowship, and yet that no word should be uttered expressive of self-accusation and self-abasement, at the thought of our own past omission of duty towards the representatives of their respective Churches at home. I do trust that the time is not distant when foreign Christian Societies will be more practically remembered by the English Church than they have yet been; that she will remember for the future that she has not merely the bond of the evangelical, but also the bond of the national and territorial Church, upon her; and that therefore she never can have fulfilled her divine Mission, until the sound of the gospel, from her voice, has reached the ears of every soul living within the borders of the different parishes she calls her own. Sir, we have heard to-day of signs of amity and of tokens of approaching unity in different parts of the world, and they are very refreshing to the minds of those who long for union; but do not let us rush to the conclusion that unity is attainable because it is desirable. Let us rather look our difficulties fairly in the face, and then see how we can fairly meet them. Let me briefly illustrate these difficulties, which have been brought before my own mind (as a member of the Committee of Convocation) in the case of the Greek Church, towards intercommunion with which many souls in the West are yearning. First, there is the great Russo-Greek Church, the National Communion of the vast Empire of Russia; then there is the orthodox Eastern Church, subject to the Patriarchate of Constantinople; then there is the Hellenic National Church, governed by the Holy Synod at Athens; then there is the Independent Servian Church; and, beyond these, I believe, another branch known as the Austro-Greek Church of Servia. It is impossible even to enumerate these various branches of the Eastern Church, without at once perceiving that there must arise many political as well as religious complications which render the attainment of a formal union matter of exceeding difficulty. Still I think we need not be discouraged from any faithful attempt at its realization, if our endeavours be characterized by patience, by moderation, and by charity. If attainable at all, it will have to be attained by some compromise on different sides. Mind, I say not by any compromise of principle; but, if I may so speak, by the principle of compromise. We must not forget that in striving after unity that unity will be looked at from different points of view; and we must arrive at it, not by conceding to one, and covering the rest, but through means that will touch every part of the body without undue pressure upon any. And as this must be our line of policy with regard to union abroad, so must it be in reference to the attainment of union

at home. Connected by inheritance and affection with many earnest-minded members of the Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland, I find these men so influenced by historical recollections, that they would never submit themselves to an enforced Episcopacy; and yet they are feeling their way to a future and prospective union, by their longings after a pre-composed liturgy, a common service, and a higher ritual than that which satisfied the warm devotions, but the cold exterior, of their fathers' worship. In dealing then with the question of our duty to those alienated from us, whether abroad or nearer home, let us not rest our endeavours upon attaining this or that peculiar ordinance, or form, but by going back to the first principles of the Creeds; by granting a large liberty to National Churches, and to individual consciences; and by those means we may agree to act together in inter-communion on some principle of temporary compromise, under which future generations, profiting by our charitable experience, may attain to a practicable and more complete union. Thus we may anticipate, not an immediate, but an ultimate approximation, whereby in future time the varied races of Christians may be gathered together in one blessed family, one holy fold, under the one Shepherd, Jesus Christ. Let us all look, and long, and pray for that time. I will only, Sir, in conclusion, recal to your memory the burning words of the Archbishop of York in his sermon of yesterday, and express my respectful regret that while he spoke of a broken unity, his Grace did not impress upon his hearers the happy fact, that our National Church in England has ever retained within herself those seminal principles of unity, which, if they be allowed to grow and fructify, shall make her eventually the glory of Christendom, and a praise in all the earth.

**THE REV. SUB-DEAN GARDEN:** Many circumstances have led me to take so deep an interest in this question, that the present section of the Congress became the most attractive to me, but I cannot do justice to what I intended to say at the end of the meeting, after so much valuable and important matter has been laid before you. At this stage of our proceedings, I will only very briefly touch upon such elements of disagreement as may have displayed themselves among us. What I have to say about the proposal of the Association for Prayer for the Unity of Christendom is this—that I deeply sympathize with its object, although I cannot but think that, by the adoption of needless peculiarities, of phrase and terms of expression, which must necessarily create uneasiness in the minds of ordinary members of our Church, an uneasiness in which I largely partake, it hinders its own aim. Still, what the members of the Association propose is a holy work, and so far we ought to give them our sympathies, though we do not formally join them. I could not accept the paper put into my hands on my entrance here, because I thought at the moment that my acceptance of it would be the recognition of something which I disapproved of, but I do love the object, and I must be impressed with the fact, that Roman Catholic priests in great numbers, and members of our own Church in great numbers, and Greek priests in great numbers, all agree in prayer for unity. I do not regard the alleged diversity of intention; God will fulfil faithful prayer according to His own purpose, not the utterer's intention. And here, if I may be permitted to say so, has been the main cause of such difference as has shown itself among us to-day. We have looked, I think, too far ahead. We have been attempting to do that for which the time has not yet come; we have been trying to sketch out terms on which the sections of divided Christendom may meet together. This I am sure is beyond us just now. It is for the great Author of Unity in His time to show how this result is to be brought about. Let us meanwhile attend to what is immediately before us, our present duties with regard to Foreign Christians; our duties when we find them here at home in our own country, and our duties when we meet with them abroad. Let us find out, under God's guidance, when in our own private intercourse with them we can shew them sympathy, and when and how far it is desirable that we should explain our own principles to them. If we do this we shall be on the road to unity. Nay the unity exists, and it is only man's perversity that veils it from our view. I am sure that the Most Rev. Prelate to whom we listened to-day, did not wish us even in those words which might be thus misconstrued, to understand him as meaning that the essential unity of the Church had failed. It has not failed, it cannot fail. Let us try to act in the manner I have recommended, and we shall find, my own humble experience assures me, that this line of conduct will open the springs of love, which at first seemed bound up in adamant rock. I do not mean, of course, that we are ever to go about preaching the Church of England to all men, but we may look forward to communion with those who will never be altogether the same with her. And I must insist on including in my prayer for unity more than the three families that have been dwelt on: I must pray for the whole baptized community everywhere bearing the name of Christ, sealed with the great name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

THE REV. A. H. WRATISLAW said: Sir, I wish to say that there is an offset from the Church of England in her ante-Reformation struggles existing in Bohemia. The contests which caused the Hussite wars originated solely from the attack and defence of the writings of the English Wycliffe, which had been carried to Bohemia principally when a Bohemian princess sat upon the throne of England, in 1381. And the Bohemian Church was destroyed when an English princess sat for a brief space on the throne of Bohemia, in 1620. In 1629 it was supposed that not a Protestant existed in Bohemia or Moravia, the population of the former having been reduced from four millions to one. In 1781 the Emperor (Joseph II.) proclaimed liberty of conscience, and one hundred thousand Slavonic Protestants started up where not one had been supposed to exist. These were divided between the only two Protestant confessions known to the Emperor, the Helvetic confession and that of Augsburg, which two confessions live in amity together, contrary to what is the case in Germany. In 1861 not merely toleration, but actual religious equality was proclaimed in Austria, and great exertions and progress are being made by the Slavonic Protestants of the north, who stand especially in need of the means of education for both clergy and laity. Will not then the countrymen of Wycliffe (represented in this Congress) find some little sympathy for these his spiritual descendants? Had time admitted I should have been very glad to have spoken further on this subject, especially as I am deeply interested in this movement, being myself not distantly of Bohemian extraction.

The Bishop of St. Andrews then gave the benediction, and this section of Congress adjourned.

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### WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4th. AFTERNOON MEETING.

EDWARD HOWES, Esq., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

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THIS Sectional Meeting was held in Mr. Noverre's Rooms.

After prayer, the CHAIRMAN called attention to the rules for the regulation of the proceedings and said: I trust that the strict observance of these rules will relieve me from all responsibility as your Chairman this day. There is, however, one matter to which I would refer as far more important than the observance of mere formal rules. I do trust that the discussion this day will be carried on, and will also be received by all now present, with the same temperate and Christian-like spirit which hitherto has characterized all our proceedings.

## THE DIVISION OF SEES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

BY THE RIGHT HON. EARL NELSON.

IT is a great anomaly for the members of an *Episcopal* Church to be found indifferent to the importance of having an adequate staff of *Bishops*, and yet, notwithstanding the frequent agitation of the question of the division of Sees, there is no doubt that such an anomaly does exist to a very great extent among us Episcopalians! I will go further, and state my belief that the clergy are becoming gradually but surely, under the present deficiency in the number of Bishops, anti-*Episcopal*; each man walking in his own ways, caring not for, yea, frequently avoiding, the advice of his Diocesan, and too often opposing it when given. I lament, but do not find fault with any for, this state of things; because, from the great amount of work imposed upon our

Bishops, their advice must necessarily too often bear much of a dictatorial character, and be frequently unsatisfactory. And I do not advocate for our Episcopate that despotic power which is accorded to the Bishops of the Gallican Church

A Bishop should be very much *primus inter pares*, and his guiding of the pastors under his care should partake very much of that gentle indirect influence, after the example of our Divine Master, alluded to in the beautiful words of the Psalmist,—“I will guide thee with Mine eye,”—and further exemplified throughout our blessed Lord’s daily walk with His disciples while on earth. Such an influence can only be truly gained by a more frequent intercourse with their clergy, and by a more personal knowledge of each parish and work, than is at present possible; but it is an influence that would readily be yielded by the clergy to one set over them in the Lord as their friend and guide, and such as could never be effectually supplied in any other manner.

The casual influence of a master mind from among themselves would too frequently create a feeling of jealousy among those who were not of his immediate following; and it is well known that neither the office of Rural Dean or Archdeacon could of itself command the influence which would be readily accorded to one in the higher order of the ministry. I am aware that in one or two dioceses, either from their compactness, or from the untiring powers with which God has gifted some of our Bishops, or from both causes combined, this anti-episcopal feeling is not so evidently at work. But the blessings of the more frequent intercourse with their Bishop in these cases make them long for more; so that many of the most earnest appeals for the subdivision of Sees come from those dioceses where the benefits of efficient episcopal superintendence have been partially realised.

It will be evident from these opening remarks that I am not urging an addition to our Episcopate from any desire for the increase of the worldly pomp or worldly aggrandisement of our Church; but from the assurance that a great deal of her efficient vitality must depend on her being sufficiently officered, and from a firm belief that the restoration of the healthy action of the Episcopate, by a large increase in the number of Bishops, would remove many of the impediments which at present hinder her usefulness and prevent the true fulfilment of her divine mission among our people. The effective administration of the Episcopal office among us would also provide a remedy for many of those evils which past legislation, or the accidents of the present time, have brought prominently before us.

All are now ready to allow that some alteration was necessary in our past rule for holding confirmations. The evil of the triennial confirmations, at centres far from the homes of many of the candidates, has been greatly remedied; nevertheless it is impossible to bring the administration of that rite so near to our catechumens as to satisfy in all cases even the meagre requirements which the minds of our people have begun to think necessary. None who have witnessed the effect of the ordination of a priest or deacon, in the parish church in which he is about to minister, or of a confirmation on a Sunday afternoon of the catechumens of a large parish, surrounded by their parents and god-parents—none who have noticed the after effect on the parishes in which these rites of the Church have been performed, can be blind to the great benefits that must accrue to the Church from

bringing these special ministrations more prominently before the eyes of our people. If we wished to work efficiently in Birmingham or Manchester or any other great centre of industry, the true power of the Church could in no way be more successfully put forth than by presenting her to our people in her complete action,—with a bishop living among his priests and deacons, ordaining and confirming in their churches, assisting them by continual advice and guidance, and helping them from time to time in their own particular work.

I would also earnestly press upon your attention the fact, that unless confirmations are administered at a Sunday service, the artisan and agricultural labourer are effectually excluded from the high privilege, open to their wealthier neighbours, of being present with the sponsors of their children on that solemn occasion. The benefits to the candidates of the presence of a large and well-known congregation in the face of whom to make their profession, and the blessings to be hoped for from the prayers of the faithful joined with those of their parents and sponsors at such a time, are so manifest, that these Sunday confirmations might almost be demanded as a right by our artisans and labourers from the Church of their fathers. It is however impossible to extend this benefit very materially with our present staff.

Time was when the want of Episcopal supervision was not so severely felt as at present. Large livings and the much-abused pluralities had some good in them, as in many cases supplying the want of Episcopal guidance. And he who was the first, from no selfish motives, to break down this system by dividing Leeds into separate parishes, had previously done a great work for the Church of England: for Dr. Hook, by training his curates with a careful supervision, not only did a great work at Leeds, but brought out a band of men able and willing to carry on similar works, with curates under them in other great centres of industry.

There are unhappily now a great many more rectors (that is men in permanent cures) than curates (in the old sense of the term.) And the fact that so many of inexperience are set up in the Church without any head, calls more than ever for the efficient and kindly guidance of a Bishop to direct their first efforts and to encourage them in their labours.

The increase of the population, in some way met by the poorly-endowed Peel districts, calls for a larger supply of clergymen than the universities have been able to afford; and in consequence a great number of literates have been ordained, especially in the Northern Province. Now, whatever their acquirements may be, and however suitable for the congregations amongst whom they minister, they must be deficient in much which a university education can alone supply. In the very hives of our industry, where the minds of our people are more fully developed, we lose the important influence which a highly educated clergy must ever have upon the upper classes of our countrymen. To remedy these evils we must again look to an efficient Episcopate duly to represent our Church among the upper ranks of society, and numerous enough to supply, by a constant intercourse with their clergy on the friendliest footing, that discipline and polish which a university education so effectually imparts.

The presence of a Bishop once a year in each parish—to see with his own eyes how the services were performed, and to preach to the flock

committed to his charge as chief pastor—would do much good. Many a weary labourer in God's vineyard would be cheered by it, and the people would be roused from the monotony that sometimes is occasioned by hearing the same preacher every Sunday in the year.

Many a quarrel between rector and squire would be nipped in the bud, and the jealousy between them which, though less apparent, too frequently exists, would be removed if it was evident, by a more constant intercourse between the Bishop and his clergy, that the parish priest was doing nothing without a careful consultation with one to whom clergy and laity could each look up with confidence. Thus should we all be brought to work more heartily together for the common good of the Church in our respective parishes, under the Bishop as the head of both, freed from all that suspicion and fear which too often mars all attempts for the combined action of the clergy and laity amongst us. In addition to these more general points, affecting to a greater or less degree all our present dioceses, we have the great anomaly of the Bishopric of London including within its jurisdiction nearly all our Foreign Office and Continental chaplains; and the chaplains of our army and navy entirely independent of Episcopal control, unless indeed they also may *pro forma* enrol themselves as within that almost Universal Bishopric.

I have endeavoured briefly to point out the direct benefits which would accrue from an increase of the Episcopate, and the many evils for which that increase would be the only sufficient remedy. If I have carried you with me in this belief, the mode of obtaining the increase becomes a matter of comparatively minor importance.

We have but to call into action an existing Act of Parliament to revive the order of Suffragan Bishops; and this, if only looked upon as a temporary measure, would supply our more pressing needs. The appointment of three Suffragans would at once remove the anomaly of the extensive jurisdiction now committed to the, at present unaided, Bishop of London. One should be appointed to look after the Foreign Office and Continental chaplains; another for the supervision of the chaplains of the Navy who have not even now the advantage of a Chaplain General; while the whole Church would rejoice if Mr. Gleig were permitted to continue and extend, as a Bishop of the Church of England, the work he has so ably carried on as Chaplain-General of the Army. These appointments are essential, for it must not be forgotten that an Episcopal Church can recognise none but Episcopal government. For my own part I would gladly see a Suffragan Bishop appointed to assist all those Bishops who have a seat in Parliament. I should fear nothing from their number or from the danger arising from two orders of Bishops of a different status. I do not advocate their appointment with the right of succession, but am convinced that there would be no rivalry between the Suffragans and the other Bishops; for, as a consequence of their fitness for their office and their experience in episcopal duties, they would as a general rule become the body from which our permanent home and colonial Bishops would be selected.

The appointment of Suffragans would pave the way for the permanent subdivision of Sees, for I cannot doubt that as soon as the benefits arising from the due administration of the episcopal office are fully realised, many districts and individuals would be found willing to supply the requisite funds. It is natural to expect that, with the vast

increase of the wealth and population of this country, a subdivision of existing Sees should be considered necessary. If from a scarcity of captains the large ships in our fleet were handed over to lieutenants, the people of England would not rest till the deficiency was supplied. But the analogy is complete when I can point to Birmingham and Sheffield and other great centres of industry in the charge of officers of the second grade of the ministry.

The principle of the Act which provides for an increase of the number of Bishops without increasing the number on the roll of Parliament, could be as easily carried out if the increase were twenty in excess of the original number as it is with only one. A parliamentary status is not essential for the efficient administration of the episcopal office, and it would be well if the first years of episcopal life were, as a rule, more entirely devoted to the care of the diocese. Old Sees should be revived. The divisions to be made in existing Sees should be, as far as possible, co-extensive with the county or riding in which the new episcopal seat was situated.

The consent of the existing Bishop should be required, either with or without the cession during his life of the patronage of that part of the diocese proposed to be dissevered. Much has been said about the endowments. For a Suffragan, the general salary of our Archdeacons \* would suffice; for the permanent Bishops £2000, or, at the outside, £3000 a year, would be amply sufficient if an arrangement be made to add £1000 a year to each Bishopric, when its rota for Parliament came round, from the endowment of one of the old Sees that were out of the rota. As soon as the country had fully realised the importance of the office of Bishop, there would be no difficulty in obtaining a grant to meet extraneous aid from the episcopal revenues in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The energetic action of our present Episcopate has, as yet, failed to remove the impression so deeply made by the coldness of the last century as to the real duties of the episcopal office. And yet how vast the difference between the self-denying labours of our present Episcopate and the *otium cum dignitate* principle of the times to which I refer.

How exceedingly helpless is the human frame if one of the smallest of its members is even for a time injured and unfitted thereby for its distinctive work! but when the head becomes incapable from a deficiency of power of performing its accustomed labour, how utterly is the whole future work of a man crippled and cramped compared with the mighty energy of his full working power! So it is with the Church of England. Our Bishops may work to the utmost of their power, but it is as nothing as compared to the full energy that would be shown if we had a sufficient number of these the chief rulers of our Church. None know better than our present Bishops the many great works for the good of their people which they are compelled to leave undone, while their whole energy is consumed in the endeavour to perform the mere ordinary duties of their office.

There is a cry raised for the appointment of a sub-diaconate, and other plans are rife for the more regular and systematic employment of the laity, many of whom are able and willing to supplement the

\* This was written under the mistaken belief that an Archdeacon's salary was £500 a year over and above the income from his living, which is putting it much too high.



work committed to our priests and deacons. Many a scattered outlying population in our agricultural districts might be so ministered to, and many a large portion of our more crowded populations might be thus saved from the utter darkness in which they too frequently lie, till sufficient funds are collected for a church and clergy. Why then are these left to the inroads of infidelity, or at the best to the imperfect teaching of the dissenter? while the whole lower middle class, from which most of the dissenting teachers come, is virtually excluded from the ministry of the Church.

Our chief rulers know that they have no sufficient time to guide and watch over any fresh movement which must necessarily at first be looked upon in some sort as an experiment; and they rightly feel that it would be unsafe to trust any order of laymen ministering for the Church, with that utter want of careful direction and control which is frequently found so injurious to the efficient working even of our ordained clergy.

There is work enough to be done in this nineteenth century of ours, and, as the Established Church of this country, we must not shrink from the doing of it. We seek no favour from the State, but we do ask, as an Episcopal Church, to have the liberty of realizing the full benefit of an efficient Episcopate. If the Church is allowed to carry out her work in her own way, she can, by God's blessing, effectually perform all those important duties which the State rightly expects at her hands. Let us, however, beware of throwing the blame of a refusal upon the State, for, believe me, if we, the clergy and laity of the Church of England, are as earnest as we should be in the asking we cannot be denied.

May God of His mercy bless this weak effort of mine, by stirring you all up to the full realization of the importance of this great question!

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## THE DIVISION OF SEES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

BY THE REV. J. BAYLEE.

WHEN our blessed Lord surveyed the world as one vast missionary field, and determined in His omniscience the sort of ministry which was best calculated to "preach the Gospel to every creature," and to "make disciples of all nations," He appointed the Apostleship as the fountain of the ordained ministry of His Church. When the Hebrew nation had, through its authorized Sanhedrim, a second time rejected Christ, by persecuting His disciples unto strange cities, the same Lord, in His righteous judgment, determined upon a Gentile Church, as distinguished from Hebrew Christians.

In doing so he appointed, a second time, an apostleship with its associate ministries. St. Paul was the apostle of the Gentiles. He received his apostleship from the Lord in His resurrection glory, and with that Gentile apostleship were associated subordinate ministries: "When He ascended on high . . . He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers."

That institution was to continue "until we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." Accordingly we read of apostles who were St. Paul's associates—Barnabas, Silvanus, Timothy, and Epaphroditus, are expressly denominated apostles.

From the days of St. Paul to the present hour, the Church of Christ has never been without "apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers." Our bishops exercise the same apostolic office, which was administered by St. Timothy and St. Titus.

The apostolic, or as we now call it, the episcopal office, is of primary importance in the Church of Christ. "First apostles" is the declaration of the inspired Word.

Upon the faithfulness and competence of the apostle, in modern phraseology, the Bishop, depend, in a large measure, the well being and, finally, the existence of the congregations committed to his oversight and government. We are taught this very solemn truth by our Lord Himself, in the epistles to the Apocalyptic Churches. The angel, *i.e.* the Apostle or Bishop, was held responsible for the state of his Church, or Diocese, and the final threat was the extinction of his Church. "I will remove thy candlestick out of his place except thou repent."—Rev. ii. 5. This was not a local or individual warning, it was of universal applicability, for it is added, "He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches." To the same effect, substantially, St. Paul says to the Apostle Timothy, "take heed unto thyself, and to the doctrine, continue in them, for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee."—1 Tim. iv. 16. We have therefore Divine warrant for asserting that an efficient Apostolate, *i.e.*, Episcopate, is directly productive of a vigorous and well-ordered Church, and that an inefficient Episcopate is equally directly productive of an enfeebled and ill-ordered Church.

Three things are essential to an efficient Episcopate:—

First and chief is a spiritual and heavenly mind, enabling each Bishop to see the true nature of his duties.

Secondly, those natural capacities, and the acquired knowledge, experience, and self discipline, which are essential for him who has to govern men.

Thirdly, a diocese of such a size as will be within the compass of one man.

Without true spirituality and heavenliness of mind, a bishop cannot even know what are his real duties. The great end of the Christian ministry is to present every man perfect in Christ Jesus. How can any one give what he has not received? Can an earthly-minded ministry produce heavenly fruits? The greatest defect of our national Church is the difficulty of obtaining a spiritually-minded ministry, men who feel the power of the heavenly truths which they are appointed to diffuse, and who possess the unction of the indwelling Spirit of God.

Secondly, without adequate natural and acquired qualifications, how can a bishop perform the weighty duties committed to him?

Thirdly, if a bishop possess in the highest degree natural and acquired fitness, and the truest heavenliness of mind, yet, if his diocese be too large, he is oppressed with a weight of impossible duties.

This is the state of our English dioceses. They are so overgrown that it is impossible for the highest individual virtue, and the most

untiring zeal and labour, to do more than feebly fulfil the most important functions.

If we would recover scriptural efficiency we must follow the scriptural model. The appointed pattern of the Church of Christ were the seven Apocalyptic Churches; hence the subscription to each,—“He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches.” In that model we find that each large town had its own angel or bishop.

If we carefully examine the pastoral Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, we shall find that the duties of a bishop require an individual inspection and administration which cannot be performed by one man over several towns. I shall only mention three of the functions of a bishop which will make this abundantly clear:—

1. The Selection and Ordaining of the Pastoral Ministry.
2. The Administration of Confirmation.
3. The true Exercise of Discipline.

When the Apostles, Barnabas and Paul, went in order over the Churches, they ordained presbyters in every Church, accompanying each ordination with prayer and fasting. This individualizing of ordination and making each congregation feel that the act was something for them, and in which they were so interested as to call for their prayer and fasting, the sight of a bishop as of one over them in the Lord, personally interested in their welfare, and intrusted with the highest functions for them, would be eminently calculated to produce a holy impression. The sacred rite of Confirmation demands a similar individualization. It should be administered at least annually, and in each congregation respectively. We should then have the spectacle of our young people being publicly added to the communicants of a definite congregation. Accompanied by their parents, and, where possible, by their sponsors; and individually known by the assembled congregation, the whole transaction would have a far deeper significance and power; and, as the true purpose of the ordinance became better known, its character as a means of obtaining the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, would greatly deepen the faith of the Church in that blessed indwelling. Then there would be a more realizing sense of these words, “Ye have an unction from the Holy One and ye *know* all things.”

The limits of this paper do not permit me to dwell upon the all but forgotten functions of a bishop in the personal administration of Christian discipline:—“Them that sin rebuke before all.” “Against an elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses.” “Rebuke the elder women as mothers; the younger as sisters with all purity.”

This is necessarily but a slight and imperfect sketch of what our Lord Jesus Christ has appointed a bishop to be in His Church “for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry;” yet if it be a true one it undeniably follows that we need a greatly increased number of bishops before we can hope to be brought into conformity with the Divine command.

All extensive reformations must be made gradually, and in conformity with the existing constitution of society, otherwise we should have revolution, not reformation. The Episcopate could be gradually and beneficially increased in a safe and simple way by an enabling Act of Parliament giving to each large town of a certain population the

power of having a bishop for itself and a suitable extent of neighbourhood, provided the inhabitants would provide the necessary endowment. In this way no existing funds would be diverted from the other purposes of the Church, the desire of the people for better supervision would be tested and exercised, and no sudden revolution would bring the injurious fruits of hastiness. The people at large would be taught to feel that the whole body of Christ is entrusted with the welfare of the whole. The movement would probably begin with the larger towns, such as Liverpool, Leeds, and Birmingham. It would soon extend to smaller ones, such as Bradford and Sheffield. The overgrown Diocese of London would also be subdivided were such an enabling Act in the hands of the people themselves. The landed gentry in the more agricultural parts of the kingdom would also set forward so blessed a work, and we should see our beloved Church gradually resuming the full exercise of her scriptural functions. Such new Bishops ought to occupy precisely the same position (a seat in the House of Lords excepted) as is now possessed by the existing Bishops. Chorepiscopi or Suffragan Bishops have respectable antiquity on their side, but they would introduce an unscriptural complexity into the working of the Church, and they would essentially mutilate the proper fulness of episcopal functions.

In order to make the proposed effort commend itself to the enlightened judgment of the thoughtful laity, some clear arrangement should be made about the difficult question of selection. I call it selection rather than patronage, because the latter word implies what should never (if possible) accompany sacred appointments. They are prostituted when they are made on any other grounds than that of true fitness for the office.

In order to preserve the all-important union between Church and State, the ultimate choice should be vested in the Crown, and, in order to give the Church herself a due share in so weighty a matter, it is worthy of consideration whether the laity, as represented by the churchwardens, and the clergy of the diocese, should not have the power of presenting three persons to the Crown, of whom the Crown should select one. The ancient evils of democratic election would thus be avoided, and the healthy action of the Church herself, laity and clergy, would be promoted.

Let us not shrink from a great question because it is confessedly difficult. If any cause be dear to the heart of Christ it should be dear to our hearts, and if the Church of Christ be the salt of the earth, if the Christian ministry be His ordinance for the perfecting of the saints, if that fourfold ministry be the personal gift from Himself in resurrection and ascended glory, then any question which concerns the increased efficiency of that ministry is of unspeakable importance.

We can hardly estimate the increased efficiency of the Church which would result from having a bishop in every large town, provided that such bishop were a wise, energetic, and heavenly-minded man. Those who are best acquainted with our large towns best know the manifold source of weakness which results from the want of some efficient head whose official position would give him legitimate weight and influence. In consequence of the great increase of population our large towns have poorly-endowed churches, the ministers of which have but a struggling existence. The various institutions which go to make up the true

working of the parochial system are maintained with great difficulty, and are a constant source of anxiety to the minister of the district. If the population increase so as to require an additional church, he has a greatly added burden thrown upon him which he is but little able to bear. Nor is this the only evil. Each minister is practically independent. The nominal rector of the town has no authority over the district churches. Consequently there is either no cohesion or union of an illegitimate sort. Leadership by personal influence is productive of much evil. At best it is but transient. I am sure that each of you is acquainted with some large town where one individual has acquired a leadership founded on personal ability, or perhaps on party spirit, or it may be that of wealth and connections. If he have employed that influence vigorously, energetic results have followed. A few years pass by and he becomes infirm, or leaves the place, either by promotion or otherwise, the town ceases to have a head, and everything is given over to mediocrity. If he be a partizan leader, the clergy and their congregations are divided into what we may almost call factions. If he be a self-seeking one, all are excluded from the influences of the party but his satellities. The results are truly lamentable. No great questions are regarded from an elevated point of view. The successful partizan leader pushes aside the rector of the town, whose less shining abilities, or perhaps greater modesty and sense of propriety, keep him back from the seducing pursuit of popular applause. Those who desire only the promotion of Christ's glory, and not the domination of party, can only look on and mourn. If they lift up their voice they are looked upon coldly,—if they go with the stream, they must all but shipwreck conscience.

We have again another class of cases, towns where no one clergyman is sufficiently above his fellows to be acknowledged as a leader. Each congregation is a dissociate unit. There is nothing of the vigour which would flow from union. It too often happens in such cases that what one clergyman takes up others will have nothing to do with, and so the grand united work of Christ is broken into fragments. These evils would be remedied by a resident Episcopate, for, let us suppose that each large town had in it a well-qualified bishop, there would then be one head whom clergy and laity would acknowledge as their leader, not because he was the spokesman of a party, or had brilliant powers of superficial oratory, or was a wealthier and better connected man than others of his brethren, but because he had a sacred office, the gift, not of man, but of the Great Head of the Church, for the unspeakable blessing of all classes of Christ's people. Under such a sacred officer the numerous clerical meetings would become, in a true and ancient sense, a diocesan synod, not thirsting for the legislative jurisdiction of ecclesiastical power, but consulting for the good of souls, and devising the best means for accomplishing the same. Such a man, as a well-instructed chief pastor, would be anxious to induce the laity to take an official part in the administration of the Church's affairs. Endued with heavenly wisdom, he would be enabled to shew to all thoughtful loving-hearted laymen that every member of the body of Christ has some function to fulfil, in which every man has his proper gift of God. Under the supervision of such a bishop the town would no longer be viewed in sections: the building of new churches, the opening of new schools, the increase of the clergy, the co-operation

of the laity, the assistance given to local and foreign objects, would all obtain a large-minded and large-hearted consideration. The clergy themselves would be associated together as clergy, not as self-associated sectional unions. Who can tell the blessings which would result?

It may be retorted that we do not see these results in cathedral towns. Alas! There is no part of our ecclesiastical arrangements which more urgently demands a wise and discriminating revision than our cathedral establishments. A number of dignitaries without parochial charge, and the pastoral care too often handed over to dull mediocrity, is not the best means of providing for Christian efficiency. As cathedral establishments now stand the bishop is displaced from the legitimate functions which belong essentially to his office. Our cathedral towns are therefore no valid objection to the picture which I hope I have truthfully painted.

There is another body of clergy who greatly need episcopal supervision. I allude to army and navy chaplains. A recent case brought that want prominently before the public, but I feel unequal to giving the subject more than this passing notice.

The object of such a Congress as this, not being legislative, nor even the passing of resolutions, but simply the ventilation of great questions, may I conclude by commending this very sacred subject to your thoughts, your inquiries, and your prayers. It is a subject of the very highest importance. Our Lord Jesus Christ spent a whole night in prayer before He sent forth the primitive Bishops. From His ascended glory He commissioned the great Apostle of the Gentiles with no less a trust than to turn men from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God, and to give them an inheritance among them that are sanctified. That great office has never changed its character. Its holy functions should be exercised alone by holy and heavenly-minded men,—men wise to win souls; and to govern their fellow men, “not as having dominion over their faith, but as being helpers of their joy.”

If, then, we love our country, if we love our Church, if we long for the salvation of souls, if we cherish the glory of Christ, we shall do all that in us lies to procure the increase of a wise, a holy, a heavenly-minded Episcopate.

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## THE DIVISION OF SEES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

BY THE REV. FRANCIS HESSEY.

THE subject that is now before us has hardly enjoyed a popularity proportioned to its real importance. This circumstance may doubtless be attributed to its not having been rightly understood. It is in reality very closely connected with a wider subject which is at present universally popular—*Church Extension*.

The sense usually attached to this last expression is, I suppose, the multiplication of the parochial, or, as they are somewhat invidiously styled, the *working clergy*. To such a term one may be tempted strongly to demur, as the theory of the Church knows of none but working clergy, whether Bishops, Priests, or Deacons. But let that pass. It is notorious

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that the idea of increasing the number of those who labour for God in our parishes is eminently popular, and that many societies have been formed with the view of finding and encouraging candidates for the ministry, and of providing a sufficient maintenance for additional parochial clergy.

Perhaps, however, sufficient attention has not been paid to the natural enquiry, "Will not the additional clergy thus supplied need additional superintendence?" Now the Church has often, and with some propriety, been compared to an army, of which the real strength is in the laity, who form its rank and file, and of which the clergy are but the officers. To this comparison we may add, in consideration of the vast increase in our population, that the efficiency of this army has been much diminished by the levy of additional troops. A sudden multiplication of the parochial clergy may be said, under this figure, to resemble an increase of the number of subaltern officers, with the view of reducing these raw levies into discipline. We can all see that the appointment of such officers would be an advantage to the regiments whose unwieldy companies may thus be advantageously subdivided. But we can hardly suppose that the efficiency of the army in general can thus be promoted, unless at the same time a greater number of field officers be also commissioned. For by these alone can the army be kept in order, or directed, in its general operations.

It will here perhaps be suggested, that the next step must then be to promote some of the subalterns to a higher rank, and that all that is required will then have been accomplished. Regular discipline will then be easily enforced, and that unity of action, which is essential to an army, will be produced and maintained. Apply this, it will be said, to the Church. Do not merely subdivide the gigantic parishes, but group the new subdivisions round new centres; increase the number of rural deaneries, and if the archdeaconries then become unwieldy, subdivide them; and all that is needed will be done. The Bishop will easily superintend a few more Archdeacons, the Archdeacon, a few more Rural Deans, and the Church system will be able to work as smoothly as can be wished.

Thus really is a great question often disposed of: and many persons are quite satisfied with the proposed arrangement. Indeed, we should have scarcely a word to say against it, if the parallel between an army and the Church were quite complete. Were a Bishop merely a director and administrator of his diocese, in the same manner as a general is of an army, he might no doubt reach and direct his clergy by means of subordinate officers, even as a general controls his army through the various grades of officers, who convey or execute his orders.

But the similitude is by no means a perfect one. The Bishop is much more than the chief officer of a diocese. He has not only to manage it through Archdeacons and Rural Deans, but he has also personal duties in regard to each individual in his diocese. Having been the channel of conveying spiritual gifts to each member, both of the laity and of the clergy, in confirmation, and to each member of the latter also in ordination, he retains naturally a paternal feeling towards those with whom he has been brought into contact at an important period of their spiritual existence. And though the same individual may not fill the episcopal chair of the same diocese throughout his entire episcopal career, still the Bishop, as such, being the receptacle of a power that can reside in none but a Bishop, should be, if possible, the object of a feeling such as can exist towards no other.

But if this feeling is really to be originated and fostered, how much is demanded of a Bishop in the discharge of his solemn duties! Long before the season of an ordination (and that season comes round by the Church's rule four times in the year,) he has to be, as it were, on the watch for candidates for the sacred ministry. He has to keep his eye on the universities and other seminaries of theological learning, perhaps, especially on one established in his own diocese, to receive such candidates as present themselves, to scrutinise their motives, to judge of their moral, intellectual, and religious fitness, to suggest their proper studies, to watch their conduct, and finally to approve them after examination, and so in due time to lay hands upon them.

The last act in this series may appear to those who form a worldly estimate of a Bishop's duties to be the only one which the Bishop need personally perform. But not so will he judge who has entered upon the office with fear and trembling, and has endeavoured to realise the meaning of St. Paul's words, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partakers in other men's sins."—(1 Tim. v. 22.)

Were this the only field of a Bishop's work, it would be a very important one, and demand much time and prayer. But during the whole of the week of examination, he has, perhaps, considered it his duty to receive the candidates as his guests; and when he has ordained them, he will not willingly lose sight of any of them. He will encourage them to look up to him as their spiritual father, and will allow them afterwards, in cases of difficulty, to resort to him for advice. He will keep up, as far as he is able, correspondence with them on the affairs of their parishes, and, it may be, on what concerns also their own spiritual life. He will renew his knowledge of them by shewing them seasonable hospitality, and still more so by his conversation, when he visits the scenes of their labour, and confirms in their parish churches the young Christians whom they have endeavoured to prepare. So important will he consider this holy rite, which none but a Bishop may administer, and of which no English churchman would wish his child to be deprived, that he will, if possible, let no year pass without holding a Confirmation within easy reach of every parish in his diocese.

Again, from time to time, it will happen that new churches are erected. It will then be the Bishop's duty to come and consecrate them, and his pleasure to improve the occasion by preaching to the assembled clergy and laity. Nor will even such an event as the erection of a new school, or the holding of a meeting in favour of any great society, be considered an unworthy occasion to draw the Bishop from his episcopal city even to some remote corner of his diocese.

Nor less important is the generally recognised practice of Episcopal Visitation. A Bishop is expected to visit in succession the various divisions of his diocese, and to call his clergy round him at certain appointed centres. On such occasions, he has to give his authoritative opinion on those questions of general concern, which are continually arising, and on which the clergy have a right to look to him for advice. His Charges, therefore, must be the result of much observation of society, of much reflection on the world and on the tendencies of the age, of much study of modern books, and of much comparison of these with the stores of learning which he has amassed before he was called to his high office. Thus only can he satisfy the great expectations of a clergy, who would fain regard their Bishop as their great authority in the controversies which are daily agitating the



theological world, and which they, perhaps, have little opportunity of so studying as to be able to form a safe opinion.

Among the laity also he has duties to perform. He finds it desirable to preach unofficially from time to time in the country churches of his diocese, and so to accustom even the village population to the sight of their Bishop. And as he and his family are called upon by their position to mingle much with the laity of the higher ranks, his presence cannot but be felt in many quarters as a source of purifying influence. It is difficult to estimate the value of the example of a Bishop's family to the families both of the clergy and the laity. St. Paul, indeed, seems to have considered such influence to be of sufficient importance to be thought of, while he is enumerating the requisites for the episcopal office. For he not only insists that a Bishop shall be blameless in all personal and official points of duty, but adds (1 Tim. iii. 4, 5), "that he must rule his own house well, and have his children in subjection with all gravity; for if a man know not how to rule his own house well, how shall he take care of the Church of God?"

A Bishop has also, according to the present constitution of our Church establishment, duties to perform in Parliament, in watching every measure that may directly or indirectly concern the welfare of the Church, or the cause of religion throughout the country, and, indeed, throughout the world. He naturally refrains from weakening his influence by interference in such mere political questions as are better left in the hands of lay legislators; and so, when he rises on a point that really concerns the best interests of Christ's people, his words are the more powerful, and, if God will, the more successful.

Having so far shewn the duties required of a Bishop in the present day, I need scarcely now go back to the old comparison, and point out that these duties are far more multifarious than those discharged by the general of an army. But here it may be objected that I have rather described a Bishop as he ought to be, than a Bishop as he is. Perhaps so, I reply. And yet I venture, under correction, to hope that there is not a Bishop on the bench, who would not wish to be all that has been described. But it is entirely beyond the power of the most energetic of these zealous and self-denying men, to discharge adequately even a small part of these duties. It is simply a physical impossibility for a man, however able, to deal in this manner with a diocese containing 700,000 souls; and yet such is the present average of the population of an English diocese.

It may be that a man is spared long enough to make it probable that a great part of the clergy of his diocese have received ordination, and that a majority even of the laity have received confirmation, at his hands. But what prospect is there that he can remember personally such a multitude with sufficient distinctness to be able to make them severally the subject of his prayers?

It may be, that in such a case he just knows the face of each of his clergy, and that he has made careful notes of the points, either of business or of private interest, on which they have at any time consulted him. But how different is this from the power of entering at once into their interests, recalling the points that have been in discussion, enforcing the advice formerly given, and suggesting any cautions that may still be necessary!

What then is to be done, in order to make the duties of a Bishop possible? "Surely," it will be at once replied, "the number of Bishops must be increased." "But not yet"—some one will reply—"If, at present, there is generally throughout the country but one clergyman to every

10,000 laymen, it will be right first to remedy this great and crying evil by the appointment of more parochial clergy, and then to think of appointing rulers over them."

There is just enough reason in this cautious suggestion to make it popular. But it ought not to be forgotten that it is no new thing, either in the Church in general, or in the Church of England in particular, to multiply episcopal Sees, where a pressing need is shewn.

St. Augustine demanded a sub-division of his See; (S. Augustin. Ep. 261, ad Cœlestinum.) St. Gregory Nazianzen records with praise the zeal of St Basil in multiplying the Bishops in his province; (S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xx. de laudibus Basilii.) And at the second Council of Carthage (A.D. 428) a decree was passed, to the effect that on the increase of Christian population, if another Bishop is demanded by the people, they ought to have one granted them.

In our own Church, one of the first improvements suggested at the Reformation was an increase in the number of Bishops. A vote of Parliament sanctioned the erection of twenty new Sees, of which six only were created, (31 Henry VIII. c. 9.) In an earlier Act of Parliament of the same reign, (26 Henry VIII. c. 24) twenty-six places are named as intended Sees for Suffragan Bishops. Had these designs been fully carried out, there would have been about seventy Bishops in England and Wales, from the Reformation to the present day.

Under these circumstances, it would appear that the need of more Bishops has been acknowledged in England for more than three centuries; it is not therefore necessary to delay the appointment either till the want is more felt, or till other wants have been supplied.

But indeed the same objection was made some years ago, in a parallel instance. Men exclaimed against the appointment of Colonial Bishops, as being quite unnecessary, or at least premature, as long as the number of the missionary or parochial clergy in the colonies was so small as compared with that of the laity among whom they ministered. Happily however the objection was overruled: Colonial Bishops were appointed, and it was soon found that in each instance the presence and influence of an active Bishop led to an immediate multiplication of the parochial and missionary clergy in his diocese. This might be shewn by a long and accurate tabulated statement, but it will be quite enough to give the instances of the two Australian Colonies, which now form the dioceses of Melbourne and Adelaide. In the former of these, at the time a Bishop was first appointed, there were but three clergy, in the latter but four. In eighteen years the Bishop of Melbourne was at the head of 67, the Bishop of Adelaide at the head of 30 clergy.

But where, it will be said, if the immediate increase of Bishops be necessary, will it be possible to find occupants for the episcopal chairs? and how shall we provide the new Bishops with a proper maintenance? These are points of detail which must elsewhere be grappled with; it is therefore unnecessary to do more on this occasion than to indicate one expedient, among the many that may reasonably be suggested.

The late Dr. Arnold proposed an expedient. "Let the present Deans of the English Cathedrals," said he, "be consecrated Bishops, and the numbers of the Episcopal order are doubled at once." Many people saw difficulties in this summary method, as it was commonly alleged in that day that Deans were too frequently appointed on political grounds, or from family influence; and that they would neither be equal to such duties, nor

indeed willing to undertake them. I trust that this was not in reality quite so true as it seemed. But even if it were, no such objection is valid now, when public attention is called to every ecclesiastical appointment, and no minister of the Crown ventures to bestow patronage without some regard being had to the fitness of the person who is preferred.

Such a plan is doubtless open to a few difficulties. First, there may be some Bishops who do not wish their Sees subdivided, and some Deans who will utter with earnestness their "*Nolo Episcopari*." Be it so: in such cases the Church must wait, as she has had to wait in other instances. And next, it will be asked, Upon whom must devolve the performance of the present duties of the Dean, if he is to be called away from them to the discharge of others? To this it is easily replied, that a Dean has very few public duties which the Bishop of the diocese would not, if allowed, gladly perform in his own cathedral. And if there are capitular duties, which the promotion of the Dean will render difficult for him, we must remember that in most chapters there is also a Subdean whose present duties are not very onerous. Some portion of these duties may, perhaps, still be left in the hands of the Dean, even though he be a Bishop; as most of us remember to have seen the Bishop of Llandaff acting as Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London. He can also still retain the deanery as a residence, and continue to receive all the endowments which are attached to the Decanal office. Again, it may be objected that not all Sees need subdividing. This again is a question of detail, and means can readily be found to restore the balance by dividing some overgrown diocese into more than two parts. Again, there will arise the difficulty, that the income of a deanery is not sufficient to maintain a Bishop, who has to pass a part of his time in London, for the discharge of parliamentary duties. To this the answer is very simple. It is by no means essential to a Bishop to be a Peer. This point has long since been conceded, for when the number of Bishops was enlarged some few years ago, by the consecration of a Bishop of Manchester, it was arranged that the youngest member of the episcopal order, should, unless he occupied the See of Canterbury, York, London, Durham, or Winchester, be exempted from parliamentary duties.

And yet again it will be urged, that there is a jealousy, on the part of the laity, of any enlargement of the Episcopal Bench. To this, I answer, that the jealousy exists, if at all, against Bishops as Peers and Legislators, not as spiritual officers. No more dissatisfaction is likely to be felt at the appointment of more Bishops, as such, than at the appointment of the same number of Archdeacons, or Rural Deans.

But would it not, some one will say, be a dangerous example to appoint Bishops whose income would be no more than £1,000 or £2,000 a year, the income of most deaneries? Will not people argue, "If one Bishop can live on so small a stipend, why not another?" The answer is very simple. The Bishops of already existing Sees have palaces to keep up, parliamentary duties to attend, and the position of a Peer to maintain. No one will therefore grudge them their well-deserved honours and emoluments. And if the day should ever come, when these honours and emoluments are abridged, their ecclesiastical dignity, which is the most important, will continue uninjured.

But are you not, it will be further urged, proposing a great change, which can only be made by an Act of Parliament, which in these days it will be almost impossible to obtain? No, I answer: the law exists already, and requires but to be put in force. It is already lawful to consecrate

Suffragan Bishops in every English See. The Sovereign can as lawfully nominate the Dean of Norwich to be Bishop of Thetford or of Dunwich, and the Dean of Salisbury to be Bishop of Sherborne, or of Christ Church, or can give the Chapters in these Dioceses power to elect their Dean to a Bishopric with one of these titles, and then give her Royal permission to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and such other Bishops as he may summon to assist him, to consecrate such new Bishop, as she can at present take the usual steps by which a vacancy in one of the ancient Sees of the country is supplied.

A few difficulties, not contemplated here, may be expected to occur in bringing such a scheme into action. But the Church has now an executive body, in what is called the Ecclesiastical Commission, to which the State has committed vast powers, and in which, as all the Bishops of the National Church are members of it, the Church may well begin to place confidence. They have already the disposal of most of the episcopal and capitular estates, and will soon be able to make arrangements for the carrying out of such a plan as this, supposing it to be once approved by the Convocation of the Church, and by them recommended to the Sovereign for adoption. When once the difficulties that now stand in the way are removed, and such new Suffragan Sees called into existence, great changes will be needed in the Convocation also, to make it really a representative assembly. But on these it cannot be necessary to enter now.

One other point may here be briefly adverted to. It may not be so easy, it has been said, to fill up Deaneries to which episcopal functions are attached as it is to fill up those which give merely a precedence among the Cathedral clergy, or an honourable rest for literary labour. Men really eligible for Bishoprics at present will hardly accept a Deanery, even though a Suffragan Bishopric be attached to it. There is not really much fear of such a refusal being frequently made on such a ground. But should it occur, the remedy is at hand. It need but be made customary that a Suffragan Bishop, or one of the Suffragan Bishops if there be many dependent upon one ancient See, should succeed, on a vacancy, to that See, and the difficulty will disappear.

Could these suggestions, or any similar plan, be acted upon, how much greater reality would at once be given to the episcopal system in our country! Not only would the parochial clergy find themselves less distant from their Bishop in the social scale, but they would also be able to resort to him much more freely, without fear of intruding on the valuable time of one who has upon him the care, not only of a diocese, but also of a nation, as being a member of the legislature. And the Bishop will, in like manner, be able to find time for taking real counsel with his Chapter on the affairs of his diocese, instead of deciding them, as he is compelled to do at present, upon his own responsibility. Such a Chapter need not consist of endowed Canons and Prebendaries, but of clergymen selected by the Bishops from among their brethren, on the ground of their fitness to be his counsellors. Men have been found not unwilling now to become members of honorary Chapters in the old dioceses, where they have never yet been called upon either to deliberate or to act. There will surely, then, be no difficulty in forming such Chapters, when the members are to be the real counsellors of their Bishop. We can easily conceive that, under these circumstances, the Bishop will more readily find candidates for Holy Orders; that ordinations will not only be more frequent, but will be held in many cases in the very churches in which particular candidates

are to exercise their ministry; that many more young Christians will be confirmed than at present, while the occasions on which that holy rite is administered become more frequent, and it is no longer needful to gather an overpowering multitude of candidates on each occasion. This last will not seem an unimportant matter, to those who have witnessed the irreverence which at present results from the necessity of young persons travelling from a distance to a confirmation, because a Bishop has not really the time to hold one at any neighbouring point, and the still greater irreverence which results from the presence of overwhelming numbers being gathered in the church, to the weariness of the candidates, of the clergy, and of the Bishop himself, who is sometimes compelled to hold two confirmations a day, to travel some distance from the scene of one to that of the other, and to give notice that he cannot be expected to confirm in any church where less than 300 candidates are presented to him.

We have one diocese in the united kingdom in which all these things are at present possible, and that without any subdivision; namely, the diocese known by the ancient title of "Sodor and Man." The first portion of this title has become as meaningless as the title *King of France* was upon the English coinage in the days of George II; for it is understood to refer to a group of isles on the Scottish coast, which have long since been thoroughly Presbyterian. The Isle of Man constitutes the whole of the actual diocese. It has neither an overwhelming population, nor an unmanageable number of clergy. The memory of the Apostolic Bishop Wilson still survives, and the present Bishop, and his two immediate predecessors, have trod worthily in his steps. There is found in every church a chair for the Bishop, which is not unfrequently occupied by him, without previous notice of his visit. There is a synod of clergy held annually according to ancient usage. Confirmations are frequent enough for qualified candidates to be confirmed at the age when they are best prepared. In this little diocese, in fact, is found the pattern of nearly all that an English Bishopric ought to be, and yet this See was, a few years since, destined by an act of the legislature to incorporation with a See divided from it by a long and often stormy sea passage. It was rescued from such suppression by the courage and energy of the late Lord Powys; and now it appears, in God's providence, to be nearly the model to which the other Sees may advantageously be conformed.

Hitherto we have spoken of the subdivision of existing Sees: there remains one point only to be touched on, and that looks like the constituting of three new Sees, whereas it is in reality the mere subdivision of what was a short time ago the largest diocese in the world—the See of London.

A theory, rather than a law, used formerly to group all British subjects not resident on the British shores under the episcopal care of the Bishop of London. A great part of this burden has been removed by the appointment of colonial Bishops, who superintend the clergy and the lay churchmen in many of our colonies. More is yet to be done in that direction, perhaps, and doubtless will be done. But there are three distinct bodies of clergy attached to the English Church, who at present owe no fixed duties to any Bishop, except the Bishop of London, a prelate who has too much on his hands to exercise any real superintendence over them. These are the clergy who act as British Chaplains in foreign cities, the chaplains of the army, and the chaplains of the navy. Some little was done, a few years ago, for the first of these three classes, in the consecration of a Bishop of Gibraltar: but his authority is generally understood to be so limited as to control no chaplains who are beyond a certain number of miles from the shores of

the Mediterranean. It were well therefore that there should be at least two more Bishops, with similar powers, for the superintendence of the British congregations in the northern parts of Europe. If it be needful that their nominal cathedrals should be on the shores of a British possession, Jersey and Heligoland might be selected. The Bishop of Jersey might take under his charge the congregations in the Channel Islands and those scattered through France and Switzerland; the Bishop of Heligoland might preside over those to be found in Germany and Northern Europe. The congregations of our countrymen in Spain, Italy, and other countries bordering upon the Mediterranean, might still remain under the Bishop of Gibraltar, whose authority might at the same time be made to extend further inland than at present.

But great as may be the claims to Episcopal superintendence, which may be urged by or for the chaplains of English congregations abroad, they are not surely so great as those of the chaplains of our army and navy. The case of the former is less hard perhaps than that of the latter, for they have a Chaplain-General, who acts as superintendent of the religious and scholastic affairs of the army, and is consulted on the appointment of each of the sixty-two chaplains, who are now attached to that important branch of the service. Such an officer can of course only be "*primus inter pares*," and cannot act as a Bishop. He can apportion duties, deal with difficulties, assist by counsel, and improve by example; but he cannot ordain chaplains, or even confirm the young soldiers or the soldiers' children. It is most desirable that he should be able to perform these functions, and that he should therefore be consecrated to the office of a Bishop.

But far stronger is the case of the chaplains of the British navy. There are at present one hundred and fifty-five such chaplains, whose services are apparently demanded in behalf of 70,000 men belonging to the Royal navy, and 306,000 belonging to the mercantile navy. They are actually under no episcopal control, for the diocese of every English Bishop, except the Bishop of London, is supposed to be limited by high-water mark. They have no means of conferring with one another, their parishes being the ships to which they are appointed, and to which they are strictly confined. They have no central authority, to whom they can refer, each chaplain being under the absolute control of the captain of his ship; and, except through the captain, they are unable to refer to the Admiralty, which is the branch of the Queen's Government from which they receive their appointment. They are dispersed in such a manner that of the men serving in the Royal navy no less than 16,000 seamen on board 180 vessels of war, and 600 marines in barracks, are utterly withdrawn from direct religious superintendence. They have also, in many instances, to perform the duty of naval instructors, in which capacity they are brought unpleasantly into contact with the younger officers; they have inferior accommodation, and inferior social rank, to other officers, who cannot, except on board ship, be considered their superiors; and they have at present no central authority corresponding to the Chaplain-General of the army, to whom they may make any necessary representations on professional subjects.

It is not easy to see why a Medical Director-General is necessary for the surgeons of the army and navy, and a Chaplain-General for the army chaplains; and yet no such officer is granted for navy chaplains. Their difficulties are quite as great as those of the chaplains in the army, and their peculiarly isolated position demands for them that especial sympathy which a Bishop only can bestow. Nor ought we to think of the chaplains

only, but rather of the multitude of sailors and marines, who ought to be considered members of the English Church, and have therefore a claim to be within reach of those ministrations, from which they are now almost totally withdrawn.

When there were but seventy-nine naval chaplains in the year 1812, it was thought desirable that a Chaplain-General should be appointed. On the return of peace in 1815, the navy was reduced by paying off many ships, and but twenty-two chaplains continued in commission. The office of Chaplain-General was under these circumstances suppressed, and has never been renewed. The only step since taken by the authorities of the navy in this direction was an order, issued in 1827, directing the naval chaplains to correspond with the senior chaplain of Greenwich Hospital, on all matters relating to the religious instruction of their ships' companies, and generally regarding their sacred duties. Even this order is said now to have become obsolete, and the chief officer who is now to be addressed on such subjects is the Secretary to the first Lord of the Admiralty, who is certainly a good authority on matters that concern the discipline of a ship, but may not necessarily have a clear idea of the duties of a chaplain, who holds his commission not of the Queen only but of God.

May we not well hope, now that the chaplains of the navy are twice as numerous as those of the army, and more than twice as numerous as they were when a Chaplain-General was thought necessary for them, that they may have one appointed, who may be consecrated as a Bishop, and be a Suffragan, if need be, of the See of London?

Such are a few suggestions in regard to the subdivision of English Sees. In the short time that is allowed for such an address, it has been obviously impossible to give more than a few general suggestions on what is evidently felt by the Church to be an important subject.

We may venture to hope that the season of the Church Congress will not again come round, before some steps at least have been taken in this direction. For surely, as we may well say in conclusion, if, immediately after the Norman Conquest, twenty-one Bishops were required for the superintendence of a population amounting to no more than a million and a quarter of souls; if it was thought desirable, at the Reformation, to raise the number to seventy, when the population was but about four millions; a much greater number is now demanded, to meet the religious wants of a population, which was found, at the census of 1861, to amount to upwards of twenty millions.

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## THE DIVISION OF SEES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

BY THE REV. E. M. GOULBURN,

It appears to me that our decision of this question must depend on the estimate we form of the position and responsibilities of a Bishop. If we look at this position and responsibilities from the world's point of view, we shall probably think that we have Bishops enough already. When I speak of the world, I do not use the word invidiously; I mean by the world's estimate of a subject merely the popular estimate, an

estimate which is shared by many highly respectable persons, and by some who are in the main religious. A Bishop of our Church himself, now long since dead, told me that he considered himself to be simply *Pastor Pastorum*, that he did not conceive he had any functions towards the laity; "I am your Bishop," said he, "but do not imagine that I am the Bishop of the poor people in your parish." The function of a Bishop, according to his view, was to create and govern the clergy; the Bishop was a clerical magistrate,—this essentially,—but with two accidental functions, attached conventionally and by ecclesiastical tradition to his office, though not of the essence of it, the confirmation of children, and the consecration of churches. It is not doing the world much injustice to say that this, or something approaching to this, is the world's ordinary view. It is the view avowed by the secular journals of the day, with more or less explicitness; and if it is granted as the true view, (though even then a Suffragan in one or two vast dioceses might be desirable) the question of more Bishops, or in other words, "Shall we subdivide our dioceses?" may be considered as settled in the negative.

But surely the view which we, as Churchmen, must take of the subject is not that of the public, but that of the Ordinal. Now what says the Ordinal, when carefully and minutely studied, on the true position and responsibilities of a Bishop? I have been through it carefully, making annotations upon it and endeavouring to dismiss as much as possible preconceived ideas, and to gather the theory of a Bishop's office which is traced in the three Services. And so far as I have been able to ascertain the theory, it seems the direct contradictory of the popular view. The functions of a Bishop to the laity, or rather to the whole Church, seem to me to be his main functions (according to the Prayer-Book); and his distinctive powers (such as jurisdiction, and ordination) to flow out from his general character as a full minister of the Church. I use the words "full minister" advisedly, by way of correcting the ordinary use of them, which I believe to be erroneous. When a young curate, who has hitherto been in Deacon's orders, is admitted to the Priesthood, it is often said in the parish that now he is "a full minister." But the theory of the Ordination Service seems to be that none but Bishops are "full ministers," and that the two lower orders of ministers act simply as delegates to the Bishop in certain parts of his function. There is a hint of this in the opening Collect which serves as a key to the whole position taken up by the Prayer-Book on the subject; "Give grace, we beseech Thee, to all Bishops, ~~THE~~ Pastors of "thy Church" (Priests are never called ~~THE~~ pastors, though doubtless they may be termed "pastors," as holding a pastorate derived from the Episcopal office) "that they may"—do what? ordain? censure and punish? govern? exercise authority? no, all these functions are distinctly attributed to the Bishop in the course of the Service; but they are none of them his prime function—"that they may diligently preach Thy Word,"—this is the first function of a Bishop, "diligent preaching"—and not until this has been mentioned, does the disciplinary function (which, like the power of Ordination, flows out of the Bishop's position as the only full minister of the Church) come into view—"and duly administer the godly discipline thereof." In further confirmation of this theory that Bishops only are full pastors, observe that the three appointed Gospels for the Consecration Service record the three ministerial commissions—the commission to feed the sheep (which surely is done by preaching and the



Eucharist); the commission to remit and retain sins; and the commission to baptize and instruct. Preaching, the Eucharist, Absolution, Baptism, Catechising,—these functions have reference to the whole Church and not to the clergy alone; and these are the Bishop's proper functions, if the three passages chosen as the Gospels in the Service of Consecration are appropriate. Then again, in the examination of the person presented for Consecration, he is asked whether "he is determined out of the Holy Scriptures to instruct the people committed to his charge," and also whether he will "faithfully exercise himself in the Holy Scriptures; and call upon God by prayer for the true understanding of the same, so as he may be able by them to teach and exhort with wholesome doctrine," *before* he is asked whether he will "correct and punish the criminous," and "whether he will be faithful in ordaining or laying on of hands." Similarly, in the Prayer which precedes the Consecration, the petition "that he may be evermore ready to spread abroad Thy Gospel, the glad tidings of reconciliation with Thee," *precedes* the petition that "he may use the authority given him, not to destruction but to salvation;" and in the charge immediately after Consecration, the deep study of the Scriptures, and exhortation and doctrine, flowing out of that study, are the first things insisted on; the ministration of discipline is the last.

To sum up what has been said: judging from the Ordination Service, the Bishop is to be *κατ' ἐξουσίαν*, the Pastor. Studying the Word of God and preaching it diligently are his great functions. But, being a Pastor with full powers, he has authority to govern, authority to reprove, authority to punish. And he has power also, on the same ground, to reproduce (by laying on of hands) his own or any lower ministry.

The entire agreement of this theory with Holy Scripture cannot fail to strike us. If Bishops represent the Apostles, at least in those powers of the Apostles which are capable of transmission, their primary functions must be those for which the Apostles relieved themselves of the lower and more secular administrations: "But we will give ourselves *to the Word of God and to prayer.*" Nor can one even imagine St. Paul, St. Peter, St. John, being in any neighbourhood without themselves taking the lead in the exhortation and doctrine addressed to the Church in that place. It is altogether inconceivable that any one of them should say, "It is not my business to instruct the laity; I have merely to make a periodical inspection of the clergy, and to keep up a periodical supply of them, and then pass on."

Now if the above view of the Bishop's office be the real and true view, and if, therefore, it be the view to which we should endeavour to approximate, it is clear that a very considerable subdivision of the existing dioceses must be made. If the theory of the Ordinal and the Holy Scriptures is at all to be exhibited in practice, the Bishop should at least preach in every parish church of his diocese on one Sunday in the course of each year, and afterwards give absolution and benediction, while the Incumbent celebrates the Communion. In many a secluded country parish the visit of the Bishop for these purposes of ordinary ministration would be quite the event of the year: if some little notice of it were given beforehand, the church would be sure to be thronged on that occasion at all events; the village choir would make great efforts to sing their best; the clergyman would feel sure at all events of one quiet opportunity in the year of meeting and consulting his

ecclesiastical superior ; and, independently of the direct spiritual good which might be done by a simple, faithful, and animated sermon from the Pastor of the diocese, a general stimulus would be given to the entire parochial machinery, the value of which could not be overrated.

But with only the present number of Bishops, such an arrangement would be wholly out of the question. Nay, without a very considerable increase, anything like what I have described would be impossible. There are but fifty-two Sundays in the year ; four of them are seasons of Ordination, when the Bishop must be engaged in another manner ; several would be required for rest in a life so very busy and so very anxious ; so that at the very most only forty, or say perhaps thirty, could be devoted to the work of simple evangelising. This would presuppose a diocese with not much more than thirty parish churches in it,—a diocese in these days of perhaps unexampled diminutiveness. Assuming the church-room to be sufficient for the Church population, and supposing each church capable of holding fifteen hundred (a very large average indeed), this would give us a Bishop for every sixty thousand souls. And this, curiously enough, was about the original proportion which the number of Bishops bore to the population of the country. When our population was about a million and a quarter twenty-one Bishops were required, which, equally divided, would give to each Bishop the oversight of 59,523 souls. But what is the case now ? For a population exceeding 20,000,000 we have but twenty-eight Bishops, which gives more than 714,000 souls to the charge of each Bishop. Is not this a cruelly and unreasonably large charge, if our Bishops are to appear among us in their true character of *the* Pastors, the only full ministers of Christ's flock ? Their correspondence is most onerous, and without this correspondence the administration of their dioceses could not be carried on. Confirmation tours made among so vast a population, and made as they are now made, on the principle of the Bishop's going to every one rather than on the old-fashioned plan of every one going to the Bishop at half-a-dozen great centres, take up an immense proportion of the year ; and when the ordinance is ministered to such large numbers, it must be very exhausting both physically and mentally. But when to these distinctively episcopal functions is added the weighty office of ministering God's Word and Sacraments throughout a diocese ; and when it is borne in mind that continuous preaching demands continuous study, and without such study must soon, even in the very ablest and most learned men, degenerate into religious verbiage ; then it is easy at once to see that either the diocese must be circumscribed, or we must acquiesce in our Bishops confining themselves to their distinctively episcopal functions, and in the theory of the Prayer-book and the Scriptures on the episcopal office being in abeyance amongst us. Of course we cannot all at once realise this theory. But it is something to see what the theory should be, and to hold it steadily before our eyes in all attempts at reform. As a beginning, might not the chief incumbent of some of the larger manufacturing towns, like Leeds or Birmingham or Halifax, be consecrated Bishop of that town, and assume at once the government of all the district churches which have sprung up around the old ecclesiastical centre ? Surely the Church ought to have elasticity enough in her organization to adapt her machinery from time to time to the demands made by the population of the country.

One more point I may briefly notice, having reference indeed not to the Division of Dioceses, but to the closely allied subject of the Increase of Bishops. English Dioceses are bounded, I believe, by high-water mark; and when a man is on the sea he is for the time being in no Diocese. But, in addition to our land population, we have 376,000 sailors in the Royal Navy whose home is on the waves, the spiritual charge of whom is taken by a most numerically inadequate staff of naval chaplains, who have no ecclesiastical organization, and are subject to no ecclesiastical control. The merchant seamen of this country number about 230,000 more, and these are almost entirely destitute of clergy as well as of bishops. If an increase of the Episcopate is ever seriously taken into the consideration of the authorities, as I trust it may be, ought not this enormous body of men to receive attention in the first instance? We are deeply indebted to them as bringing to us the various commodities of life, and as protecting our country from invasion. Beyond other classes of men, sailors are notoriously accessible to religious impressions. Shall we any longer acquiesce in their being in a spiritual sense scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd? Is it not incumbent upon us to furnish them with at least as many spiritual advantages as we provide for our poor at home?

## DISCUSSION.

MR. J. M. CLABON: As an active member of the Executive Committee of the Church Institution, my attention has been called to this question of late. Not knowing whether I should be called upon to speak, I put my suggestions into print, and I ask permission to read them.

1. The Order of the Episcopacy, as at present constituted, ought to be retained, without material variation, for the following among other reasons:—

(1.) It is desirable that Bishops of dignified position and ample means should continue as rulers of the Church.

(2.) They are required—

i. To represent the Church in Parliament.

ii. To perform the duties of Ordination, Confirmation, Consecration, and general oversight.

iii. To represent the Church on all occasions of importance in their respective Dioceses.

iv. To be centres of hospitality for the Clergy and Church laity, promoting and encouraging good and kindly feeling among all.

2. These duties can be well performed by the present number of Bishops, and it is not necessary or desirable to increase that number.

3. But an increase of the Episcopate is needed because the present Bishops have not time to devote to the due visitation of the parishes within their several Dioceses. By such visitation is meant a personal visit to each parish, during which there shall be at least a service in the Church, and a conference with the Incumbent, the Churchwardens, and the Church laity, as to Church matters of local and general interest.

4. The result of frequent visitations of this kind would, under the blessing of God, be of great benefit to the Church, as tending to keep before the attention of Churchmen their duties to God, to themselves and their families, and to the poor, old and young, among them.

5. The present visitations, whether of the Bishop or Archdeacon, are inefficient. The Charges delivered, always excellent, are only heard by the Clergy, and have but little practical result in the parishes.

6. Visitations would be best carried into effect by men not trammelled on the one hand by the higher duties of the Episcopate, or on the other hand by parochial duty.

7. The office of Suffragan (meaning assistant) Bishop would be usefully revived.

The main difficulty is the want of means. The Episcopal Fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in the hurry to do something of immediate practical use, has been handed over to the General Fund, and is not available.

8. The appointment of the present Archdeacons as Suffragan Bishops, with an enlarged sphere of duty, would not meet the want; for their revenues are very small, and on this account beneficed clergymen are now appointed as Archdeacons, whose parochial duties already require the whole of their time.

9. The Canonries of our Cathedrals afford the means to meet the need. The Canons have but little to do; the offices, practically, are sinecures. The duties of superintending the management of the Cathedral estates, the repairs of the Cathedral, and the performance of Divine Service therein, might well be performed by the Dean, with the aid of occasional Chapter Meetings.

10. The suggestion now made is, that the Canons of each Cathedral, the future number being reduced so that the fund applicable for their payment will suffice to give each £1,500 a year, be made Suffragan Bishops, not holding any cure of souls, or other appointment. The existing residences of the Canons to be retained for the Suffragan Bishops.

11. It may be objected that the Canonries now form the rewards which the Clergy look forward to for their ill-paid services. The answer is, that they will remain so; the only change being that they will be converted from sinecures into offices of useful labour. The high offices which form the rewards of other professions have laborious duties attached to them. The barrister does not cease from labour when he attains the Bench. The soldier, the doctor, the attorney, do not attain the very few rewards they have to look forward to in the shape of sinecures.

12. It may also be objected, that the office of Canon should be a leisure office, so that it may be devoted to study for the benefit of the Church. But a review of theological literature proves that hard-worked Bishops and Clergy have contributed more than their due proportion, and that Canons have been deficient in this respect.

13. It is further suggested, that the Suffragan Bishoprics thus formed by conversion of the canonries, might, in course of time, take into themselves the present Archdeaconries.

14. The resolutions some time since suggested to the Church Institution on this point were as follows:—

(1.) That it is expedient to leave the present Dioceses in England and Wales and the emoluments and status of the Bishops thereof as at present established. That power be given to divide Dioceses with a population above 1,000,000 when a sufficient endowment is provided.

(2.) That an order of Suffragan Bishops be constituted in England and Wales to visit and perform Episcopal and Archidiaconal duties under the direction of the Bishop of the Diocese, and that no more Archdeacons be appointed.

(3.) That all future Canons of Cathedrals become Suffragan Bishops with no other cure.

(4.) That the number of Canons so to become Suffragan Bishops be limited, so that the amount of the present stipends and those of the Archdeacons shall afford £1,200 a year, and £300 for travelling expenses, to each, with power to apply a surplus of one Diocese towards the stipends of the Suffragan Bishops of another Diocese.

MR. F. S. POWELL said, In the few remarks which I shall venture to submit to this section of the Congress, I hope I shall not occupy the whole of the ten minutes allowed me. I shall leave out of the question Suffragan Bishops and Coadjutor Bishops. There is an opinion prevalent among some members of the Episcopal Bench in favour of Suffragan Bishops. There may be an opinion in favour of Coadjutor Bishops. But I say nothing regarding them, because the whole question relating to them must rest with the members of the episcopal bench. It is clear that the bishops must take the initiative themselves if they wish to have suffragans or coadjutors. Neither shall I say anything regarding the proposal of my friend Mr. Beresford Hope, to give a bishop to every county. The time may arrive in the history of the English Church when such a happy consummation may be within our reach. That which I desire to call your attention to is what we may attain if we have the firmness and the resolution and the necessary energy. Some reference was made this morning by my Lord Harrowby to the report of the Cathedral Commission. Their chief recommendation was that a permissive bill should be introduced enabling Her Majesty and her successors to divide certain dioceses, with the consent of the bishop. That is, in fact, a suggestion to revive an old statute of Henry the Eighth. The recommendation was that in no case should a new See be erected unless a suitable income should have been first provided; and it was suggested that the funds for this purpose might be provided partly by local contributions and partly out of the episcopal property now in the hands of the Ecclesiastical

Commission. Then there is the suggestion referred to by a previous speaker, that the offices of bishop and dean should be united. After having thrown out these views with reference to the subject generally, I approach the more practical question, what is first to be done? The Commission suggested that, first of all, a See should be erected in Cornwall, another in Westminster, and that the Sees of Gloucester and Bristol should be separated, and that a See should be created at Southwell. With reference to three of these, both Convocations, Canterbury and York, have expressed their entire concurrence. What occurs to me is that we might take these as a starting point. We should not thus introduce a new class of bishops. It is true that they might not have a full Chapter, and there might be some difficulty in providing a See with all the accessories and ornaments which we consider necessary to a cathedral, but I do not consider objections of that sort fatal to the scheme. There could be no difficulty in creating a certain number of honorary canonries, and giving stalls to the parochial clergy. With reference to the other point, that the new bishops would not necessarily be Peers of Parliament, I, for my part, think it desirable that a certain number of bishops should not be peers. I think it better that we should thoroughly recognise the spiritual character of the episcopal office. We are far too rapidly becoming Presbyterian, as one speaker remarked; we have almost lost the diaconate, and prelates have almost become peers. Let us restore the prelacy in its fullest plenitude, and then work down and restore the order of deacons. We cannot hope to receive the requisite funds from the money in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. If we depend upon that source we shall be sure to fail. But I hope we should be able to obtain from them some contribution in aid. We must bear in mind that any sum so laid out would not be dead timber lying on the floor of the church. If £10,000 a year were devoted to the endowment of new bishoprics, it could not be £10,000 a year taken away from the funds applicable to parochial purposes, for it would be recovered in the new life and new spirit which the bishops would infuse into the parochial work in their dioceses. Therefore, though I should oppose any large demands on the funds of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, believing such diversion would be an injury to the Church of England, I think some sacrifice might be made by the members of the Church themselves, and that in that case a grant might be made from the funds of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to supplement private contributions.

PROFESSOR BURROWS: It is unnecessary for me to enter on the large question which has been so fully and completely discussed already. I shall ask your attention for only a small part of this great question, namely, the need of a Chaplain-General for the Royal Navy, and even on that point I need not go much into detail, for I am most thankful that all who have addressed the meeting have given expression to decided feelings in favour of the movement. I suppose there are very few people who read the papers at all, who have not observed that there has been a considerable agitation going on for some time to provide something like a superintendence for the Chaplains of the Royal Navy. The Navy numbers 70,000 seamen, and the mercantile marine about 300,000. They form therefore a very large body of men, and to leave them without any recognised ecclesiastical head, seems to be a great blot on our administrative system. Now, as to the question what this ecclesiastical head ought to be, I have not the slightest doubt in the world that he ought to be a Bishop, for there are many important functions which a Bishop alone can perform; it is too bad that there should be no systematic confirmations for sailors, and that they should have to depend often upon accident. But if they cannot have a Bishop, they certainly ought to have a Chaplain-General, and I feel quite sure that the Admiralty, if only a sufficient pressure of public opinion be put upon them, would make that concession, for the Government is only itself an organ of public opinion, and must act in the end according to the wishes of the public. Now, what is it that prevents so obviously advantageous an appointment? How is it that we have to ask for it over and over again? What stops the way? It seems almost insulting to any assembly of Churchmen to have to argue in favour of such a thing. No doubt there are some plausible reasons against the creation of such an official. The difficulties do not proceed from the Admiralty. The Captains who have grown up under the old system, when religion was not cared for so much as it is now, have conceived a great objection to an *imperium in imperio* on board ship—to an ecclesiastical officer who might interfere with their own authority. But this is a prejudice which is disappearing. The agency of the press has had a great deal to do with sapping this feeling on the part of the captains. I have spent myself twenty years continuously in the executive department of the Royal Navy, and though I have now retired from active service, I cannot help feeling interested in it. From conversations I have had with many officers, I find that the prejudice I have alluded to is dying out, so that I am sure we shall not be left very long without what we want. Indeed, it is a very

short-sighted and foolish prejudice, for these Captains themselves would find their hands strengthened and their influence and authority helped if the ecclesiastical service of the Navy were put on a proper footing. The old system of repression by force, which was common in former days, and which the illustrious ancestor of the noble earl now present did so much towards abolishing, is almost superseded. The lash is no longer used except in most extreme cases, and the consequence is that it has been a very difficult matter to keep up discipline during the period of transition from one system to another, the fact being that the moral agency which should take the place of physical repression is slow in coming into operation. It is, however, coming into operation, and, beyond doubt, the person who can best promote it is the clergyman. No other person can do it in so effective a way. And how can a Chaplain, who has not, like the incumbent of a parish, even a curate to take counsel with, how can he get on unless he has some recognised head to appeal to in cases of difficulty? There is another point which I think Captains and Admirals do not sufficiently consider. They would gain in this way. A Chaplain, as I have seen myself, may not always be the most judicious person in the world. He may have some crotchety idea which he would wish to force forward against the better sense of others, and which he would not think of enforcing if he had had longer experience in the service. These very Captains then, often religious men, and anxious to have their ships conducted well, would find the influence of a Chaplain General upon such Chaplains most beneficial. A new objection has been raised, that a proper man could not be found for the office, and that if a bad man were put in it, he would be worse than none at all. I have heard that said by officers who ought to have known better. I said it was a libel on the Chaplains of the Royal Navy, for I have been told of at least half a dozen men who are well qualified for such a position. But the objection would apply equally to the appointment of a superior officer in any department in the world. I hope therefore that an objection founded on so little common sense as that will not survive very long. I have one more argument. In the University of Oxford, I am brought into contact with young men who frequently ask me for advice, and I have spoken to them on this very subject of going out as Chaplains in the Royal Navy, being anxious to induce such men to undertake the post, knowing perfectly well that naval officers, who are nearly all gentlemen, naturally prefer having among them a University-bred man rather than one who is not a man of refinement and education. I am sorry to say that I have found this very great difficulty. University men say that they feel so much the difficulties in which Chaplains are placed through the caprice of Captains, and through the want of a recognised ecclesiastical head, that they are not disposed to take a Chaplaincy in the Navy. I think that fact is an argument which ought to have some weight at head-quarters. The Admiralty (I say it with all respect) are bound to supply the best article to be found in the market. I will finish by saying that I am most thankful that attention has been drawn to this subject. Chaplains are not allowed to write to newspapers or to make complaints, and therefore they feel indebted to those who bring their case for them before the public; I trust therefore a united and powerful voice will go up from this section of the Congress which will have the effect of placing this large section of the Church in a proper position.

**THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN:** When I gave my card to the chairman on entering the room, it was because I thought it might be new to the Congress to hear this question discussed from an episcopal point of view. After the papers I have heard it seems to be scarcely necessary, the question has been so fully set before you. I will, however, just occupy a portion of the time allotted to me. It has been stated more than once of late by Cabinet Ministers that the necessity for the subdivision of dioceses and an increase in the number of bishops is less now than it formerly was on account of the penny postage and the railway system. But it seems not to have occurred to those who have used this argument that both these increased means of communication multiply a bishop's work instead of diminishing it. For one letter we received previously we get thirty now; and I suppose nothing so much astonishes one who is first raised to the post and work of a Bishop as the correspondence he daily receives. One letter he takes up asks for advice on some point of ecclesiastical law; the next on some question of common law; the next, on some point in architecture; in the next, he is called upon to arbitrate between two persons who have a difference; the next, probably, will call for his deepest sympathy and commiseration; the next, perhaps, requires him to administer a stern rebuke; and the many letters of minor importance, but which must be answered, entail upon him a very serious burden. Railroad communication, no doubt, enables a bishop to get through a larger amount of work, but then it also brings many additional demands upon him, and he is called upon week by week to go to this and that portion of his diocese to help, which he gladly does, in parochial works, which before the institution of railroads would not have been required of him, because it would have been a simple impossibility.

But let me briefly mention two or three points with regard to which bishops especially feel the difficulties of their position. First, with regard to confirmations. For though I do not myself consider it necessary that there should be a confirmation held every year in every parish, yet I think confirmation should be administered every year within reach of every parish. This is quite impossible in such a diocese, for instance, as my own. I can only go within the reach of all the parishes once in three years, and confirm in the larger towns once a year. There is another point on which one feels how very inadequately our duty is performed—I mean that of personal acquaintance with the clergy. How can one bishop be acquainted—I do not say well acquainted, but even very partially acquainted—with more than nine hundred clergymen? What can he know of their work and their character? How can he fairly distribute his patronage? How can he give them all that brotherly sympathy and co-operation which they need and which he earnestly desires to give? There is another part of his work, the omission of which, in any instance, must give him considerable pain, and that is the personal visitation of every parish, and preaching the Word of God therein. I was very glad indeed to hear Dr. Goulburn's remarks. It has always appeared to me that one of the first duties of a bishop is preaching the Word of God, not only in his own cathedral, but throughout his diocese. At present this can only be very inadequately done. There are, as has been observed, only fifty-two Sundays in the year, and they cannot all be devoted to preaching without neglecting other duties. There are, of course, week days, but with all the industry and activity of a bishop, there must remain, in a large diocese, many churches the inside of which he can never see, and, certainly, the pulpit of which he can never fill; and I know not how it may be felt by the clergy in whose parishes a bishop is enabled to spend a Sunday, but I can safely say for myself that I never spend happier days, and never come away with greater thankfulness, than when I am enabled to do a little work in my Master's cause in the parish of some hard-working clergyman. Then there is, in addition to this, which takes up a good deal of the bishop's time, his attendance in London during the season. This, I confess, I am not able to do myself, in consequence of the size of my diocese, but I fully believe that those bishops who are enabled to give and who do give up two or three months to attend the Ecclesiastical Commission, Queen Anne's Bounty, and the work of the different Church societies, are doing a work for which the Church and their own dioceses have reason to be grateful to them. There still remains another very important point. A bishop, with his present stress of work, has no time for study. He has little time for studying the Word of God, and those books which tend to a knowledge of the same. It has been remarked that when you make a man a bishop you spoil him as a divine and as a writer. I trust that will not be the case with some of the recent appointments which we have welcomed on the bench, but I do not see how deep study is to be kept up and maintained while our dioceses are so large. These are a few of the grounds on which it appears to me that a moderate increase of the Episcopate is desirable, not for the relief of the bishops, but for the welfare of the Church. I have used the term "moderate." I have not yet arrived at the point of thinking that every county should be made into a separate diocese, though that does not seem a very unreasonable proposition, but I cannot but consider that the time has come when some dioceses ought at once to be seriously taken in hand. I do not wish myself to see a very minute subdivision. Time was, not many years ago, when we were subdividing all our large parishes, and cutting them up into small ones. Experience has shown that that was a mistake. You were sub-dividing parishes into little class parishes—some all rich and some all poor; and it would be equally undesirable to divide our dioceses into class dioceses—some all mining, some all manufacturing, some all agricultural. "Variety in unity" is the Church's law. I confess, too, that I think that a bishop, like a clergyman, if he has not much to do, is very likely not to do much. As a general rule, it is wholesome for us all to have all our powers fully called out—not over-taxed, but fully exercised; and I look with jealousy on relieving bishops and clergy of so much of their duties as may give them leisure enough to ask what they should do next. There is another reason, which seems to me an obvious one, against a great subdivision of dioceses, and that is the political reason. It is not, of course, to be weighed against the true welfare of the Church, but at the same time it is an important matter of consideration. In the Commonwealth of England a Bishop forms one of the Spirituality, and as such has a seat in the great legislature of the State. A small addition to the Episcopate would make no difference to his position. A few more might without any great risk be admitted to the House of Lords, or they might without any danger be excluded from it. In process of time each in his turn would take his seat there. They would not grow old men before they got there. There would not be a large class excluded while a small class was included. But if a large increase to the Episcopate were made, you see at once what an argument there would be ready made for those who are anxious that the bishops should

be removed altogether from the legislature. However, the great practical objection to a considerable increase of the Episcopate is this, that the funds are not forthcoming. It is possible in the course of a few years to provide endowment for a few more bishoprics; it is not possible to provide for a large number. There are but two sources from which an endowment could be obtained—voluntary contributions, or the funds in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or those united. Few of us, I think, when we look the question in the face, could expect that funds could be raised within a moderate number of years—within our own lifetime—for endowing a very large number of new bishoprics; but I believe that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners having met, to a very great extent, the wants of the poorer parishes, will be able to furnish income for three or four additional bishops. They have not, however, the funds, and never will have the funds to endow a very large number. On these grounds the conclusion that appears to me most desirable is, that we should use all the means in our power to obtain a moderate extension of the Episcopate, and, at any rate, for the present, be satisfied with a moderate extension.

MR. BRERSTON HOPE, M.P.: The point to which, without preface, I would call your attention is that to which my friend Dr. Goulburn and my Right Rev. friend the Bishop of Lincoln referred, namely, the creation of sees in every county. Now I beg to state most emphatically that I am not visionary enough to believe that such an extension of the Episcopate can be done at once, or without a very long interval of time; but close reflection on the subject has led me to believe that that is the point to be aimed at, and that something might at once be done in that direction by creating the dioceses though you may not have or make the bishops. What reason, for instance, is there why the Right Rev. Prelate near me should not be bishop of two dioceses, Lincoln and Southwell, and appear in Lincolnshire as Bishop of Lincoln, and in Nottinghamshire as Bishop of Southwell? Create your dioceses, and manage to get your bishops as you can. You might begin with a small endowment, or none at all. Have your bishop consecrated, and wait till his income reaches a certain *minimum* before he is put on the parliamentary *rota*. The income of the bishopric of Lincoln and Southwell would not, until Southwell was separated and put under a new bishop, be more than what Lincoln alone now enjoys. So much for the Province of Canterbury. Further reflection, I think, will lead you all to see that in the Northern Province, at least in the great counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire, something more must be done. There should be dioceses round all the great centres of population, such as Liverpool, Bradford, Preston, Leeds, and Sheffield. Here again you have State analogy in your favour. Yorkshire and Lancashire between them return thirteen county members, and have four lord-lieutenants. No other two counties in England return more than eight members. So that a large extension of the Episcopate in those two counties would be analogous to the precedent of the State. How then would you maintain the balance of numbers, and keep in view fifty as the destined limit of the Episcopate? Easily enough. There are fifty-two counties in England and Wales. Now I do not think that Wales would require more than one new bishopric. Here at once you have seven counties to deal with. Then, in England, Rutlandshire would go with Leicestershire, Huntingdonshire with Cambridgeshire, and Westmoreland with Cumberland. So, taking fifty as your number, you would have ten sees to play with, which would yield the margin needful for an extraordinary extension in the counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire (not to talk of Middlesex). I attach great importance to the bishops being if not all at once peers of parliament, yet potentially so. At all events I think that if you go in for chore-episcopi and suffragans, you at once risk the temptation of a competition, not to say a scramble, among those in bishops' orders for the status of a diocesan. You give a man the highest ministry, and you tell him he is not to exercise it in its plenitude. A few suffragans might be all very well—in point of fact it already exists in the shape of retired colonial bishops—but it would be a make-shift if generally closed with, of which I am afraid we should repent, and therefore I hope my friend Mr. Clabon will forgive my saying that if his bill, which is his own and not that of the Church Institution, should be ever introduced into parliament, I will give it my most strenuous opposition. It would in my judgment spoil the canons to turn them into bishops, for I do not agree with him that canonries are sinecures. I would sum up in three propositions—The bishops potentially peers; the county system in the Province of Canterbury; and the large town system for at least the southern portion of the Province of York.

THE REV. W. B. CAPARN: I have for many years past worked in a very humble way in the promotion of this movement for the increase of the Episcopate. I have taken a very great interest in it. And I will say, at the commencement of my address, that I was exceedingly disappointed that the question should have been allotted to a section. It seemed to me to deserve to be put into the very front as one of the greatest questions of the day, and of the utmost importance to the healthy vitality of the Church. One of the



speakers said that he hoped a voice would go up from this section of the Congress in behalf of the chaplains of the Royal Navy. I am only sorry that a voice cannot go up from the whole of the Congress on this subject. Something has been said with regard to the Northern Dioceses. I do not think persons are at all aware of the number of places in which efforts have been made from time to time during the past few years to get an increase of the Episcopate. If we go to the extreme west of England, we find Cornwall striving to have a bishop. If we come on to the See of Gloucester and Bristol, we find that an ineffectual attempt has been made to get those combined Dioceses separated. We have also witnessed a similarly unsuccessful attempt in the Diocese of London. The Bishop of Rochester has proposed to take some of the onerous work which now devolves on the Bishop of London. But more attention, I think, ought to be paid to the north of England, where, it seems to me, the great battle of the Church is to be fought, and where we greatly want an increased number of Bishops. There the movement was commenced more than twelve years ago by a gentleman with whom I was in correspondence for several years, Sir John Fife, a physician of Newcastle-on-Tyne. It is now twelve years since, as a member of the Town Council of Newcastle, he moved that body to represent to the Government the expediency of erecting the county of Northumberland into a distinct See. The exigencies of Northumberland in respect to episcopal supervision are extremely great. Populations are growing up there which the ministrations of the Church scarcely reach. The population round the mouths of the coal-pits is not attached to the Church. It is alienated from the Church. And why? Because the ministrations of the Church are not brought to the people. When I was in the Diocese of Lincoln, I worked very much there in forwarding the movement, and we sent a long address of sympathy to Sir John Fife, thanking him for the efforts he had made. That is twelve years ago, and nothing has yet been done, and I am able to tell the meeting partly why nothing has been done. What I am speaking of occurred in the episcopate of Bishop Malby. Then the present Archbishop of Canterbury succeeded to the See of Durham. And why was not the same effort then made to divide the Diocese? The reason was, Bishop Longley's great activity. They said that they had now got a bishop that did the work of two. But when we come down to the two succeeding episcopates—I am almost afraid to tell you the reason why the same movement has not gone on. My mouth is sealed on the subject. I turn from this subject, and would say a little regarding the great patience which the Church has shewn under the denial of her request for more bishops. When a Church comes forward and asks for a certain order of the Church to be extended, there should be no determined opposition to so reasonable a request. What should we say if the State had stopped the increase of the priesthood? Should we not have felt greatly oppressed? And must there not rise up in our minds a sense of oppression that so many years should have gone by since this great movement was commenced, and that up to the present time the reasonable and prayerful wishes of Churchmen have not been acceded to? What I would say, in conclusion, is this, that all members of the Church in future should claim that the subject of the increase of the Episcopate be put in the foreground, and that at home when any one talks of Church Extension we must say, "We must commence Church Extension by an increase of the Episcopate."

THE REV. CANON WOODGATE: I wish to offer a few observations on this question before the meeting separates, more on the practical view of it and the shape in which it now stands, since we have had the theory of it discussed, and the essential point of the supply of the funds. I do not agree with the Bishop of Lincoln, for I believe we have ample funds, if we could only undo that fatal step by which the Episcopal Fund was transferred to the General Fund. Where is the difficulty, however, in the subdivision of the diocese of Exeter? There the endowment was offered, and there was no difficulty at all except on the part of the Government. What was their answer to the proposal? "It must form part of a general measure." Then, when we say, "Bring in a general measure," they reply, "Oh, we have not the means for endowing new bishoprics." The fact is they do not choose to do it. Take the case of the diocese of Rochester. The Bishop of Rochester was originally the Suffragan or rather the Chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury. His title is Provincial Chaplain of Canterbury, or Episcopal Curate of the Primate, the Primate not having time to do all the duty in Kent. What difficulty was there in retaining in that case the valuable principle of continuous county arrangement advocated by Mr. Hope? The income of the See, £1200, with the superseded archdeaconry, was quite sufficient for the Episcopal Curate of Canterbury, though not enough for one of our larger sees. The money given by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the endowment of the present Bishopric would then have been enough for a Bishop of St. Albans. I agree with the Bishop of Lincoln as to the social position of the bishops. I think the relative income

of the bishops in proportion to the prevailing wealth is small enough, and I should be sorry to see it reduced. At the same time I think too much is made of the difficulty with regard to finding an adequate endowment for the new bishops. We have a great many very poor livings in the Church, but still we find spiritually-minded men who have private means willing to take such benefices. I believe we should find the same with regard to small bishoprics. Many men of large means, I have no doubt, would accept them, and thus they would practically be as well endowed as the other bishoprics. But what I must observe upon is the supineness of the Government. We must make an impression upon them, and I think that if people would only take up the matter earnestly and seriously, it would be found to be far less difficult than may be supposed.

MR. J. LAFFAN HANLY: I have very few words to say, Mr. Chairman, and the tenor of the addresses already delivered renders even those few words almost unnecessary. I have been deputed to attend the Congress by the Lincoln Church Association for the Augmentation of Poor Livings, and therefore represent upwards of a thousand poor incumbents who have signed the petition got up by that association, and of which, I presume, many present have heard, relative to the administration of the funds in the hands of the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty. Without objecting on abstract grounds to the creation of new bishoprics, the association wishes through me to protest emphatically against their endowment out of any funds, such as Queen Anne's Bounty, which belong to the poor clergy, and were intended for, and ought to be exclusively appropriated to, the augmentation of their livings, and not to any other object, however excellent it may be in itself. I am happy, however, to find that no speaker who has to-day advocated an increase of the episcopacy has proposed to lay hands on any portion of Queen Anne's Bounty, and that some delicacy has even been evinced with respect to calling upon the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for assistance.

The benediction was then pronounced by the Bishop of Lincoln; and the proceedings of the Section were brought to a close.

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### WEDNESDAY EVENING.

## CONVERSAZIONE

AT ST. ANDREW'S HALL.

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### THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5th. MORNING MEETING.

THE RIGHT REV. PRESIDENT IN THE CHAIR.

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## THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THE RESEARCHES OF LEARNING AND SCIENCE SHOULD BE APPLIED TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. E. B. PUSEY.

THERE appear to me two opposite dangers, of which we, believers, have to beware, in regard to any science which touches upon the contents of Holy Scripture, firstly an uncautious adoption of any such discoveries as

may seem to coincide with Holy Scripture; or secondly a misplaced fear, that any legitimate results, to which any science may come, shall be adverse to Holy Scripture. In the one case we seem, as it were, to be underpinning our foundations, and substituting sand for the rock; in the other, we give an impression that we are ill at ease, whether our foundations be solid. The elder of us well remember the experience which we gained, when two eminent geologists thought that they discovered everywhere traces of the Deluge. Cuvier died; Buckland, not being able to win others to his opinions, withdrew them. Perhaps they may prove right after all; but, plainly, it was premature in Theologians to rest upon a theory which had not been tested by time. Truth seems to suffer, when it has been supported by wrong arguments. Those not well grounded in the faith may ask, Are you not mistaken in other cases also?

And, on our side, in regard to Holy Scripture, we must beware either of bending the sacred text, to conform it to some imagined result of history or physical science; or, on the other hand, of insisting upon *our* interpretation of it, as if, in such matters, it must *certainly* be the true one. People have made a byword of those who condemned Copernicus: we act on the same principle if, in matters not connected with the centre of revelation, we are too positive as to any given interpretation of any insulated statement.

Such interpretations are the more difficult because they are insulated. The meaning is not, as in the matters of faith, illustrated by the whole compass of revelation. In matters of faith everything bears upon everything. Doctrine sheds its light upon doctrine. All the rays are concentrated by turns upon each separate spot. The subjects, in which physical science *can* bear upon Holy Scripture, are necessarily facts, and those, not the main facts themselves; as, that "God created the heaven and the earth;" or that He sent a great flood and destroyed all but the eight persons saved in the ark, but subordinate statements, connected with those great facts. If the meaning of these statements is not self-evident, we have little whereby to give them so precise a meaning as to enable us to say, "this meaning is as certain as Scripture is true." It was wise advice of S. Augustine: Since Moses is not here to tell us what he meant, we should be modest in pronouncing certainly that he meant this and did not mean that.\*

The theologian and the physicist may mutually correct one another. In the case of Copernicus, Theologians stood corrected, for insisting upon a wrong interpretation of their own, as being Divinely true, let science say what it would. In the case of Moses' statement, that light existed before, and independently of, the sun, the physicists had to own, that Moses was right, and that they, in their objections, had been wrong. The right interpretation of God's Word, we are sure, will never be found in contradiction with the right interpretation of His works. But there may be faults on both sides. Facts, established on the physical side, may lead us to a more careful examination of God's Word, or the incompatibility of theories (however *founded* upon evident facts) with the unmistakeable meaning of that Word, may lead physicists to re-examine their theories. The facts may be right, but the sum or theory may be cast up wrong, whereas men are wont to transfer the certainty

\* In substance in the Conf. xii. 31, n. 42, pp. 274, 5. Oxf. Tr.

of the fact to the theory which they have framed upon it. And it is uniformly not in the facts but in the theories founded thereon, that the alleged contradictions lie.

Nor should our reconsideration of the meaning of Holy Scripture, when occasion does come, be thought to be therefore biassed, or, as one has said, "dishonest."\* Rather it belongs to the Divine Word to have many depths which we should not observe, until some occasion directed us to it. We read *e.g.* the history of the creation as one continuous whole, and some thought that God did not create any of the stellar system until some 6000 or 9000 years ago. I say "some," since fathers thought of some creation as having been almost "eternities" ago.† Then, too, it came to some, from the very structure of the chapter, to think that light alone was the creation of the first day. Geology, however, occasioned us to observe what we had had no occasion to dwell upon, the chasm between the verse, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," and that, "And the earth was waste and desolate." For, before, we adored God's wisdom in the history of the creation, and had no occasion to think of a gap, which we had no data to fill up. Now, however, that our attention has been called to it, the fact is just as much a fact of language as other facts are facts of geology. Apart from any interest which the fact may have, it is certain that neither contemporary time, longer or shorter, nor sequence of time are expressed in that second verse; but we have two facts enunciated, entirely distinct and unconnected, first, that, "God in the beginning created the heaven and the earth;" secondly, that at some time, unconnected with this, the earth was a great waste. I am not now alleging this as *the* solution of the mysteries of geology. This is not my office to-day. I only mention it as an instance how a careful study of God's Word may open to us bearings of that Word upon His works which we did not observe before. The physical student may help us as to its meaning as to physics. Negatively, these things are absolutely certain, that the Bible does *not* say that the earth was created at any definite past time, and secondly, that, between its original creation mentioned in Gen. i. 1, and man's creation, there is room, if need be, for time countless by man.

There may be other solutions of the relations of geology to Scripture. Apart from details, I see no reason why the idea, familiar to the readers of Hugh Miller, that God spread before the mind of Moses pictures of His creative operation, out of time, should be less accordant with the mind of God the Holy Ghost than any other. A divine of very reverent mind has suggested to me the analogy, that the closing book of the Revelations unfolds the future in a series of visions, without defining the time of the events in the future, whether contemporaneous or successive. The solemn rhythm, the picture character of the whole, would preclude one from laying down, that the past facts of creation were not exhibited to Moses in the same way as visions of a real future were opened to the later prophets, independently of time. God has revealed to us by him what man's wisdom, when it had once lost the

\* "It is humiliating that, since the rise of geology, we have lost all *honest* straightforward commentaries on the opening chapter of Genesis. They have degenerated into special pleading, and the most subtle pleader is accounted the best," &c.—*Man's Age in the World*, by an Essex Rector, c. 2, init.

† See further Dr. Pusey on the Prophet Daniel. Preface, pp. xvii.—xx.

truth, has, through the whole length and breadth of this earth, never recovered—the intense mystery of absolute creation at the will of God. We must be sure that the details which lie close to the declaration of that mystery are right, whatever the right interpretation be.

In like way, as to the flood. It is plainly of faith, that all mankind, except those who with Noah entered into the ark, perished by the flood. The letter of that history is, of course, true. It is even strange that we should have, to the extent in which we have it, the concurrent yet independent testimony of mankind to a flood, after which was a fresh beginning of mankind from the few who were marvellously saved. But we must separate details of interpretation from the Divine truth itself. We may have our own opinions. But we have no right to make our own opinions, i.e. our interpretations of God's Word, when those interpretations have no authority from Holy Scripture or the Church, the measure of the meaning of God's Word. Holy Scripture does not explain whether the words, "under the whole heaven," are or are not used in the sense of *ἡ οἰκουμένη* in the New Testament, and, consequently, whether the high hills where man lived were the highest in the known world. The ark rested on mountains of Armenia; but we are not told which mountains; still less whether those elevations which, as well as the depressions, have certainly affected the earth's surface, have not raised them above what they then were. We have no right to assume that they were of the height even of the present Armenian plateau, 6000 or 7000 feet above the sea, much less that they were 17,260 or 13,000 feet, the less so, since volcanic agency has not yet ceased.\* We must not make inferences from what we are not told. All which we may allege as required by the truth of God's Word to be believed, is, that all the high hills in man's then world were covered fifteen cubits, so that none could escape, save those who chose God's way of deliverance. What consequences this should involve; whether our whole planet were submerged, how the flood was produced, we are not told, so that we might require of others to think as we do. I do not say this in the way of apology, as men speak, for God's Word. A very eminent geologist informs me that, in the present state of geological science, there is no geological evidence either for or against the universality of the deluge. And this seems the more reasonable, because, as the waters retired from the surface of the whole earth, as described in Genesis i., one could not tell to which event the traces of retiring water, if the shapes of hills do (as has been alleged) afford such traces, related. But neither do I see any theological objection to Prichard's opinion, that God created anew *e.g.* the marsupials of Australia, or the almost wingless birds of New Zealand, after the flood, as, in fact, He created a different kind of marsupials in those same regions in geological times.

Again, the unity of the human race is matter of faith. Our Lord has taught us that the history of man's creation is to be taken as it stands. Original sin, our whole fall and redemption, as the Holy Ghost taught it by S. Paul, involves the descent from a single pair. But is it equally clear that God the Holy Ghost meant to give us the genealogies from Adam to Noah, and from Shem to Abraham, as exact measures of man's existence on the earth? *Prima facie*, one should receive everything as

\* Smith's Bible Dict. v. "Ararat."

it seems to stand. Nor do I see any ground of necessity for the extension of the time. Still, on the other hand, neither do I see any answer to Prichard's argument from the analogy of S. Matthew, ch. i.\* It is clear, that S. Matthew, knowing (as he must have known even with a mere human knowledge,) the succession of the kings of Judah, omitted purposely in one place Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah, in another Jehoiakim, and, in another, probably Assir, between Jeconiah and Shealtiel, so that he uses the word "begat" of the grandfather, or the grandfather's grandfather, on the same principle on which S. Paul says that Levi, the great grandson of Abraham, was in the loins of Abraham when Melchizedek met him. One ground of the omission of these generations is evident—to equalise the number of generations in the three periods, from Abraham to David, thence to the Captivity, and thence to Christ. The ground of this division is unexplained, so that we have no authority to say certainly, that S. Matthew adopted fourteen, as twice seven, a number which so often recurs as significant in the Old Testament. But since S. Matthew used fourteen as an artificial, not an actual number, clearly we have no authority to say that Moses did not, in like way, employ ten (as it often seems to be used) as a mysterious number, significant of completeness, and use the word "begat" of a forefather, as S. Matthew did. What God the Holy Ghost did in one place, He may have done in another. There are reasons on the surface of Holy Scripture for thinking that it may have been so. And it may be more probable that it is a significant, rather than an actual number, both because it occurs in both cases, and, as has been observed, on the ground of the abrupt shortening of man's life between Eber who lived 464 years, and the next link in the chain, Peleg, who lived 239 only. This, again, I say, not on the defensive, (for I see no philosophical evidence of any antiquity of man embarrassing to ordinary Chronology) but on this ground, that, the question having been raised, we ought to make clear to ourselves what is of faith and what is not, lest those who are persuaded as to a different theory, should injure themselves or others, by setting Scripture in opposition to the supposed results of science, when it is not. The truth of Holy Scripture is in no way concerned with these theories.

I say this, as a principle, and as a ground why we should be unconcerned as to any results of science, even if it should come to results in a more philosophic way than it does now. For while it assumes those hundreds of thousands of years for the accomplishment of that which no known agent could effect, as "the observed phenomena of the drift of Picardy,† or Kent, or Sussex;" or when it assumes a scarcely ascertainable ratio of tilting of the earth in Scandinavia, at two-and-a-half feet in a century, as the basis of the calculation of the elevation of the

\* The analogy is not perfect, since in Genesis the age of the father, at the birth of his first-born son, is mentioned. Still, although to my mind the ordinary supposition is the more probable, I do not see that, in the face of that analogy of S. Matthew, and the grounds suggested in the text, one is entitled to lay it down as matter of certainty.

† The lazy Somme is, on the theory, to have worn away a flat valley, a mile broad, within which it flows, and so itself to have been once a mile broad. But so expanded, it would be utterly powerless. It must have been a wholly different river, and so the basis of the calculation, the identity of circumstances, would be gone. But it may more reasonably be supposed that the land was elevated, and then, since we have not the ratio of the elevation, the basis of calculation is alike gone.

earth's surface any where, and would claim a period of 224,000 years for the submergence and re-elevation of Wales,\* under circumstances of which nothing is known; or when from the rate of the present deposit in the delta of the Mississippi or of the Nile, they demand "many tens of thousands of years†" for their formation, whereas it is even probable that the detritus was larger in earlier periods, and Cuvier, on a large combination of facts, was convinced, in the case of the deltas of the Mississippi and the Nile, that the usual estimate of the world's age, or 6000 years, satisfied all the requirements of the facts; or when it is believed, that a piece of pottery remained in *statu quo* in the mud of the Nile for 13,370 years,§ notwithstanding the known tendency of such substances to work their way downwards in such soils; or when they presuppose the action of a non-existing river to form the deposit of the Wealden beds, and then assuming the same rate of the waste of surface as in the Gangetic area, claim a period of 12,000, or 1,332,000, or 306,662,400 years;|| or when from the capricious deposits of the "turbulent thread-like torrent of the Tinière," one calculates "the age of stone weapons to go back from 7400 to 11,000 years;¶" or others assume the minimum date for Danish peat to be 4000, or possibly 16,000 years, although in the West of Ross-shire peat was formed in the seventeenth century in forty-eight years; \*\* what can such calculations evidence, except the anxiety of the calculators in a subject which they are interested to establish? "Is not this abuse of arithmetic," asks an eminent geologist,†† in regard to similar assumptions, "likely to lead to a low estimate of the evidence in support of such random conclusions, and of the uncritical judgment which so readily accepts them?"

In like way, an eminent physiologist ‡‡ tells me: "I do not think that it can be said, that what we see or know of changes wrought out in men's organization in these days, furnishes us with any quantitatively estimable unit for calculating the time which must have elapsed since the time of our first parents, to allow of the establishment within one and the same species of such varieties as Red Indian, Negro, and European. But what is scientific is quantitatively estimable; and what is not quantitatively estimable is, at best, more or less probable and no more, in chronometric questions." But when we observe the analogies of the lower animals, and how, in domestication, varieties such as that of the otter-breed of sheep, are suddenly produced by causes of which man has no knowledge, yet may be perpetuated by the human will, it seems even more according to analogy, that from parents, originally of the dark colour, which Bishop Heber noticed to be pleasing to the European eyes, there may have been born, on the one side our white

\* Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*, p. 285, ed. 3.

† "Probably more than 100,000" for the delta of the Mississippi, Lyell, p. 42, reduced to 50,000, with, however, an unknown number of thousands for "the mastodon of Natchez."—*Ib.* note v, p. 622.

§ Horner, in *Philosophical Transactions*, 1858, p. 57.

|| See Appendix E.

¶ M. de Morlot, in Forbes, on the *Antiquity of Man*, p. 438.

\*\* In the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 330, the Earl of Cromarty records that in the West of Ross-shire a considerable extent of land was, between the years 1651 and 1699, changed from a forest into a peat-moss, from which turf was cut.—*The Antiquity of Man*, by I. R. Pattison, F.G.S., p. 7.

†† Prof. Phillips. See Appendix E.

‡‡ Dr. Rolleston.

variety, which is strictly in accordance with the white varieties in animals; on the other, that of other darker races, including the Negro. In this case, time is altogether out of the question in regard to the origin of the varieties; and the presence of the Negro type on the Egyptian monuments is evidence only that the variety had already originated 1540 B. C. Perhaps physical science may discover hereafter more in the mystery of human reproduction and the transmission of physical and mental qualities together, than it has yet acknowledged. Certainly the Negro race bears marvellously the impress of the levity and sensuality of their forefather Ham; and science has already pointed out "a correlation or concomitance in variations between the skin and other systems, especially the Reproductive and the Psychical."

In like way, as to language, unless we knew, what we cannot know, the amount of the influence of the miracle of the confusion of tongues, we are in no condition to estimate what length of time was needed to bring them to their long-established divergence, because we know not in the least what there was for time to accomplish.

Meanwhile, it is worthy of notice how science, as far as it can reach, has come back to see what Scripture alone requires—the unity of the human race and the original unity of language—and, as has been said with so much beauty and feeling,\* "And if now we gaze from our native shores over that vast ocean of human speech, with its waves rolling on from continent to continent, rising under the fresh breezes of the morning of history, and slowly heaving in our own more sultry atmosphere,—with sails gliding over its surface, and many an oar ploughing through its surf, and the flags of all nations waving joyously together,—with its rocks and wrecks, its storms and battles, yet reflecting serenely all that is beneath and above and around it,—if we gaze and hearken to the strange sounds rushing past our ears in unbroken strains, it seems no longer a wild tumult, or ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα, but we feel as if placed within some ancient cathedral, listening to a chorus of innumerable voices, and the more intensely we listen, the more all discords melt away into higher harmonies, till at last we hear but one majestic trichord, or a mighty unison, as at the end of a sacred symphony. Such visions will float through the study of the grammarian, and in the midst of toilsome researches the heart will suddenly beat as he feels the conviction growing upon him that men are brethren in the simplest sense of the word, the children of the same father, whatever their country, their colour, their language, and their faith."

\* Max Müller in Bunsen's *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History*, i. p. 486. Professor Max Müller sums up his opinion thus, "I did not call the last chapter of my Essay, 'On the Necessity of a common origin of language,' but 'on the possibility'; and, in answer to the opinions advanced by the opposite party, I summed up my defence in these two paragraphs:—I. Nothing necessitates the admission of different independent beginnings for the *material* elements of the Turanian, Semitic, and Aryan branches of speech;—nay, it is possible even now to point out radicals, which, under various changes and disguises, have been current in these three branches ever since their first separation. II. Nothing necessitates the admission of different beginnings for the *formal* elements of the Turanian, Semitic, and Aryan branches of speech; and though it is impossible to derive the Aryan system of grammar from the Semitic, or the Semitic from the Turanian, we can perfectly understand how, either through individual influences, or by the wear and tear of speech, in its own continuous working, the different systems of grammar, both of Asia and Europe, may have been produced."—Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 342.



In other cases too, science may aggravate its difficulties by assuming what is contrary to Holy Scripture, as that man was born, as Horace describes him, a thing half brutish, and that he had to work upwards unaided to civilization, and that he, being born speechless, had to form language for himself.

Other questions, debated very keenly, do not concern us at all. We can hardly imagine now, that people thought it right to maintain that the Apostles wrote classical Greek. As though the purest Greek, because the best for the ends of orators and poets, were the best for the revelation of God, whereas the Hebrew element gives depth to the Greek of the New Testament in addition to its native precision! or as if it were not good that the Gospels should bear the stamp of the truth, that they were written by unlearned and simple men! Yet of much the same sort has been this well-meant anxiety to find out some difference between the formation of man and that of the poor likeness of degraded man, the *uran-outang*. Be it that they are ever so like, be it, that the convolutions of their brains correspond, portion by portion; that, as Dutch anatomists say, "man has nothing in his brain which is absolutely wanting in that of apes;" \* that the differences between man in his most degraded type and the *uran-outang* lie chiefly in the great disproportion of weight, and then in some subordinate formation of as yet unexplained value—the similarity of the material formation is at once the evidence of the immaterial. Take all the misapplied imitative ingenuity of the highest ape, and compare, I say not Plato, or Aristotle, or Newton, or Shakspeare, but the lowest intellectual type of man, nay, I will say, even the idiot, as he has historically been known to be, with his elevating capacity of loving God, and physical science, while busied so diligently with matter, will have visibly established the immateriality of the soul. Within our own species, it is evidentially true that morally, intellectually, devotionally, the soul develops the brain, not the brain conditions the soul. That varied capacity of endless combinations, by which one and the same instrument, the human brain, ranges from the highest elevation to the lowest degradation of thought, moral, intellectual, religious, devotional, and this in inverse ratios of the intellectual, moral, devotional capacities, rising and falling, yea, and re-awakened from the dead, or again dying, in the individual, the nation, the race, attests, far more than the highest absolute capacity, that an agent, independent of it, modifies the powers which God has stored up in it.

I am thankful to find my thoughts expressed by the great Bossuet. † "The principle employed by the patrons of animals ought to make them draw a conclusion the opposite to what they do draw. For if they maintain on the one side, that the organs are common to man and beast, then, since it is clear that men understand objects whereof one cannot imagine that animals have the least glimmering, one must necessarily conclude that the understanding of these objects is not attached to these organs, but depends upon another principle.—Under the same appearances, God may have hidden different treasures, and so one must believe something else than appearances about them."

\* Quoted in an interesting Essay by Dr. Rolleston, on the brain of man as compared to that of apes, in the *Lancet*.

† *De la Connaissance de Dieu et de soi-même*, c. 5, n. xii.; quoted by Rolleston. *Ib.*

It belongs to the comprehensiveness of revelation, as coming from Him Who is Infinite, embracing and enveloping man in all his faculties, incorporating itself in his history, traversing his paths, rolling on its own orbit around God, but reflecting His light in turn on everything of man, the least as well as the greatest, that it should seem liable, in its long and intricate course, to impinge upon some other truth of God or man. People have watched it, thought a collision inevitable, expected its extinction; but, like Jesus, it passed through the midst unharmed. They were but *nebulae*, which seemed to oppose its way. True! we cannot divide Holy Scripture or Christianity, polypus-like, so that one part might be cut off, and the rest remain in the same life as before. It is one whole; and as, in that beautiful system of our nerves, one prick at an extremity runs through the whole, and may carry death, so it would be with the Gospel, if it were possible. But we who know in Whom we have believed, know that it is not possible. Attack after attack has fastened upon it, now here, now there, and people have looked on wondering, as they did at S. Paul at Melita, looking when he should have fallen down dead suddenly; but he had shaken off the beast into the fire and had got no harm. As in S. Paul's case, the poison might reach from one of those extreme points which Christianity puts forth even to its centre, if it had not a Divine life. But we, who are of it, know that it has an invulnerable life which cannot be reached, for it is upheld by God.

This, then, is our attitude toward any researches of any science; entire fearlessness as to the issue; awaiting that issue, undisturbed, whenever it shall unfold itself. Few things have been more mischievous than the attempt to square God's Word with facts imperfectly understood. Some of us remember the weariness which it was, to go through the attempts on historical grounds to explain the enrolment under Cyrenius, or the account of Belshazzar. Now that we have the real solutions, we cannot but wonder that people should have so touched the Ark of God, and should have bribed themselves to think that such non-natural theories could be the explanations of the Scripture narrative. They were unsatisfactory, because they were not true, and were said rather from the supposed necessity of the case than from any conviction; and people, unduly anxious about finding a solution, took what came to hand, instead of waiting for the time, and owning, "I do not yet know."

Faith can afford this. For it has its own separate sphere, the home of its being. Physical science and faith are not commensurate. Faith relates to that which is supernatural; science, to things natural; faith *rests* upon what is supernatural; science, upon man's natural powers of observation, induction, combination, inference, deduction; faith has to do chiefly with the invisible; science, with this visible order of things. Science relates to causes and effects, the laws by which God upholds His material creation, or its past history. It is purely material. Faith relates to God, His revelation, His word. Faith has the certainty of a Divine gift; science has the certainty of human reasoning. Faith is one Divine, God-given, habit of mind. It is one and the same in the well-instructed peasant as in the most intellectual philosopher, perfect, solid, unshakeable. What really lies outside the peasant's faith, cannot really touch the faith of any, however intellectual. Faith lives above

the clouds of human doubt, in the serene sunshine of the Eternal Light; and, contemplating Him, the Cause of all causes, the Truth of all which is true, the Life of all that is, is sure that there is a solution of any thing which seems for the time (if so be) insoluble. Lightning and storm gleam far below. For it rests secure in the bosom of its God.

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## THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THE RESEARCHES OF LEARNING AND SCIENCE SHOULD BE APPLIED TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. T. R. BIRKS.

THE researches of science may be applied to the study of the Bible, and made the handmaids of Christian theology, in three different stages, their origin, their progress, and their completion. Hence the subject will naturally dispose itself under three heads. The first relates to the methods of science; the second to cases, in its progress, of apparent or fancied collision with the teaching of Scripture; and the third and last, to the application of its settled conclusions to enrich theology itself, by giving a fuller significance and deeper power to some of the true sayings of God.

I. The signal triumphs of modern science are due mainly to the method it has pursued, the great principle of inductive inquiry. By this alone, for three centuries, its researches have been pursued, its conquests gained, and its victories won. How far can the same method be applied, or ought it to be applied, to the study of the Scriptures, to Christian theology, and what results may be expected from its right application?

Inductive research, as pursued in the fields of natural science, includes three great principles, on which it depends. First, truth with regard to the laws of nature is really attainable. Next, it cannot be attained by hasty guesses, but only by patient and continuous research. In this research, also, all the known facts must be compared, experiments made, or observations multiplied, till light begins to dawn on the mind of the inquirer. Some simple and beautiful law will then often be seen to arise out of the complex phenomena of nature, like Venus in classic fable, from the ocean, shedding "light on air and wave." Lastly, the laws thus discovered, as they emerge out of seeming confusion, must be gradually enriched and enlarged, and compared with new facts and observations, till all the secrets of nature are slowly and surely unveiled to the thoughtful and intelligent eye.

The aim of science is a full knowledge of the works of nature. The higher aim of Christian theology is a full and true knowledge of Him who is the Lord of nature, the living God. In the first, the outward phenomena of nature form the materials, to be duly combined and interpreted; in the second, the great facts of Providence, and the revealed messages of God himself. He who dwelleth in the light that

is inaccessible can be known to men, only so far as He reveals himself by acts of divine power, and declarations of His holy will. When such messages are given, we may expect that some central practical truths will be so plain as to require no patient and prolonged research. These answer to such facts in physical science as sunrise and sunset, and the daily circuit of the stars. But if we would gain a full and deep knowledge of "Him who is from the beginning," the same course of induction by which science has been enlarged, must be just as applicable, and even far more profitable, in the researches of Christian theology. We must believe, first of all, that divine truth, in larger and larger measures of light, is attainable, and has been set within our reach, in the Word of God. Next, that it will never be the reward of rash guess-work or mere hasty prejudice. The careless, the slothful, the self-conceited, have no right to expect so precious a gift as deep insight into the laws of Providence, and the ways and counsels of the Most High. It is reserved for the humble, the patient, and the prayerful alone. To them and for their use the promise has been given, "If thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding, if thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasures, then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God."

Inductive inquiry, again, needs a patient comparison of all the facts and evidence which bear on the subject examined. From this full induction of particulars it derives its name. The same principle must apply to the search for divine truth in Holy Scripture. In theology, just as in science, false theories are the natural result of a hasty, one-sided, partial study of Scripture, or of its entire neglect, and the substitution of human authority and tradition in its place, instead of comparing, with reverence, all the messages which God himself has given. And hence the great lesson to be drawn from the methods of modern science, and their large success, is the duty of a comprehensive, patient, impartial study of the whole revealed Word of God. All its divine facts and statements must be compared together. Whatever doctrine of the faith we seek to discern in its fulness, we must search the Scriptures, even as our Lord Himself commanded the Pharisees, who trifled with them, instead of really searching them, and failed, for that very reason, to find in them the true Messiah. And we must search them from first to last,—from the opening verse, which announces the great fact of creation, to that parting voice from the throne of God, "Behold, I make all things new!"

There is nothing in the nature of Christian theology to make this course of inductive search less needful, less desirable, or less fruitful in results, than in the walks of physical science. True, the facts of the Gospel, the basis of the Christian creed, are just as plain and accessible to the simplest Christian as to the most learned divine. But so also the sunrise and sunset, and the changes of the seasons, are as plain to the child and the peasant as to the philosopher, and avail equally for his guidance in the common wants of daily life. But if we would leave the first principles of the doctrine of Christ, and go on to perfection, or discern revealed truths in their mutual harmony, and rise to a clear view of their grandeur and their glory, then a patient induction is the only road by which the blessing is to be gained. It is not the plan of God to reward the careless, rash, and self-conceited spirits with

deep insight into holy truth. Humble, patient, persevering search is the means which He has himself ordained. The materials to be used are taught us by the great Apostle, "Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope." The inspired Scriptures, then, are the materials, provided us by the Spirit of God to teach us this highest science, the knowledge of Him, whom to know is life everlasting. All the histories of Scripture and all its prophecies, all its doctrinal statements, all its precepts, and all its promises, must be compared together. Whatever the topic whereon we seek for light, we must gain it, not from the use of two or three favourite texts alone, but from a honest, prayerful comparison of all Scripture which bears on the inquiry. Thus only our faith will rest, not on the prejudices, the guesses, or the traditions of men, but on the truth and the wisdom of the living God.

Is there then no difference between the method by which truth must be sought in the fields of science and in the mysteries of revealed religion? One difference there does exist, of great practical moment. In both the purely intellectual conditions are the very same. But to know God himself is a far higher science than the knowledge of outward nature, and it needs a higher and nobler preparation. Besides patience and diligence, and the use of all the materials provided in His works or in His word, there needs here a special moral training and discipline of the heart. No mere acumen of intellect will suffice. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." There must, in this higher pursuit, be devotion as well as diligence, prayer as well as patience, and a continual uplifting of the soul to the Fountain of all true wisdom for light and guidance, otherwise the Scriptures themselves will be only a sealed book, and search into their hid treasures may soon degenerate into mere grammatical trifling or cabalistic folly. The moral condition here needed has been revealed by God himself. "To this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my word." He filleth the hungry with good things, with the richest and choicest viands of heavenly wisdom.

II. A second branch of our subject relates to those cases of supposed divergence from Scripture or collision with its statements which have arisen, or may arise, in the progress of science from its infancy to full perfection. The chief of these belong to the sciences of geology, ethnology, and ancient language, compared with the Bible histories of Creation, of the Flood, and of the Dispersion of Mankind. By what principle ought the Christian to be guided, in dealing with these and similar difficulties whenever they arise?

Now first, it is plain that they are neither removed nor lightened by the remark that science rests on observation, and Christian faith on Divine testimony. No difference in the sources of truth can enable us to believe contradictions. What is false in philosophy, cannot be true in theology. If science and Scripture contradict each other, one of them must give way. Even when they *seem* to be at variance, one of three alternatives must be chosen. We must sacrifice either the full authority and inspiration of the whole Bible, or the usual interpretation of some part of it, or the certainty and truth of the scientific inferences

which seem opposed to it. Let us observe, in each case, the sacrifice to be made.

First of all, we may abandon our faith in the earliest histories of the Bible in deference to honesty of Scripture interpretation, and to supposed claims of modern science. We may hold them to be the mere guess-work of Moses, or of some unknown and obscure Jewish speculators, and not the true sayings of God. But what price have we to pay for this concession? Must we not cease, in reality, to be disciples of Christ, while we claim to be wiser and clearer-sighted than our Lord and Master in heaven? He has solemnly told us, in the opening of His ministry, "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall not pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." Three times, by one sentence from that law of Moses, He silenced and repelled the mightiest assaults of the Prince of darkness. The Scriptures, He has told us, and told us in reference to a single word, cannot be broken. He has sealed the record of creation with His Divine authority, when He enforced the law of marriage—"Have ye not read that He which made them at the beginning made them male and female?" He has sealed, in like manner, the record of the Flood, and its historic truth, by the solemn comparison—"As it was in the days of Noah, so shall be also the coming of the Son of Man." To turn these Scriptures, then, into the mistaken guesses of good men, or, still worse, into the fables and forgeries of deceivers, is a claim to be more skilful in severing truth from fiction, than Him whose name is "The Truth;" to be wiser than Him who is "the power of God and the wisdom of God." But how can we be disciples in any sense, when we claim to be wiser or more truthful than the Lord whom we pretend to adore?

Are the difficulties, next, to be removed by assuming in Scripture a very wide latitude of novel interpretation? This is a second alternative. How far can it be honestly received? It is true, no doubt, that statements bearing on the theories of physical science are collateral, not central, to the main object of revelation. They may thus easily be stretched beyond their due limit, and faulty constructions are here not unlikely to abound. But if we are to be honest and sincere, the latitude claimed on such grounds must have a narrow limit. The authority of Scripture is just as much sacrificed by putting into it an esoteric sense, never dreamed of till a supposed scientific necessity has arisen, as by openly casting aside its inspiration, and charging it directly with error. The difference is only the same as between death by secret poison and an open blow with the sword. When we subject the Word of God to harsh and violent constructions, never heard of in ages past, to suit the requirements of scientific discovery, we set aside its authority as a guide to truth, just as really as those who openly call it imperfect and fallible, and perhaps in a less candid and honest way.

A third inquiry remains. What is the real force of those inferences of science which many have held to involve the need of some compromise and partial sacrifice of the truth of the Bible? Here two or three observations may be made which go far to remove the whole difficulty, and must have great force with every intelligent mind.

First, the sciences where alone the supposed conflict has arisen are eminently modern. Geology, ethnology, comparative philology and physiology, eastern archæology, are none of them, as sciences, much

more than a full century old. The words of Bildad, slightly varied, will apply to them all. "They are but of yesterday, and know almost nothing, because their days upon the earth are only a shadow." Like other children, they have very much to learn, and not a little also to unlearn. They speak with the stammering lips of infancy, and their time of full manhood is still to come.

From this first truth a second follows, as its necessary consequence. They all seek to interpret the facts and changes of four or six thousand years ago, or even still earlier, from observations only of the present day. The evidence they have power to collate does not range evenly through all past ages, but lies almost entirely at the close of these long periods of time. The facts they deal with are of one single century, and from these they draw inferences concerning forty or sixty or a hundred centuries, all passed away before their own birth.

Thirdly, all these sciences deal with highly complex phenomena, where it is hopeless to discover any one simple, all-pervading law, like that which regulates the heavenly motions. Compared with astronomy, none of them has reached the Newtonian, or the Keplerian, and scarcely even the Ptolemaic stage. They are like children, and children in the dark, groping their way upward, with real progress, but still slowly and painfully, into fuller and clearer light.

No conclusion, again, has a just claim to be held scientifically established, till it satisfies the whole of the accessible evidence. Certain inferences with regard to events thousands of years ago may seem highly probable, we will suppose, when we consider only the direct evidence of our own days. But if some credible human testimony, thousands of years old, points to a different view, this becomes at once a weighty scientific reason for a certain suspense of judgment. The calculated orbit of a comet may satisfy very closely a dozen observations made within a few days of each other. But if it wholly fail to satisfy one or two others, even made with inferior instruments, at the distance of two or three months, science itself at once demands that the calculation be revised. What these want in number, or even in exactness, may be more than balanced by their favourable position. An orbit which satisfies these also, with a partial sacrifice of the first, is far more probable, than another which wholly neglects them, and relies on the first ones alone. But if the evidence thus rejected, besides lying far nearer to the events we would explore, is not human, but divine, Scripture which cannot be broken—the Word of Him who cannot lie—then its total neglect is not only an act of religious impiety but of unscientific folly. It is not only a crime, but a blunder also.

Some Christians, no doubt, in their zeal for Scripture, may have exaggerated the uncertainties of modern science, and been ready to deny the great and real advance it has made. But men of science, in zeal for their favourite pursuits, are just as liable to fall into the opposite error. They are prone to exaggerate the progress, and to forget the vast range of those uncertainties that still remain. Each branch of true science is like grace in the regenerate soul in a body of sin and death. It has to struggle onward and upward, amidst a host of doubts and clouds and misty, uncertain guesses, which beset its path. Its conclusions need thus to be modified almost from day to day, and in particular cases even to be wholly reversed. Let us look for a moment at geology. Its progress has been great, but how various and how weighty are the

causes of uncertainty which still remain! Its more settled conclusions emerge slowly and painfully, like the islets and mountains of its primeval ages, out of an ocean of doubt and ignorance. At the shock of some new discovery, or any fresh course of scientific observation, they seem ready to sink below the surging ocean, to emerge once more in a new and altered form. We know nothing, except by inference, of our planet, below a thin crust hardly two miles in depth. We do not know whether the central mass is solid or fluid. The latter view, once so prevalent, has been made very doubtful by later inquiries. We do not know the cause, the sources, or the laws, of that central heat on which so much depends. We do not know whether our chemical elements may not all be compound and pass one into another. We do not know the laws which regulate actual volcanoes, much less those which ceased their activity thousands of years ago. We cannot compute strictly the motion of three bodies, thrown together in free space under the law of gravitation, but only approximate to it when they are very unequal in mass and size. What a hopeless problem, then, to calculate, by strict science, the motions of billions of billions of atoms, their chemical nature quite unknown, their structure varied from hour to hour by heat and pressure, by electric and magnetic influences, equally unexplained; grouped together by attraction, by chemical affinity, by mechanical adhesion; repelled by heat and electric currents! What an enormous task, from a few imperfect observations of a single century, to deduce their state, their changes, their whole history, some six or ten thousand years ago! And when we have to deal, further, with the problem of vegetable and animal life, and the birth and propagation of species, then the question becomes a hundred-fold more difficult, more hopeless of complete solution, than before. We enter on a region of mystery, where all the present knowledge, even of men of science, is a mere drop in the vast ocean of the unknown.

The first duty of genuine science, in the face of such a problem, is to listen to the whole evidence, from whatever source. Its most plausible presumptions, drawn from partial evidence, must be reversed, and the judgment suspended, when well-attested counter-evidence is once given. Geology, ethnology, from a few observations lying close together, at the perihelion, have to calculate a vast number of orbits, more complex in their laws, by far, than those of comets themselves, which lose themselves at their aphelion in the depths of time, six or seven thousand years ago. Now if observations, however few and simple, near that aphelion itself, are once added to our materials of judgment, they may wholly alter, and almost reverse, what seemed, in their absence, the most probable conclusion. Such in substance appears to be the relation between these modern sciences and the record of the Bible on the Creation, the Flood, and the Dispersion of Mankind. To neglect these last, even on the principles of science alone, is to renounce the plainest law of honest and truthful inquiry. How far more so, when we remember, as Christians, that physical laws are only handmaids to the high purposes of the Most High! "He who removeth kings, and setteth up kings," can remove or set up these vicegerent powers of nature, according to His sovereign will! He can easily, if so it pleases Him, condense into six days a work like one which He may have spread before over long ages, and leave science no chronometer by which to reckon the speed or slowness with which His work was done. He can,



if so He pleases, in a few generations, diversify the children of the same parents into races distinct in feature, type, and form, in order to secure a great moral end in the dispersion of mankind. With equal ease, when that end is fulfilled, He can maintain those types unvaried through hundreds of generations that may follow. Even man himself has now the power to form, by sunlight, in a moment, a thousand different pictures, and then to keep them unchanged, in the same sunlight, for yaers to come. Who then shall dare, in things like these, to limit the power of the Almighty, or venture, from imperfect inferences of infant science, to doubt the truth of His Word, when it reveals "His wonderful works in the days of old?"

The key, then, which seems to resolve every difficulty from alleged contradictions between science and Scripture, is the faithful use of one plain maxim—"No conclusion can be scientifically certain, which rests only on a part, and not the whole, of the real evidence." This is the very first axiom in all inductive philosophy, which deserves the name. The mere fact that such and such theories seem to contradict the voice of Scripture, when honestly explained, is a reason for suspending our faith, not in the word of Him whose name is The Truth, but in the deductions of ignorant and fallible men. In some cases the contradiction may be apparent only, and will be removed by a juster exposition of the word of God. In others it may require only some slight correction of scientific conclusions, which remain substantially true and just. In others again, it may involve the total rejection of scientific theories, falsely so called. Such is the notorious view which would develop man from the monkey, and even Platos from polyps, and Shakespeares out of shell-fish; a theory not more at variance with Divine revelation than opposed to the lessons of inductive philosophy and the voice of genuine science.

III. A third question remains. How may the fixed and settled conclusions of scientific research be used to enrich theology, and to add a deeper significance and greater moral power to the messages of God?

All other sciences, whatever their special object, are only the hand-maidens of Christian theology. This truth the heavenly elders teach us in their noble song—"Thou art worthy to receive honour, and glory, and power, for Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are and were created." This mistress, like Sarah with Hagar, may sometimes deal harshly with her own handmaids. They may then flee from her, for a time, into the barren wilderness of the Positive Philosophy, and lose themselves in a dark waste of atheistic speculation. But they will not abide long in that dreary exile. Each of them, soon or late, must hear a voice from heaven, saying, "Return to thy mistress and submit thyself to her hands." The Word of God must ever reclaim to its own high purpose the works of nature and the facts of Providence, and be enthroned amidst the riches of a tributary universe. All science, in unveiling the works of God, must also throw light upon His Word, and deepen the tones with which it appeals to the heart and conscience of mankind.

Does astronomy, for instance, disclose the vastness of the universe, and reveal to us, in the stars of the firmament, suns and worlds and starry systems? What new depth and power is thus given to the Psalmist's voice of adoration, "When I consider the heavens, the work of Thy fingers, the moon and stars which Thou hast ordained ;

Lord, what is man, that Thou art mindful of him, or the son of man, that Thou visitest him!" What force is added to the contrast in another Psalm, between the condescension and the majesty of God: "He healeth the broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds! He telleth the number of the stars, He calleth them all by their names. Great is our Lord, and great is His power, yea, and His wisdom is infinite!" Does the same science reveal that simple law of gravitation which guides the planets in their orbits, and governs every drop in the tide-waves of the sea? A new emphasis is thus given to the sublime declaration: "They continue this day according to Thine ordinances, for all are Thy servants. He hath given them a law which shall not be broken!" Does geology, in its turn, discover mysteries in the earth beneath us, and that we are treading daily, with thoughtless feet, on the graveyard of a buried world? The song of praise, which recurs in the daily worship of the Church of Christ, assumes at once the tones of a richer melody. "In His hand are the deep places of the earth, and the strength of the hills is His also. The sea is His, and He made it, and His hands prepared the dry land. O come, let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker!" Does chemistry spell out the wonders of the elements? Does it teach, for instance, that the charcoal we despise, dark and coarse, when touched by secret influences in the laboratory of nature, crystallizes into beauty, and becomes the diamond that sparkles in the coronet of kings? What new force is given to those promises, made to hearts once dark and impure, but since brought under the life and light-giving power of the Spirit of God. "And they shall be Mine, saith the Lord, in that day when I make up my jewels! Thou shalt be a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God!" Or does meteorology disclose the complex arrangements of cloud and sunshine, of wind and wave, by which the vapours are raised from the ocean, and descend in showers to fertilise the earth? There is a process no less complex, and still more beautiful and excellent, by which showers of heavenly grace are provided and then poured down on sinful hearts, to quicken them into life and beauty. "For as the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and watereth the earth, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater, so shall my word be, that cometh forth from my mouth, it shall accomplish that which I please, and prosper in the thing whereto I send it."

But time forbids me to enlarge on this fruitful topic. Our duty, as Christians, is to borrow from science its wholesome method of patient research, adding prayer and reverence, to meet passing doubts with that healthy scepticism which remembers the infant state of our present knowledge, and waits for clearer light, and to use its results, where they are clear, to deepen the emphasis of divine truth. For all truth is and must be one, in the work and word of Him who is the Truth, and who cannot lie. All seeming conflict must have its source in our own darkness. Nature is only the outer court of a glorious temple, of which the holy place is God's law of moral duty and eternal righteousness, and the most holy place is the glorious Gospel of His redeeming love. Happy are they who, even in this outer court, in the fields of science, have learned to walk humbly and reverently with their God. But happier still are they who press forward, by faith and prayer,

into the inner sanctuary, to gaze with unveiled face on His beauty, who is their Lawgiver and their Saviour, while he is also the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last, the Beginning of the creation of God. In His light they will see light. Both in science and in theology we are only workers in the twilight now; but when once He who is the true Daystar shall rise in our hearts, enigmas will be solved, difficulties be removed, and doubts will vanish, the day will break, and all the shadows of the night will flee away and disappear for ever.

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## THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THE RESEARCHES OF LEARNING AND SCIENCE SHOULD BE APPLIED TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON SANDFORD.

MY LORD BISHOP,—It will be admitted by all whom I address—students of science and students of theology—that both Nature and Revelation come from God, and are manifestations of His mind, and are meant by Him for the investigation and instruction of His intelligent creatures. The one sheweth His handiwork, the other reveals Himself. The one submits His material works and laws to the evidence of the senses,—and constitutes the domain of science; the other proposes doctrines, and duties, and details as matters of faith, to the evidence of testimony,—and constitutes the field of theology. To explore and elucidate both, is a task for which our place in the scale of existence and our mental faculties were bestowed by the Architect of the universe and the God of revelation; and to neglect this would argue either disregard of His holy will, or distrust of the foundations on which religion rests. For wherever the legitimate conclusions of science and the revelations of Scripture—or, as your Lordship has aptly expressed it in your late luminous and loving Charge, “God’s record in nature and His record in Holy Writ”—appear to clash, it must be either because the language in which the one or the other is clothed is not rightly interpreted, or because their respective provinces are not duly distinguished.

To say that our researches in both science and religion should be prosecuted in the patient, profound, and cautious spirit of true philosophy, is merely to admit that in such pursuits we are tracking the footsteps and interpreting the voice of God; and *this* with finite capacities, and imperfect vision, and a limited horizon.

For what is the sphere of science? The boundless field of creation—the mysteries of earth, sea, and sky; of sentient and vegetable life; of light, heat, and motion; the phenomena of matter in its diversified forms and forces; each replete with wonders, and constituting a science of its own, of which the inductions elaborated by minute investigation and slow processes of thought, require to be rectified and verified by reiterated tests; while revelation, on the other hand, deals with still loftier and abstruser themes—the creative cause; the origin of evil;

the antecedents, nature, and destinies of man; the purposes, procedure, and character of God; "mysteries of His kingdom," beyond the ken and reach of reason, and which demand in the inquirer not merely an intellect illumined, but a heart purified and regulated by the Holy Spirit. Who but must feel that in such researches, he is treading holy ground, and environed with an atmosphere of awe; and that crude speculations, hasty inferences, captious objections, are not merely unseemly and irrational, but even impious?

Still, my Lord, it must be borne in mind, that the supreme, nay the sole, end of such investigations is *Truth*: that to the discovery of this, both the philosopher and the divine is pledged—that their mission is simply to interpret what nature and revelation tell of Him who is the author of them both, and who said, as the incarnate Word, "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I might bear witness unto the Truth."

And therefore I say in this venerable Congress, in the presence of revered and learned prelates and doctors of the Church, and of some of its best and ablest sons,—that the most loyal, the most reverential, the most truthful inquirer is he, who at every step into the arcana of nature and revelation, with an eye that never quails and a purpose that never falters, simply asks, and that with an awe so still at times that he may hear his own heart beat—What do these phenomena, and these facts, and these utterances teach? what is their true and exact interpretation? What has their Author written on physical conformation, and human physiognomy and speech, and ancient narrative and sacred page? What mean these rocks, these strata, these flints, these fossil bones, these vestiges of a life that antedates the records of history, exhumed by chance or human hand or the unveiling finger of Providence—this spontaneous generation, these apparent discrepancies between the evidence of our senses and the traditional interpretation of Scripture, between the current views or established creed of less observant ages, and what advancing science and learning and philology are now divulging to the world? And, my Lord Bishop, I say it with reverence, but with no bated breath, even in the presence of the fathers of the English Church, that *he* is no real lover of truth who addresses himself to these pursuits with a biassed judgment or a mind made up, or who recoils from the legitimate conclusions to which earnest, intelligent, reverent, and prayerful investigation would conduct him, because these may seem to be at variance with preconceived opinion or popular tradition.

I do not mean for a moment that either in science or theology any are to arrogate to themselves the right of judging, from which inadequate knowledge, or slender capacity, or want of experience may preclude them. Neither do I mean that in any case we should be justified in rejecting or undervaluing the accumulated wisdom and ripe and verified experience of the past; or that even when there may be reason to question an established theory, we should prematurely announce what larger research and greater learning might have shown to be fallacious. On the contrary, the acutest reasoners, the profoundest philosophers, the ripest scholars, have ever been the most cautious and the most reticent, slow in forming a conclusion, and slower still in propounding it. Nor has it been, till by repeated calculations and experiments they have tested their conclusions and matured their

discoveries, that such men disclosed them to the world. But I do mean that, as students and as teachers whose object is truth and whose province is research, we are to call no man master in indolent and servile subjection of the intellect which God has given us,—to endorse nothing as fact which we have not taken pains to authenticate,—to announce nothing as indisputable verity on which minds may repose and souls may venture, which we have ourselves received, without inquiry, second-hand from others; above all, that we are to condemn no writings which we have never read, no theories which we have never investigated, no motives which the Searcher of hearts alone can judge.

I say this, not that I have any sympathy whatever with what would encourage a prurient curiosity, or engender a captious unbelief, or unsettle the artless and confiding faith of the unlearned and the young. But I am speaking to those whose minds ought to have been trained to inquiry, and whose senses are exercised to discern both good and evil; and I ask, what discovery has ever been made, what truth ever elicited, what progress attained in art, or science, or letters, or civilization, or religion, without opposition, and a struggle, and the dust and din which this creates? Where had been the benefits conferred upon mankind by those God-taught men, Newton, or Galileo, or Jenner, or the fathers of modern advance; or what we all hold more sacred and more precious—the responsibility of private judgment, the enlightening and saving truths of the Gospel, the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and for which confessors strove and martyrs died? Where had been Christianity,—or, when this became debased and obscured,—where had been the lights of our Reformed Church, had efforts to coerce conscience and repress inquiry and stifle thought been successful? For views proscribed in one age have been hailed with rapture in the next, and the martyr of to-day has been the hero of to-morrow; and multitudes have eventually embraced what they once suspected and opposed. And “the path of the just is as a light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.”

There is, indeed, a philosophy that is vain, and a science falsely so called, and a knowledge that puffeth up, just as there is a theology that teacheth for commandments of God what are but traditions of men. And there is a wisdom that is from above, and a science that is the handmaid of religion, and a learning that helps to the knowledge of God, and a charity that edifieth. And in the exercise and for the furtherance of these, we need calm and close inquiry, and ripe scholarship, and critical acumen, and faithful and luminous exposition of the works and Word of God—in other terms, a searching, and perspicacious, and comprehensive study of both nature and revelation.

That this will result in a larger knowledge and a firmer grasp of truth, and a more pervading and adoring sense of God, I entirely believe. I hold that pure and undefiled religion has everything to gain and nothing to fear from the investigations of science, or the exercise of thought, or the progress of learning; and that to dread and to check inquiry is to suspect and stigmatize religion. What true philosopher ever questioned the creative hand of God?—what true student of Scripture, the impress of His Holy Spirit? What we have to fear is not advance, but retrogression; not progress in science, and learning, and charity, but the reflux tide of ignorance, and superstition, and intolerance.

My Lord, we need to learn, and to lay to heart, that the Bible is given neither as a system of science, nor a record of historical fact, nor as a revelation from God on matters submitted to human research and deducible by human reason, but as a supernatural and infallible revelation solely on what concerns our spiritual and everlasting interests, and could be ascertained in no other way. Its intention is described by St. John—"These things were written that ye might believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through His name."

For on this the whole question turns. Is the Bible meant to settle matters in science, and philosophy, and history, and ethnology; or to promote godly edifying in the faith, and moral and spiritual and saving truth? Is not its legitimate province to enlighten the conscience, to spiritualise the affections, to instruct and sanctify the soul? Is it not to reveal God in His relation to us as our Father? Is it not to shine in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ?

If so, how unwise and how injurious to confound what are the essential verities of God with questions on which inaccuracies are possible and differences allowable—to hold inspiration responsible for mistakes,—where these exist,—in physics, or narrative, or chronology, or numeration, or genealogy, which are all referable to popular opinion, or imperfect knowledge, or incorrect tradition, but which in no degree affect the vital truths of Christianity, or man's attainments in practical godliness! How essential to distinguish between the Word of God and the deductions of human reason, or the interpretations of human learning—the one inscribed by the finger of the Most High on the rock of ages, the other traced by the hand of man on the sands of time; the one which fuller research and greater erudition only tend to harmonise and confirm, the other which each successive wave of opinion may modify or obliterate!

Be our confidence, my Lord Bishop, not in knowledge, often born of conceit and based on incertitude, and which may leave the mind unsanctified and the heart unchanged,—but in that which is to acquaint us with God and assimilate us to His nature; and which shall survive and brighten in brilliance and blessedness, when this material framework shall have passed away, and the only refuge of the soul shall be that Word of God, by which it has been born again, and which liveth and abideth for ever!

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## THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THE RESEARCHES OF LEARNING AND SCIENCE SHOULD BE APPLIED TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE.

BY THE REV. E. GARBETT.

I VERY earnestly trust that the discussion of this day will promote a better understanding between men of science and students of the Word of God. The feeling of almost contemptuous opposition existing on one side, and the jealous suspicious fear entertained upon the other, are both of them strongly to be deprecated. This misunderstanding constitutes

no exception to the rule, that it takes two to make a quarrel. If on the side of the Christian student, there may have been too narrow a distrust and too thoughtless and sweeping a condemnation of what have appeared to him the dangerous assumptions of some scientific men; on the other hand, some scientific men, it must be confessed, have indulged in far too confident assertions of special enlightenment and dangerous denials of all ancient dogmatic truth. The two have thus come to regard each other as antagonists, and to keep at arm's length, instead of walking together as the most intimate and friendly of companions. The result is very injurious to both sides and to the common interests of truth. What may be called a mutual conference can alone remove the difference: I mean a frank and careful comparison of each other's claims, and the recognition of the points possessed by them in common.

Within the limits assigned to me to-day, I can but indicate what appear to me the principles of reconciliation rather than dwell upon them.

In the first place we should recognise that both parties are in search of truth, and we are bound to believe, speaking in the general, honestly in search of it. For what we call science is only an exact form of knowledge; whether, as in the abstract sciences, it deals with reason and consequent, or, as in the natural sciences, with cause and effect. All our knowledge if it fulfils this condition is scientific and really a part of science, whatever may be its material and whatever its mode of investigation. To be afraid of science, in the proper meaning of the word, is really to be afraid of truth. Our common object is to know more of truth, and the man who seeks it in the Creator's word and the man who seeks it in the Creator's works are looking to the same end, and should recognise each other as companions in the same pursuit, and the more because in the past they have greatly helped each other. In this assembly it would be equally needless and presumptuous to point out in detail how science and learning in general have contributed to the study of the Scriptures, and to heap up into its marvellous total the prodigious aggregate of the evidences. We cannot find a chapter in the Bible, perhaps not a verse, on which science and learning have not thrown light,—twin handmaids of revelation, twin worshippers in the temple of revealed truth. On the other hand, it may be safely asserted that the influence of the Sacred Scriptures has assisted science, not only by opening to it the sphere of divine and unseen things, that world into which science is itself incompetent to step, but also in the sphere of things seen and human. As the great liberator of the human intellect, the great teacher of freedom of thought, it has been no inefficient co-operator in this direction. The astonishing spirit of enterprise fostered within the Church in the discharge of her great missionary duty, has assisted every branch of investigation, not alone our geographical and ethnological knowledge, but our linguistic and physical science knowledge likewise. I might further claim the direct contributions to secular knowledge made from the same source, such especially as to history and chronology, both closely connected with strict science. But time already warns me to hasten on. Thus both the man of science and the divine are seekers after truth, and to none should it be so dear as to him who sees in all truth the reflection of the Divine mind and the impress of the Divine will.

But not only are the man of science and the student of the Bible

both seeking after truth, but the truths they respectively seek are but fragments of the same jewel, parts of the same whole. Whether it be the study of His works or the study of His Word, they both, to the eye of the Christian at all events, meet in God. All separate human sciences are but parts of the universal science made up of the aggregate of all our knowledge. The relation of one branch of knowledge to another, lucidly stated by Dr. Arnold, is familiarly recognised in the natural sciences. The astronomer, the chemist, the geographer, the botanist, the geologist, do not deal with separate sections of the globe so isolated from each other as to make so many distinct circles that never touch, but with portions that intersect each other in every direction. They all deal with separate branches of one and the same cosmos, and no one branch has a right to arrogate the name of science peculiarly to itself. But this is only a part of the case; for there are sciences not belonging to any of these heads: there is a science which deals with the physical structure of man, a science which deals with his mental operations, a science which deals with his spiritual being, a science which deals with his moral nature. And it seems to me important to note that the trains of argument by which we establish the truth of the Scriptures as a revelation from God, depend immediately upon these sciences and partake of their certitude. All the evidences rest upon the common laws of reasoning. If they are sound deductions based upon carefully-ascertained facts they are in themselves scientific, although we do not ordinarily give them the name. All these branches of our knowledge are equally sciences. There is no reason why geology should claim the name and authority of a science any more than physiology, logic, psychology, or metaphysics; still less reason why the processes and reasonings of the one should claim to be infallible more than the processes and reasonings of the others. If they are all branches of science they must learn to respect each other, and to give to each other their place in the one circle of common truth.

But see what follows from this. Suppose one branch should suggest conclusions contradictory to the truth of Scripture, as a revelation from God, while another branch asserts this truth as strongly as the first denies it. This is sometimes asserted to be the case,—that geology contradicts the truth of Scripture as positively as beyond all possible doubt the logical force of evidence and the unanimous verdict of human history affirm it. I do not myself believe it to be the case. I have examined with great anxiety, and some care, all the scientific conclusions asserted to contradict the claims of the Scripture as the Word of God. But I am unable to find one single fact, accepted as an indubitable truth of science, which invalidates the Word of God in the slightest degree. Undoubtedly there are certain hostile tendencies of thought in some scientific men greatly to be deplored. But by no lips have these hasty assertions and loose generalizations from imperfect data been more earnestly repudiated, than by the lips of men of science themselves. I may quote as examples the eminent names of Sir C. Lyell and the excellent and able President of the British Association for the present year. But, putting these tendencies on one side, I can not find a truth, not even an asserted truth, that invalidates the authority of the Scriptures. There is, thus judged, no hostility, no contradiction; and I believe, as firmly as I believe in my own life, that there never will be.



But let us suppose the case to be otherwise, and that some asserted fact in geology contradicted the language of Scripture. Our position would be this—not that *all* the physical sciences contradict what are the truths of Scripture; for astronomy, at all events, has long since forgotten her objections, and changed her scepticism of other times into a song of adoring praise; but it would be, that one branch of knowledge contradicted what other branches of knowledge unanimously affirm. Surely in such a case we should not be called to throw overboard in a panic our whole array of external and internal evidences, our overwhelming historical proofs, and all the testimony to the truth of the Word, derived from our moral consciousness and the experienced wants of the human soul. Would it not be far more reasonable to say, that as the world is one and truth is one because God is one, it is impossible that one branch of science can really contradict another; and if it appears to do so, the fault must be somewhere, not in the truth but in the searcher after it; not in any dislocation of the unity and harmony of God's world, but in the ignorance and mistakes of those who misread its teaching. The lesson surely reaches on both sides. The conviction on our part that no conclusion of natural science can possibly shake the reasonable foundations of our faith, may make the student of the Bible patient and tolerant. The knowledge that a whole irrefragable mass of positive testimony, cemented together by the faith of the Church for nineteen centuries, affirms that authority of the Scriptures which his own conclusions appear to him to invalidate, may well make the man of science diffident in his own conclusions, and respectful to those who still hold their faith unshaken.

But there is another claim which the student of the Scriptures is entitled to make in this controversy, which leads in the same direction. This claim is that, beyond a certain point, the conclusions and arguments of the man of science cease to be exclusively his own, and become the common property of all men. All argument rests on common principles, and when once the facts of the case are clearly ascertained, any man who is trained to reason correctly is competent to judge of them. Each science has its speciality up to a certain point, and he would be a rash and unreasonable man who would venture, without special qualifications, to enter upon this exclusive sphere. What untrained mind would be foolish enough to debate a point of natural history with Darwin, or a question of comparative anatomy with Owen, or the character of a stratification with Lyell or Phillips? Nor do I wish to question for a moment that each branch of study develops a characteristic mental aptitude of its own; so that a gift of observation and judgment is matured into what may appear to the possessor to be almost an instinct; but is really a mental operation familiar by long practice and matured by exercise into an apparent intuition. But still this aptitude works within the sphere of the particular science—with the natural historian in judging of the character and habits of animal life; with the anatomist, in reconstructing the broken fragments into the completed skeleton; with the geologist, in observing, distinguishing, and classifying the strata of the globe. Let the man of science reign supreme within his own sphere, and let none but those trained in the same school and learned in the same craft, venture to dispute with him as he gathers his facts and generalises his rules.

But when all this is done, and he proceeds to reason, then it is

different. He steps out of his special department into a sphere open to all men alike. Tell me what your facts are, and if I sufficiently master them I am as competent to judge of the validity of the conclusions drawn from them as the man of science himself. I am not sure that the generally-trained intellect is not better qualified to judge of them; not only because it is impartial as standing outside the charmed circle with all its unconsciously self-pleasing tendencies, but also because the concentration of the mind in one sole direction, and the strong consequent development of certain faculties only, has not a tendency to strengthen the general reasoning powers, but rather to weaken them. It will, I believe, be found that in the scientific works published in the last few years, and most distinctively hostile to the faith of the Christian, the mischief exists where the fallacy exists, not in the facts, but in the reasoning. Of this reasoning I claim the liberty of judging for myself, and am no more disposed to accept a supposition for a fact, and a chain of theories for a chain of syllogisms, because the work containing them emanates from a man whose scientific attainments tower immeasurably above me, than I am disposed to accept them from the pen of the humblest author. Men of science must learn to recognise their liability to mistakes in logic, and to admit candidly our claim to examine and judge them for ourselves. I cannot but think that these considerations tend in some degree to clear our position. Let us begin by giving to others the same credit for an honest search after truth we claim for ourselves; and do this the more, because, without confounding the relative importance of natural and revealed knowledge, we yet remember that all truth whatever is of God. Let us neither exaggerate the supposed hostility of science to Scripture, nor underrate the validity and strength of our own grounds of belief. Let us give to the man of science his special sphere, and yet firmly claim the right to reason for ourselves. If the man of science on his part will be somewhat less contemptuous in his tone, and enlarge his vision somewhat from his own sphere of knowledge to the whole circle of truth, the differences between us will disappear. That there is no necessary antagonism between them, but rather an harmonious concurrence, like two instruments of music giving forth the same melody, is shown by the large array of distinguished men who both adorn science by their learning and glorify Christ by their piety. May the time not be distant when the eloquent words of Dr. Whewell shall be fulfilled, and "the religious hymn in honour of the Creator filled with a richer and deeper harmony by the greatest philosophers of these latest days, shall roll on hereafter the perpetual song of the temple of science!"

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## DISCUSSION.

THE REV. JOSEPH BAYLEE: On so extensive a subject as that which occupies us this morning, the brief period of ten minutes only permits me to select one or two salient points, and even upon them to offer simply a few suggestive hints. The Bible is God speaking to men in human language, and it is therefore infallibly true in all its parts. It is to be interpreted upon the principles of human language, and therefore the Bible means what it says. Had so simple a principle been adhered to, we should not have had an eminent public teacher mythicizing the historic account of creation as a poem,

nor a still more eminent German professor misinterpreting it as a series of visions. Not only is the Bible infallibly true in its literary and scientific statements, but it furnishes men with the only true key to the marvellous natural and social phenomena around us. I shall illustrate this from—1, Geology; 2, Natural History; 3, Ethnology. In doing so I shall refer to the first chapter of Genesis and the Noachic Flood. Geologists have given up as hopeless the endeavour to account for the original condition of the earth. The Bible tells us that in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. Upon true philological principles, we can give no other interpretation to the word *create* than, a divine energy giving perfect existence. "I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy," means that God will restore Jerusalem and her people to a state of completeness or perfection. Apply the same truth to the Mosaic statement, and we are taught that in the beginning God gave a perfect existence to heaven and earth. Here, then, we have a declaration satisfying to the true philosopher, and worthy of a Divine revelation. The geologist fails to give us any account worthy of a Divine government, of the marvellous fact that the earth's crust has undergone a series of changes, every one of which bears the marks of ruin. Moses tells us that the earth which God had created perfect became without form, and void. Jeremiah describes the ruin of Judah and Jerusalem by the same terms. "I beheld the earth, and lo! it was without form, and void." Moses therefore teaches us that the earth became ruined. Isaiah and Micah account for that ruin as being connected with the universal work of Christ. In Isaiah xlv. 18, we read, "He did not create the earth thohu," that is, without form. In Isaiah xlviii. 16, we are taught that from the very beginning of all things Christ has been speaking. And in Micah, v. 2, we are told that He who was born at Bethlehem has been going forth from everlasting. To the same effect S. Paul speaks of everlasting times, or successive periods, in Romans xvi. 25; 2 Timothy i. 9; Titus i. 2. Here, then, we have an intimation respecting the otherwise inexplicable puzzle of the long series of geological ruins. They may be the natural records of the dealings of the Son of God with probationary beings. Sin did not begin with Adam, neither did ruin—"The devil was a murderer from the beginning." If at first the earth was perfect, if subsequently it became ruined, it undeniably follows that the six days' work was a restoration. The ruined state of the earth, implied by "without form and void," covers the whole of the geological periods. Let us now turn to natural phenomena, ethnology, and the primeval records of human history. Ask the geologist for some reasonable account of the boulder system, and of the animal remains that are found in the drift: he will tell you that the land has been for ages alternately rising and falling, without any discovered scientific principles to account for the alternations. The Divine Word makes it probable that one great ocean upheaval produced those phenomena, and the more closely the subject is scientifically investigated the more clearly will that account be found to harmonize with the discoveries of science; but my time does not permit me to enter into most interesting details. Again, ask the naturalist to account for the marvellous fact that no animal is found in the southern hemisphere which could not cross the Torrid Zone; why are there no indigenous sheep in Australia—a country marvellously suited for them? Why no white bears or arctic foxes in the southern Frigid Zone? He cannot tell. The Bible explains the riddle—the re-distribution of animals took place from one centre, Noah's Ark. Ask the ethnologist why no historic nation lived in the southern hemisphere. Upon the principle of several centres of human existence, there is no accounting for the fact that Australia or New Zealand should not have had as brilliant a history as Asia or Europe. The Noachic re-distribution of man is the only rational account. The same truth explains to us why Western Europe should have been so long barbarous, and why the country about the Euphrates and the land of Egypt were never uncivilized. My time does not permit me to do more than offer these brief suggestions. I shall conclude by laying down the following principles:—1. Interpret Scripture according to the philological meaning and the *usus loquendi* of its own words. 2. Beware of accepting unsettled science and conjectural history as worthy of more than conjectural acceptance. 3. Do not hesitate in your faith in the Bible because unsettled science and the imperfect expositions of commentators on Scripture do not harmonize. Be assured that in science and history God's Word is infallibly true, and that all the difficulties alleged in the present day are due entirely to erroneous science or to erroneous interpretation. For the concerns of time, as well as for those of eternity, the Bible is in all its parts God's infallible Word. May we all, through the teaching and power of the Holy Ghost, be guided by it to everlasting salvation!

The Rev. J. S. Howson: My Lord Bishop, I am quite unable to enter deeply into the great and momentous subject which is before us to-day, and if I were to pretend to do so I should only be acting in a most unseemly manner. I also wish to remember that

every one who speaks this morning does so under a very grave responsibility. All that I shall presume to attempt, is to offer a few simple suggestions to those younger and more inexperienced Biblical students, some of whom may be in this vast assembly to-day, whose minds may have been disturbed by apparent collisions between Science and Scripture. And the one other point upon which I wish to be allowed to say a word is a subject which I think will be practically interesting to the whole of this meeting. Now first with regard to those inexperienced students to whom alone I venture to address myself. I wish earnestly to lay stress upon this, that it is very important to distinguish, and habitually to distinguish, between those points which are vitally important as a matter of religious and moral revelation, and those points which avowedly and by the consent of all are comparatively subsidiary and illustrative. Just as in a campaign it is of essential consequence to discriminate between primary positions and secondary positions, and it may be desirable to surrender some minor post for the sake of giving greater strength to the citadel, so it may be wisdom, while adhering firmly to all cardinal truths which affect the revelation, to be willing to keep in suspense a great many of the minor topics which meet us in the pages of the Bible. Now I do not concede that there is any scientific error in any part of Scripture. On the contrary, although I cannot say with Mr. Garbett that I have spent years in the careful examination of the scientific discoveries of the day, yet I do entertain a strong conviction that when the long conflict between Holy Writ and human knowledge and human ignorance is brought to a conclusion, when we really know how we ought to interpret every part of the Holy Volume, and when Science has completely passed through its present stage of conjecture and experiment to full maturity and certainty and completeness, it will be found, not by us but by subsequent generations, that the Bible and Science are in entire accord. But in the meantime I do say this very seriously, that because, for instance, we believe that some quadruped mentioned in the book of Leviticus is not accurately described according to modern science, or because some insect spoken of in the book of Proverbs is described in the popular language of the day,—to think that therefore we must give up our belief in the Incarnation and the Atonement,—because we feel compelled to give up our old views in regard to the antiquity of the human race, or because we are naturally perplexed with such a subject as the origin and the maintenance of species—because such difficulties exist—therefore we are to give up all our faith in Jesus Christ, all our hope of having our nature renovated, and all our prospect of happiness beyond the grave,—I must say that such a state of mind is most illogical. And yet I do find that sometimes we are presented with this kind of argument: "Unless you believe all, to the minutest particular, with regard, for instance, to a point of chronology, a point of physiology, or a point of history, you must give up all." It is not for me to denounce anybody, or else I should venture to denounce such a system of teaching as positively wicked. To drive an unsettled mind into a corner, and to say in a period of transition, "unless at this moment you can throw aside all your scientific difficulties and accept every letter of Scripture in its most minute literalness on a point of science—unless you do that, you must as a matter of duty resign your whole Christian faith," is a kind of teaching which is to be viewed, I will not say with the utmost anger, but with the deepest sorrow. It is just the teaching with which the Jesuits of old, and possibly now, have endeavoured to unsettle the faith of the members of the Reformed Church. Their argument is this—"Your whole position is untenable, you must give up what you believe, unless you accept all that we require to be believed." How many souls have been injured by that mode of argument will never be known until the great day. Illustrations have been presented of the way in which progressive inquiry has been made, not only to remove the difficulties of Scripture, but positively to elucidate certain passages. Dr. Pusey has mentioned the striking case of Cyrenius, which embarrassed so many students of the early chapters of St. Luke. I am reminded of another illustration of the same kind by the allusion which he made to an incident in the life of St. Paul, namely, where the Apostle threw off the viper which fastened on his hand at Malta. That and the preceding chapter in the Acts of the Apostles used to be twenty-five years ago, I venture to say, one of the most obscure passages in the whole of Scripture, but now, through a happy application of practical science, especially on the part of one man both experienced in his knowledge of the sea and eminent as a geologist, that history has become one of the most pellucid passages in the whole of the narrative parts of the Bible. In the course of that inquiry he came upon such topics as these—the examination of certain prevailing currents in the Levant, the prevalence of certain winds at certain seasons, the habit of certain winds suddenly to change, the atmospheric effects connected with certain winds, the silting up of rivers, and the whole subject of navigation. By a happy application of science we have results with regard to this part of Scripture, not only satisfactory, but which can never

be shaken. Such instances as these should suggest to the Biblical student patience and confidence. Do not let us be in a hurry. If we cannot solve a difficulty at once, let us still hold fast by the cardinal doctrines and live a life of faith in Christ, leaving to learned divines and scientific men to fight out this battle to its legitimate result. I will only add that I hold in my hand a paper, which I shall be happy to lay before any members of the Congress, containing a brief description of the "Palestine Exploration Fund." I believe that we have in that enterprise the means of bringing the most important illustrations, through the examination of climate, geology, and natural history, to bear on the elucidation of the Holy Scriptures; and I have been asked to take this opportunity of mentioning the subject, although I have no doubt that it is familiar to many.

THE REV. W. KAY: My Lord Bishop, there is one point which I wish to mention to this most important meeting of the Church Congress, and I will do so very briefly indeed. It is a point which I think has not hitherto been touched upon, at least within my hearing; namely, that instead of there being an opposition between theology, the mother of all sciences, and what is commonly called science, no opposition has ever yet presented even an appearance of plausibility, except between theology, the loving mother of science, and—*ne-science*. What I mean to suggest is this, that if you consider the cases brought forward as oppositions between theology and science, you will find every case of supposed opposition just lying outside the borders of science, in the realms of ignorance. I will say no more on the *theory* of the matter; having made this suggestion to you, I am sure you will all carry out the idea. I will now merely give you two instances in substantiation of what I have said. I am speaking in the presence of one who took a leading part in a newspaper controversy about a year ago, upon a very important subject; namely, whether there are certain phenomena in the volcanic regions of Auvergne, which militate against the notion of the Noachic Deluge having been universal. It was asserted by one of the writers, in the newspaper to which I refer, that it was not to the point to inquire, when the volcanoes of Auvergne were *formed*, but when the superficial deposits were placed there. A person, whose name has caused confusion to the Church of England,—confusion and shame at home and on the Continent and among the heathen,—then came forward and said: "I have the authority of Professor Ansted for asserting, that these superficial phenomena must have been deposited in pre-historic times." That was considered to settle the matter;—and so it would, if language were taken in its honest signification;—but it is just on that point that I would beg every member of the Congress to be on his guard. Take care to see not only if the facts be correct, and the inferences be correct, but also ask—What is the meaning of the words that are employed?—I wrote a letter anonymously to the newspaper in which the subject was discussed, begging Professor Ansted to intervene and say what he meant by "pre-historic times." The answer was very plain, simple, and straightforward; and was one that did great credit to that well-known man of science. He declared at once that by "*pre-historic*" he meant *pre-ROMAN*. So then,—the argument maintained by Bishop Colenso, in the face of the whole world, was that the Noachic deluge could not have been universal, because the superficial volcanic phenomena found in the regions of Auvergne were placed there in pre-Roman times. I have taken the liberty of mentioning this here, that every person present may have a tangible fact to bear about with him; to warn others not to give in to the statements of those who come forward and obtrude themselves as teachers of science, when they place something that science has not yet recognised in opposition to theology. I, for one, glory in the old name, "*Theologia mater omnium scientiarum*." Let us never give it up.—And now let me give you one more fact. I suppose there is scarcely any one here present who has not heard of certain rumoured proofs, that the age of mankind is something very different from what it is made by the summing up of the chronological details of the Bible. Now this is very much owing to some alleged discoveries that have given birth to the names, "the Stone Age," "the Bronze Age," and "the Iron Age." Not in the interests of theology in particular, but in the interests of science, the cherished daughter of theology, I made a pilgrimage this year to the meeting of the British Association, at Birmingham, to hear the learned remarks of those who had been inquiring into the matter. The result was this:—that a person spoken of on the platform and in every direction as one of high character, and one who had inquired into the subject most carefully—Mr. John Evans—said most distinctly, and with the utmost naïveté: "These ages have nothing whatever which is chronological in them." This was the expression used by one who was not treating of theology at all, but merely dealing with the question scientifically. He added that these *Ages* were, no doubt, in many cases coeval, that they might have been all coeval, and that they represented ages of culture—what the Germans call *kultur-perioden*, stages of advance in civilization. You have, in fact, the stone period existing at the present day, and it may have

existed all along. Now, with these two cases in substantiation of the assertion I have made, I wish to offer you, with great deference, this advice; that instead of at once assuming every alarming statement made about scientific difficulties to be correct, just ask the question, "What is the meaning of that word?"—What do you mean by the word "age?" What by the word "pre-historic?"—and in many cases the whole fabric of neoscience will fall down.

**THE EARL OF HARROWBY:** I do not presume to address you either in the character of a divine or a man of science. I only come to tell you a story which I think has its bearing on the discussion of the present moment. It rather bears on the supposed discrepancies to be established by philology than those to be established by science, but the same principle will apply to one as to the other. A few months before the death of the late Lord Lyndhurst, I had the pleasure of half an hour's conversation with that remarkable man. I found him sitting, in extreme old age, in his chair, with many books lying on a table before him. He said, "I have been reading many of these discussions about the Old Testament; I do not know how to meet all the difficulties, and I cannot struggle with all these points. All I can say is this: my Saviour said, 'He who will not believe Moses and the prophets will not believe a man who has risen from the dead.' That is enough for me; I do not trouble myself with these discussions." Now, Lord Lyndhurst, with his sagacious mind, master of evidence as he was, would not have said this unless he had previously satisfied himself as to the evidence of the Christian faith; but he considered that, having once established that evidence to his undoubted satisfaction, it was a fact established as clear as anything in science, and not to be overturned by any doubts or difficulties that might arise. This is all I have to present to you, but I thought the words of the dying, acute lawyer and statesman, who had seen so much of the world, had thought so deeply on these things, who was so consummate a master of reasoning, and who knew what was to be balanced on one side and the other in considerations of this nature, might have their effect not only upon those older and more experienced minds now present, but that those who are troubled with difficulties of this kind, and are not able to solve them, may take refuge in the same consolation which satisfied the mind of Lord Lyndhurst.

**THE BISHOP OF OXFORD:** I can assure you, my Lord, that I rise at this, the very end of the discussion of this morning, to say even a single word with the greatest possible reluctance, and only in obedience to your command. Not but that, if there were sufficient time, and there were any definite or tangible objection to what has been in the main set before this meeting, I should rejoice in the opportunity of dealing with it. But it is impossible to say what the subject requires of him who would handle it worthily in such straitened limits. I will confine myself to one remark. I would fain imprint upon the thoughts of this meeting that which was so well said by one preceding speaker, namely, that instead of its being wisdom and truth to fling away any one remaining truth because the mind has found a difficulty in holding certain other truths, to do so is the greatest weakness as well as the greatest wickedness. But I refer to this not merely to repeat it, but because I think that a part of the statement with which my friend accompanied it is liable to a dangerous misconception. I think it possible that he may be conceived by some present to have said, "The important parts of the revelation of God are true, but the unimportant parts need not be true." Now I can conceive myself, with my own tendency of mind, nothing that would make a scientific man more likely to cast away the full consideration of the claims of revelation than any language like that. What comes from God must be all true down to the very least atom. But, then, let me just point out what seems to me to reconcile that most important proposition with what my reverend friend said. In the revelation of God to man there can be no error, but it does not follow either that the whole of the revelation should be intended by God to be given with the same amount of clearness of expression; or that the apprehension of man should seize as readily on one part as on another. On all which answered to his own internal consciousness, for instance, his mind would lay hold more readily than on that to which nothing in himself at once responded. Though the revelation itself be the perfect truth, there is room therefore for error in its apprehension, and mistakes in the inferences deduced from it. But then just in proportion as the truth becomes important for the main object of revelation—that is, the revealing God to the soul as its end and its salvation—just in that proportion the clearness of the announcement will necessarily increase, because that will be repeated under a thousand different forms, and in a thousand different ways, each one of which will tend to throw light upon the intention of each announcement. Here therefore you come to the meeting of a multitude of lines in a single point, and you may be certain almost that in that which, from its importance, is so differently repeated you have the exact truth which was intended to be conveyed in the revelation. But when, on the other hand, it is a

small and unimportant matter which is revealed, which perhaps occurs once or twice, there lies immediately for the apprehension of man large room for misconception. You will find therefore, in fact, that the matters which are questioned in the revelation are not the important points but the unimportant ones, and that for this reason. I do not then say to the philosopher, "You must receive on the same evidence one matter because it is important, whilst you may reject another because it is unimportant;" but I say to him, "You must deal with this revelation as you would deal with anything in your own science: not take up a hint as if that simple hint of nature was certainly the truth for which you were seeking; as if, instead of being one scattered hint, it was the combination of a 'multitude of conclusive facts.'" My Lord, I have spent my time. I will only say in conclusion, that I think the very variation of the addresses which you have heard in this Hall to-day, with their multiform diversity and agreement, is one among the ten thousand thousand facts by which the truth of revelation is substantially established; because it is like the light which streams in at these windows, asserting its presence by its universal reception.

The Right Rev. the President having given the benediction, the Congress then adjourned.

## THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5th. AFTERNOON MEETING.

IN ST. ANDREW'S HALL.

THE MAYOR OF NORWICH IN THE CHAIR.

## PREACHING: ITS ADAPTATION TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

BY THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

ASSUMING that our preaching is not sufficiently adapted to the present times, I may begin by saying that I conceive one principal cause of the defect to lie in want of training for the pulpit. Some care is now bestowed to make our clergy theologians; we still take none to make them preachers. Nor is there much practice gained as the untaught work goes on. At the Bar and in the Senate, every day's experience is a lesson. The novice can observe the defects and the merits of others, and can measure his own successes and failures. A young clergyman hears for years perhaps his own voice only, perhaps but one besides his own. And success and failure are spread over too long periods, and are too partial and questionable, to exercise any real influence over his method of proceeding.

And I do not conceive special training to be impracticable. I will remind you that at the last Congress I ventured to look for this training partly to the Universities, partly to private clerical instruction under the sanction of the Bishop. As this defect is supplied, much of what now obstructs the power of the pulpit will be removed. In our training, regard ought to be had to the state of the people, and to the history of the age. A preacher is addressing persons who have lived through certain changes of thought, and have laid up certain stores of experience. He who is unacquainted with these comes to them at a disadvantage, and speaks anachronisms. A young preacher ought to know the history of religious opinion in our land,

especially as to its recent and even now proceeding movements. These need not be his subjects of address; but they ought to lie in the background, and to be had regard to in what he says.

Local peculiarities should also not escape notice. Our young clergy are generally sent to their cures in ignorance on this point. Preaching ought to be different in its character for differing populations. Yet even so simple an axiom is often neglected. Sermons of the same type and cast of thought are served out to all classes alike. If the candidate for orders received private clerical training in or near to the district where he is to labour, this would no longer be so.

It is to training that we must also look for better acquaintance with the sacred text, and more power of explaining it aright. In this respect the faults of our preaching are deplorable. It is not unusual to hear texts taken without regard to the context in which they occur, their very terms being often misconstrued and misunderstood. Sometimes a word supplied by the translators is made emphatic, and insisted on as principal in the sentence; the word which really carries the weight of meaning being passed over as unimportant. We cannot expect this to be otherwise with those who never have studied the Scriptures with a view to dividing them rightly: but it will be our grievous fault, if we suffer another generation to go forth into our pulpits equally unprepared.

I would venture to suggest whether the licence to preach might not be made less a matter of course than it is at present. The question is a difficult and delicate one; but it is not therefore to be altogether put by. Common sense seems to say that the power to preach should be tested before the duty is undertaken. The difficulty is, that the only feasible time of applying the test is too early in life for the trial to be a fair one. Powers might be afterwards developed, in presence of the work itself, which would not appear during preliminary training. Still, more might be done in this way than is done; and at least there ought to be some means of preventing important posts in the Church being filled by men notoriously incompetent as preachers. A Bishop ought not to be required to institute to such benefices persons whose pulpit ministrations have hitherto proved inert or obstructive.

Let me now come to those improvements which may be put in force by ourselves in our present practice. And first, as to our written sermons. I am persuaded that a partial breaking down of their present formality would vastly increase their interest and their power. To begin with the text. It is, of course, desirable that there should be sermons, whose argument or persuasion proceeds in accordance with or in amplification of certain inspired words. But it may be questioned whether our rigid practice of putting the text at the outset might not be with advantage varied. It was usual with some of our elder divines, and is now on the Continent, to introduce the text by some considerations leading to it, as, for example, the general circumstances of the day or season, or other particular inducement which influenced the preacher in his choice of a subject; or a statement of the exact phase of the truth which he wishes to present, or an earnest pleading on some defective point, afterwards enforced by the sacred words. A text thus introduced, thus accounted for, will come with more force than if it were always abruptly given out, merely because such is the custom. Sometimes indeed it may be well to place our text far on in the sermon, or even towards the end. Our object is to impress on our people the sacred words; and it is for us to consider whether this may not be done in various



ways, instead of always in one only. Again, it is surely not of necessity that a sermon should always have a text. The free treatment of the subject might sometimes be more impressive than the grouping that treatment rigidly round some Scriptural expression. Such form of composition is not unknown to us under the name of an "address;" but why should it not be ranked as a sermon, and have its due place and recurrence?

Next, as to arrangement. The formal first, second, third, and conclusion, is no doubt occasionally useful. Some minds require it to take hold by; some, again, are the better for its precision. But when used, let these divisions be always real, not fictitious: dependent on worthy associations of thought, not on trifling and unworthy ones. It is only a fallacy, and causes disorder of thought, to lead a hearer onward by mere alliterations, or by headings whose sequence is purely fanciful. Order without a reason is only disorder without its excuse. And when the "heading" system is adopted, the sermon is thereby pledged to lucid and careful distribution according to the heads. The arrangement must carry its own justification, and be well pointed for its particular effect. And even then, if it be adopted too often, it becomes formal and tiresome, and a hindrance instead of a help.

But it is one thing to proclaim the divisions of a sermon, another to arrange it under divisions unproclaimed. All preaching ought to follow some natural sequence of thought; but the steps of this sequence are often best kept out of view, so that the subject itself, and not its artificial arrangement, may engage the mind of the hearer.

There are two portions in every sermon, on which its interest, at the time and afterwards, very much depends—its beginning and its end. Whether the text precede or follow the former of these, one thing must be remembered; if the first sentences do not ensure attention, it will not easily be gained afterwards. We should make, not affected and startling beginnings, but at the same time not weak and commonplace ones. The first words should be weighty and impressive. They may either take the hearer *in medias res* at once, by putting the difficulty of the text or subject in the form of a question to be answered, or they may set before him some Scripture or other history bearing on that which is to be treated, or state forcibly some recent event or some current opinion, which it will be the object of the sermon to comment on. The conclusion is equally important. The last few minutes should not be spent in diluting the effect of what has gone before. It is natural that we should dismiss our hearers with the mention of that future perfection in the Divine presence to which every Christian effort tends; but this should not be formally nor monotonously done. The subject previously treated should be kept in view to the last, and all general perorations should be tinted with its tone and character, leaving on the ear a sound full of the spirit of the sermon, not alien from it. And let this sound be the last, except the prayer to bless it, and the final Benediction. Singing after sermon is a mistake, if the conclusion have been such as we desire. As things are now, it is frequently a gain, inasmuch as any devout frame of mind is better than the listlessness of wearied attention.

These last words lead on to the question as to the desirable length in preaching. Most of our written sermons are too long. It is not the fancied requirements of the subject, but the well-known effect on the hearers, which is to be considered. Few sermons of forty-five minutes or an hour might not have been better compressed into half an hour, which should certainly be our ordinary *maximum*. If, in the condensation, the expletives are struck out, and fine writing pruned away, so much the better. We all

aim too much at rhetorical effect. We all confuse our arguments too much by illustration. In composing, we ought to ask ourselves what is most likely to penetrate the hearts of our hearers and to abide there; and the answer, if we give it honestly, unbiassed by personal vanity, will be, earnest thought expressed in simple words. We are apt to forget, even while we profess it, that "we preach not ourselves but Christ Jesus the Lord;" and while in the matter of our sermons He is chief, in their diction and style we are often aiming to get ourselves credit by the setting forth of Him. There is nothing which requires more unsparing self-denial than the really effective sermon. All mere display of learning, all "pride that apes humility," all that savours of petty cleverness, all that, when read over, flatters the man, should be ruthlessly crased. Let the sentences be plain and intelligible, going about their work, and nothing but their work, freed from the hindrances thrown in its way by unusual words, startling or obscure thoughts, and traps laid for applause. We need not preach down to our simplest hearer. A feast must not be all crumbs. He who labours under a disadvantage compared with those around him, must, as everywhere else, so in church also, suffer from that disadvantage. The only way in which the simple and ignorant can gain instruction is, from portions understood and recollected in that which, though simple, carries no affectation of ignorance. Sermons professedly to children are always failures; being, on account of this affectation, the very worst adapted to children's understanding. There was One who preached to children that which children love; but it was by His parables, containing depths which the wisest cannot fathom. We shall preach best to the simplest, if we preach simply to all.

And one guarantee for this simplicity will be earnestness and genuineness. Much of the failure of preaching in our day is owing to men not feeling, or not appearing to feel, what they say. A clergyman's ordinary life is known as matter of fact; his conversation is patent to all. What he believes, what he feels, on a hundred subjects, his friends and acquaintance know well. But for two half-hours in the week he stands and says things totally different from his sayings at any other time. His thoughts and feelings seem to belong to a different being. They may be good and admirable; well expressed and delivered. But who cares for sermons which are not reflected in the life? I am not referring now to the graver fault,—a man's want of practice of his own preaching,—but to the almost equally fatal one, his want of sympathy with it: his acting two men—one out of the pulpit, and one in it. We must not always judge this harshly as regards the preacher himself. It is not in all cases due to the want of personal religion. I have known it to be so with some of the deepest and most earnest personal Christians—men who would wear themselves out for their flocks, and for the love of Him who sent them. It is more the fault of the system than of the men. There is a divergence between the formal language and thought of the pulpit, and the realities of the life within and without. The force of habit has rendered us different men when preaching and when not preaching. We hear of men overflowing with zeal and love, that they are miserable preachers; and mainly for this reason. The fault is naturally most difficult to overcome; but it is one so destructive of all the uses of preaching, that no one of us ought tamely to rest under it. If change of place, or form, or time of address, tend to remedy it, let such change be adopted, if it be only for a while, till a better habit is gained. Surely any experiment ought to be tried, within the bounds of decorum, which might

remove a weight from the preacher's tongue, and give him free utterance of what is at his heart. I believe that we all are too apt to regard the sermon as a thing entirely *sui generis*—as a venerable institution, instead of a mere instrument of conviction and persuasion. We fancy that it requires conventional phrases and forms of thought, and that the free expression of the feelings and yearnings of the heart is out of place. We shrink from allusion to matters of present interest as beneath the dignity of the pulpit. If such things are at all introduced, it is in so disguised a form as hardly to be recognised. The descriptions are stilted and unreal: as far off actual life as a group of statuary. Surely the pulpit would lose none of its real dignity at the hands of men of intelligence and judgment, by condescending more to real life. It cannot be difficult to touch close on men's habits and practices without mentioning by name things trivial or ludicrous.

Another cause of unreality is the prescription of motives and states of mind which have no meaning for our hearers. It is not uncommon to hear sermons delivered with the purest intention, by the best men, and sometimes with great earnestness and ability, which have absolutely no point of contact with religious life, as it is and must be among ourselves. The preacher has been to his books only, not to his people and to his own heart. But of this source of inefficiency itself we shall do well to seek an account. Our lot has been cast far on in a great religious movement. Of the wild stir of our fathers' days, and our own youth, only the faint echoes have reached the bulk of our present hearers. Over the living sense of the theological terms which we use, grand battles of the Church have been fought; into the work which God gave them to do, holy men threw their yearnings and their lives. But many of those words have survived their first fervid meaning, and have outlasted the reality of their work. It may be that our theology, even though created by the Divine Word, and breathed upon by the Almighty Spirit, needs to touch anew the mother soil of the human heart, that it may spring up invigorated for the battles of the Lord.

Another great hindrance to the effect of our preaching is the spirit of party. It is heart-sickening to go to church to be fed and edified, and to come away having heard nothing but a tirade against those who believe in the same Lord, and are doing the same work as the preacher. But the evil prevails among men of more worth and weight than the mere declaimers against others. The Church is divided into sections, distinguished by their lines of thought and modes of expression. A preacher makes it an object to stand well with that section to which he is commonly reputed to belong. He reflects its peculiarities, he uses none but its well-known phrases. If he happen to stray over the line, and allow himself to take up the other side of truth, criticism is busy with him. Any ingenuous freedom of thought and speech opens him to remark. He is tempted to speak, not all that he feels to be true, but only so much of it as he dares to utter. And thus our preaching becomes exclusive and one-sided. The Churchman of the opposite party, who might be won by the slightest fair recognition of the great side of truth for which he contends, departs, loathing the teaching which seems to shut him out, and conscious in his own heart of earnest faith which the preacher has ignored or even negatived. This will not be remedied, until we learn to recognise in our teaching more of the history of the great currents of religious thought, and also learn to know one another and trust one another far more than we do; until we

cease to make the mere watchwords of party the staple of our discourses, and deal with truth as largely as the Bible deals with it, and as the heart of man apprehends it. The two great parties will still retain their own bias. As long as the Church endures, one man will value more the individual subjective life, another the associated and objective. One will lay hold on the Person of our glorified Head by direct acts of faith, another by the Sacraments and their appointed ministers. And each in doing so will be in his proper work, provided he give due place for the view of the other, and take into account not one side only, but the whole of that truth which is made up of both views together.

It is impossible not to say something of the disadvantage at which those preach in our day who treat timidly or disingenuously the labours of criticism and science. Let there be fewer and fewer among us, who are in these respects defending untenable positions merely by strong and despotic words; fewer and fewer of such little faith as not to believe that researches into truth will at last be guided into truth; fewer, who know not that every truth, wherever and by whomsoever found, is a gain for God's cause and God's Word. Let our attitude be manly, open, and fearless. Above all, let us never adopt nor approach the pious fraud, in dealing with Scripture or with nature. Never was there a time when such artifices were easier of detection or more fatal in their consequences. He who can bring himself to speak lightly of difficulties which in his heart he feels, or to propound solutions which in his heart he rejects, must not be surprised if the result of his ministry be found on the side of unbelief. The position of the clergy of the Church of England in regard of Scripture criticism and of science is a high and solemn one; let us not abdicate it, let us not disgrace it.

I am persuaded that one considerable hindrance to the effectiveness of preaching in our times has been the undue multiplication of charity sermons. One of the greatest of our London preachers—called away from us, alas, in the full vigour of his pleading for God—was wont to say, in his strong language, that it was surely a monstrous thing to be obliged so often to suspend his own work in order to provide common funds for institutions which it was the bounden duty of the whole people to uphold. The mind of the great Apostle on this point is very clearly expressed: "That there be no gatherings when I come." He would not have his office of teaching interfered with, and his power of Apostolic injunction abused, for the purpose of exciting the people to perform the ordinary duty of almsgiving. And it would surely be well if those in high place in our own Church followed his example. The present practice is most undesirable. The dinner and sermon system, on which many of our great charities mainly subsist, has confessedly nothing to be said for it, but that it brings in money which is unattainable by other means. The Church, in accordance with the Apostle's rule, has provided the regular incentives to almsgiving—certain sentences of Holy Scripture, read on the first day of each week as a part of her regular public service. There will, of course, be special occasions requiring particular appeal and explanation; but if the prescribed channel of almsgiving, the weekly offertory, were restored to its proper activity, more than half of our charity sermons might be spared, and those that were left would become far more solemn realities.

Much has been said on the written sermon, which applies alike to all preaching. It only remains that we make a few special remarks on the other kinds.

We sadly need more set exposition of Scripture in its context and argument. Preaching entirely from mere texts, has induced a distorted and fragmentary view of Holy Writ, and has effectually taught men how not to understand it. One sermon in the day might well be expository. The portions appointed in the service will suggest varying subjects; and when no great themes claim precedence, whole sections or even books might be taken in hand as a series. But these serial expositions will need watching: they are apt to weary the hearers if unintermitted, and if discontinuous, to lose their interest. Advent and Lent will perhaps be the fittest opportunities, as both justifying the practice and limiting it. Exposition is best unwritten: provided that the necessary conditions, previous careful study, and self-possession and free expression, be fulfilled. He whose eye is on a book has no chance against him whose eye is on yours: nor he whose words have been set down for him, as compared with him, who passes freely from thought to thought. Every preacher should strive after the power of unwritten exposition of Scripture. Where the man is in earnest, the mind carefully stored, and the heart full, I believe that the cases of failure will be found very rare.

We thus come to speak of the unwritten sermon, the free utterance of the well-stored mind, the yearning heart, and the ready tongue. With all its immense advantages, it labours under this disadvantage, that it may be counterfeited by mere volubility. And thus, while it might become our most powerful engine for good, its abuse has greatly contributed to lower the influence of the pulpit among us. Most mischievous and most inexcusable is the preacher who, having nothing really to say, yet speaks his half-hour or more of wretched commonplace Sunday after Sunday, almost without preparation at all. Worthily to preach without book, costs beyond comparison the most careful preparation, the greatest anxiety in the forethought, the hardest labour in the act. And the effect of thoroughly good preaching of this kind is high in proportion. As long as it is not cultivated among us, we are leaving the flower and crown of persuasion for others to grasp. The man who is in the pulpit what our great masters of pleading are at the Bar and in the Senate, is almost unknown to the Church in England. The few seeming exceptions only make the necessity of culture more apparent. The genius which they manifest might, with training, have become effective eloquence; but now it is erratic, and misses its aim. Men who might have held the hearts and wielded the energies of vast multitudes, are wasting their powers in mere rhetorical displays, or in raising fair fabrics of speech whose logical foundations are unsound.

The method of training for public oratory, and the safe limits of its exercise, I ventured to suggest at the last Congress, and to what was then said I am obliged now to refer.

Surely a more solemn position cannot be conceived than that of him who stands and preaches to a congregation. From each of those upturned faces there looks out a soul for which Christ died. In that post of vantage stands Christ's ambassador, pleading, constraining, admonishing. To each of them, he speaks as none else can speak. They are come expressly to be dealt with in God's name. The words which he uses, the motives which he urges, will never be charged with being too serious for the occasion. He can assume, and they will grant, truths which elsewhere would not pass unchallenged. In private and in society, pride, rivalry, antagonism, come in to withstand the truth. The man is on his defence, mounting guard over the fair front of his building. But here the heart is in its inner chamber,

listening for the whispers of truth. Behind those faces work conviction, sympathy, longing desire. "I am the man;" "God be merciful to me a sinner;" "Let me spend and be spent;" "O that I were gentle, and holy, and pure!"—these are the thoughts that the preacher is able to waken; these the springs of life that he can touch. Let us reflect that every Sunday at noon, there are in our land many thousands thus employed in speaking, many hundreds of thousands in thus listening,—and we shall have some idea of the vastness of the agency of which we treat. Its results for good, even now, may not be obtrusive or self-assertive; they may not be distinctly traceable in the spread of any one particular line of persuasion; they may be constantly vilified and ignored: but they are none the less real and substantial. Let us not depreciate them, but strive to multiply them tenfold. If within the Church energy is languishing, and love waxing cold, let us not think scorn to lay aside our prescribed habits and cherished proprieties—nay, even, if it must be so, to become foolish and despised, for His work who emptied Himself of His glory for us. If, without, the infidel rages and is confident, and to answer him now, seem like buckling on the shield when the dart has entered and is rankling,—let us, by simple, earnest proclaiming of our blessed Master, by laying forth His Word, and making real His ordinances, maintain that living and childlike faith, that sober and healthy Church life, which may preclude the unbeliever's access to us, and ensure him no sympathy among us.

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## PREACHING: ITS ADAPTATION TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

BY THE REV. DANIEL MOORE.

I THINK a presbyter, having to write on a subject of this kind, should be allowed the shelter of the anonymous; or, if he have to deliver what he has written, should be allowed to speak from behind a mask. For, if he is to deal with the subject plainly, fearlessly, and with any thing of practical aim, he must find fault with a good deal of the PREACHING AS IT IS; and *that*, before a mixed audience like this, is a very awkward and invidious thing. And next, he must set up some standard of PREACHING, AS IT OUGHT TO BE: and *that*, in one having no office or authority, is, to say the least of it, a very presumptuous thing. However, these are difficulties arising out of my position. That position I did not seek; and therefore honestly, and, as in the sight of God, I will do my best—resolved to be practical if I can be nothing else.

My paper will address itself to two leading inquiries.

I. THE TIMES: AND THE PREACHING THEY REQUIRE.

II. THE PREACHERS: AND WHAT THEY MUST DO.

1. THE TIMES, then, what are they? And to this, I suppose, we shall all first make answer, they are times of great mental activity, of a widely-diffused popular intelligence, of a high standard of national education; in fact, the golden age of the schoolmaster. Knowledge

is no longer a class-gift among us. It is becoming the common property of the race, and the cheap attainment of all orders of the community.

What then is the preaching demanded for this state of society? Why, manifestly it must be *intelligent* preaching; the fruit of reading, and study, and continuous mental culture. The modern teacher must be what Bacon calls "a full man;" must keep pace with the march of public intelligence; must not allow it to be said that while the lecturer, on secular topics, shows an adequate appreciation of the heightened intellectual requirements of the times, and when the daily or weekly newspaper throws off articles equal, both in power and finish, to some of the best papers of Junius or "the Spectator," the Gospel teacher utterly ignores this advanced condition of the national mind, and is content to preach in the way in which his father would have preached fifty years ago.

Of course I am not saying that we are bound to cater for the omnivorous mental appetite of a reading age, but only that, on topics of general information, we ought to be on a par with the most educated of those to whom we minister. Many a teacher has lost influence with the intellectual section of his people, by the ignorance he has shewn in the department of secular knowledge. They have detected him, perhaps, in some faulty reference to the facts of history, or a bungling misapprehension of the principles of science, or a very superficial acquaintance with the rules of philosophy, or grammar, or verbal criticism. And they lose confidence in him. They think he is likely to be as loose and ill-informed on theology as he has shewn himself to be on other subjects. At all events he does not *read*. And they begin to think with Dr. Arnold, "When a man ceases to *learn*, that moment he becomes unfit to *teach*."

2. Again, our times are characterized by a spirit of *bold and searching inquiry*,—a tone of free thought, often avowedly adverse to the claims of revealed religion.

The prevalence of sceptical tendencies, among all classes, may or may not have been overstated. But no doubt they prevail widely enough to demand, on the part of gospel teachers, the most discriminative and cautious treatment. The time is gone by when every hinted doubt is to be put down to a want of moral honesty; when anathema could be left to do the work of argument, and fear or hatred of the truth be held sufficient to account for any faulty perception of its light. That a voluntary and blameworthy element may, and commonly *does* enter into the causes of unbelief, we know on the highest authority. But the extent to which it does so, in individual cases, is not for the human teacher to judge. Where not otherwise apparent, he must deal with the current objections against revealed religion as if they were the real scruples of a thoughtful mind—as difficulties entitled to a clear stage and a fair answer—and therefore as worthy to be met in that considerate and kindly spirit, which is ready to acknowledge, with the Laureate—

"There is more faith in honest doubt,  
Believe me, than in all the creeds."

How then are we to adapt our preaching to this feature of the times? I answer—

(a) First, we must shew that we are *aware that these sceptical ten-*

*dencies are rife among us.* It is of no use to seem unconscious of their existence. If *we* do not tell our people about the current controversies, the newspapers and magazines *will*; the clever reading man in the counting-house or the factory *will*; the smart conversationalist at the dinner party, or in the drawing-room, *will*. How to introduce the subject into our ordinary teaching, so as not to promote the wider spread of the mischief, will require caution. Our defences of any impugned truth may be interposed either covertly or openly,—either incidentally or with a formal reference. But, in some way, it must be evident to the educated hearer that we *know* about these sceptical objections and are not afraid of them; that we are not relying for safety against them upon the *hush-up* or *keep-quiet* system. For a complete discussion of the issues raised, the pulpit is not the place. But it is easy to discuss them far enough to deprive an objection of the advantage of startling novelty, in the event of any of our auditory coming to hear of it afterwards, as well as to secure respect for ourselves, as teachers, in the case of those who knew of the objection before.

(b) Then, again, in relation to the subject so ably considered this morning, it is clear that we must be very careful how we even seem to undervalue the *legitimate conclusions of scientific discovery*. Conversing with an excellent and intelligent brother at the time of the finding of the flint implements at Abbeville, I was amused by his saying in a sort of confidential but very earnest tone, "I hate geology as I hate the very devil." The admission, as I have said, was *esoteric*. But how many, if they dare, would say the same? Are there not many who get into a way of speaking, as if revelation and science must always be afraid of each other, always jealous of each other, and as if they thought that what Kepler beautifully calls "~~the~~ tongue of God and the finger of God," might at some points be made to clash? Surely we ought to remember, as we have been again and again reminded to-day, that whatever the appearing discrepancy in such cases be, it must be one of our own making—must proceed, that is, either from too hasty generalizations upon the facts of science, or else from some ill-considered and mistaken interpretation of the words of Scripture. What then is our true policy, when the newspapers are parading some new scientific discovery which seems to contradict our accepted views of Bible history? Are we hastily to deny the facts, or angrily to denounce the discoverer, or haughtily to re-affirm the infallibility of the received Scripture interpretation? Far otherwise. We are always at liberty to suggest probable solutions of the difficulty; and even if these fail, we may still take the ground that former sceptical objections have passed away, because on more careful inquiry they were found to be based on superficial observation, or some other form of imperfect knowledge; and why should it not be the same with this? Truth can never clash with truth; and revelation has had triumphs enough to be able to bide its time.

(c) Once more, in relation to this subject, our preaching must exhibit a thorough acquaintance with the *best forms of Christian evidence, whether new or old*.

We must stand by our older evidences. Modern objectors have never touched these,—have never professed to do so. Butler's "Analogy" has never been answered. Paley's "Evidences" have never been answered.



The testimonies collected by Leland, and Leslie, and Lardner, have never been answered. And we are not to give up the vantage ground furnished us by this mass of cumulative and unshaken proof. Yet, as against the assaults of modern scepticism, we must not rely on these proofs alone. The doubts which meet us in our day, in form at least, are the creation of the age; and only by solutions derived from the growing intelligence of the age can they be met and silenced. Illogical it may be, and most unfair in an objector, to insist on the incidental difficulties of revelation till the positive evidence in its favour has been disposed of. But still we shall not satisfy him, nor our people either, until we show an aptitude to engage him with his own weapons and vanquish him on his own ground.

II. So much for THE TIMES, and what they REQUIRE. We come next to the question of THE PREACHERS, and WHAT THEY MUST DO.

Well, "preach the gospel," some will say, "this is the one homiletical panacea for *our* times, and for *all* times." But *how* to preach it, we have to consider that. And I answer first—

1. We must preach it *fully, openly, in its wide and all-embracing adaptations to the exigencies of our fallen race*. The gospel was made for man, not man for the gospel. Hence there must be no restriction or limitation in the offer of its blessings; no making a party thing of it; no confining our ministrations to a Church within a Church, and seeming to care for the souls of none beside. I should be sorry to banish from the pulpit what is called "experimental preaching." So far from it, I believe such preaching often sets worldly people on thinking, that there must be a good deal more in religion than they had allowed themselves to imagine;—as when Pitt remarked to Wilberforce, after hearing one of Cecil's more spiritual sermons, "There is something in that preaching I don't understand." Still, it will not do for our sermons to be always of this kind;—to be occupied exclusively with the conflicts of the believer, or the experiences of the ripened saint. We must strike further out. We must aim to reach the hearts and intellects and consciences of those who lie beyond this eclectic circle. We ought to stand forth as the dispensers of God's world-wide remedy for our lost humanity. The gospel is not preached fully or fairly if it be not shewn to be a religion, which, while it quickens to a new and higher life all the emotions of our spiritual nature, is yet the only religion which meets a busy world on its own terms, shedding its sanctities over the common task, and sympathising with the toiling family of man.

2. Again, we must preach this gospel *systematically, scientifically*, with due regard to the place each separate truth occupies in relation to *the whole counsel of God*. There is a strange tendency in some teachers to allow themselves to be carried away with some one doctrine of the gospel system; to exaggerate this one beyond its rightful significance; to detach it from the complementary dogma, which, together with itself, makes up one truth. "We hold a few texts so near to our eyes," says Archer Butler, "that they hide the rest of the Bible." And the practice is fraught with mischief. The infidel Holyoake observed, some time ago, that people were made infidels by the bad presentments of their own doctrine as given by evangelical teachers. The statement may not be true; but it is to be admitted that modes of

setting forth evangelical truth are sometimes employed, which leave a thoughtful hearer in a state of painful perplexity,—forcing upon him views which seem to him to be either dishonouring to the Divine character, or contradicted by his own moral experience, or striking at the root of all accountableness in the moral agent. Instances in which an inexact thinker may fall into this danger will readily occur. The relations between different dispensations of religion, so presented as to imply a change in the principles of the Divine administration; the use of a harsh terminology, in speaking of the Atonement as an expedient necessitated by the demands of a punitive justice; a bald presentment of the doctrine of Predestination, as an arbitrary choice of God, unregulated by any principle of wisdom or goodness,—may all furnish illustrations of truth taught by *halves*; dogma exhibited out of proportion; the gospel scheme viewed so exclusively from some *one side*, as even to a candid mind to wear an air of paradox, and by an adverse critic very likely to be viewed as something worse.

3. I observe again that this gospel we have to preach must be preached *directly, persuasively*, and with the aid of *the very best language we can command*.

The times require *direct* preaching; the close application of gospel principles to the conscience; those “words of the wise which are as goads,” and as “nails fastened by the masters of assemblies in a sure place.” How many sermons do we hear full of wordy and vapid generalities,—without a single appeal, or reference, which a hearer could apply to his own circumstances! The discourse meets no specific want; gives directions for no daily duty; lays bare no particular sin. Hence nobody takes home the sermon, because, like an undirected epistle in the dead-letter-room at the Post Office, it belongs to nobody. The entire discourse has been an aimless, pointless, meaningless beating of the air. As Whately has observed of such a preacher:—“The man aims at nothing and he hits it.”

So also *powerful* and *persuasive* preaching will be expected of us. The age is a vigorous age; earnest, concentrative, on whatever it takes in hand, laying out strength. It expects all who would influence it, to evince a like spirit. In the exchange, in the senate, on the hustings, men speak as if they had an object; and would task the mind’s highest powers in order to success. Why is it that with a theme for a seraph’s tongue, and with a responsibility that might make a seraph tremble, we are content with a cold and perfunctory propriety? as if our highest aim were to be

“Coldly correct and critically dull;”

or as if we thought the highest gifts of the human intelligence might be dispensed with, because we had to preach the living words of the living God?

“Might be dispensed with.”—The remark touches closely upon another point, often mooted among writers on homiletics: I mean the necessity of what is called *plain and simple preaching*. And one will quote Bishop Burnet, and his rule, that “a preacher should fancy himself in the room of the most unlearned man in his parish:” and another will tell us of the practise of Tillotson, reading his sermon beforehand to a venerable female domestic, and eliminating every thing which was above the good woman’s intellectual level: but all giving us the caution

as if it were the great danger of the preacher's calling:—"Beware of shooting over the peoples' heads."

Now what is meant by these recommendations? Of course, if they be intended as a dissuasive against what is called fine writing; as a caution against the tendency to use an involved or pedantic form of expression, where a more familiar phrase would do; or the habit of overloading a sentence with superfluous and meretricious ornament, or the affectation of saying a common thing in some very novel and uncommon way,—we cannot but acknowledge the justice of the warning. But if the design of the recommendation be, that we strive to construct all our teaching on the most meagre, bald, and common-place model of thought; if it mean that eschewing all imaginative aids, and regardless of all grace or propriety of style, we are to make a virtue of saying the most obvious and insipid things in the most trite and insipid way: in a word, if it be intended to fix an inexorable ban upon every illustration, allusion, metaphor, train of reasoning, or mode of thought, with which a particular section of the hearers have not the power to sympathize, however much such things might interest or attract the rest; then do I hold such recommendations to be as unfair to the educated classes, as they would be rejected by the poor themselves. Rejected by the poor, I say, for they are by no means flattered by your condescending simplicities: unfair to the educated who have souls to be taken care of as well as others, and therefore as much as others are entitled to their portion of Sunday food.

III. Let me conclude with a few SUBSIDIARY HINTS bearing on the general subject.

1. Thus we should aim to give *the greatest possible variety to our discourses*. Of a venerable predecessor of mine, in my City Lecture, it is said that "for fifty years he always preached the same sermon." The remark, whether true or not, may serve to introduce the mention of a complaint, very common among hearers, with regard to their teacher, that there is so little of freshness or novelty in his discourses. After a little time they have come to know all his stock ideas, and favourite illustrations by heart. They have traced again and again his "principle" and "practice;" his "exposition" and "confirmation;" his consolations for the "godly" and his warnings for the "sinner;" through all their monotonous combinations. Everything is done by line and square. They know exactly when the same illustration will recur; how the old practical caution will come in; can see when his mind is coming back to a well-known point in its orbit, and the coming peroration is casting its welcome shadow before.

Now there is no concealing the fact that we here touch upon one of the special difficulties of our office. A pleader at the bar, or a speaker in parliament, has new materials to deal with every time he rises to address an audience. We have nothing to present but old and familiar truth: and have to urge upon sluggish minds the application of principles in which they have been instructed from childhood. Still have we done all we can to meet this difficulty? Do we habitually, by means of diversified presentments of our subject, interesting and illustrative criticisms upon our text, corroborations drawn from the ever-varied teachings of nature, providence, observation, history,—try to throw new life and interest into our weekly-recurring theme? Why

have we such a pious shrinking from the introduction into a sermon of a pertinent and telling anecdote? Why are we afraid to quote now and then some of the pungent and sparkling illustrations of the old Puritan divines? Why, because we nauseate the Tabernacle taste for scraps of hymns—ever savouring of Watts and his busy bee—are we to refuse to adorn the most glorious of themes by occasional quotations from Milton, or George Herbert, or the author of the *Christian Year*? Or why, once more, after the manner of the late Edward Irving, or John Hampden Gurney, might we not, however sparingly, interweave into our discourses something of the secular, mundane, common-life element—pressing into our service the stirring incidents of the day; and, by a discreet glancing at topics foremost in all companies and loudest on every tongue, trying to get the ear of the times? The use of such weapons no doubt demands caution. They are not instruments for an unskilled workman. They require taste, temper, tact, judgment; and without these they are better not used at all.

2. Another supplemental hint I may be allowed to express, in the advice given by Sir Roger de Coverley to his chaplain; namely, that he "*endeavour after a handsome elocution.*" You will recall the words of Sydney Smith: "To other causes of the unpopularity of sermons may be added the extremely ungraceful manner in which they are delivered. The English, generally remarkable for doing very good things in a very bad manner, seem to have reserved the maturity and plenitude of their awkwardness for the pulpit." This witness is true. Who has not seen and heard in our English pulpits, sawings and jerkings, distortions and writhings, croakings and shriekings, such as must mar the effect of the best sermon that ever was written? Such persons are often the first to throw scorn on the elocutionary art; and perhaps to boast that it was never theirs to practise "the start theatric before the glass." Would that it had been, it is likely some of their congregation would say; for if *you* could only have seen your gestures and grimaces in the glass, it is more than probable *we* should never have seen them in the pulpit.

Of course the rule commonly given to young preachers to escape these elocutionary faults is, "*Resolve to be natural.*" But this does not help them. For we ask whose natural, and which of all the naturals, is it to be? It is natural to one man to be rapid in his utterance, to another to be very slow; to one to carry himself with a familiar fire-side ease, to another to be fettered and oppressed with dignity; to one man to keep to the same whining and funereal note from the text to the doxology, to another in the course of five minutes to bring in all the changes of the vocal gamut, from the deepest barytone up to a scream. Now surely there must be a right and a wrong in all these cases. And who will say that, to correct the wrong at all events, it might not be helpful to avail ourselves of judicious professional guidance, and to study a few scientific rules?

3. My last practical suggestion has respect to the necessity for the present times of *cultivating the power of extemporaneous address*. People are accustomed to this in other professional speakers, are accustomed to it in the religious teachers of other communions: why is such a powerful weapon neglected by us? Or if we deem it well to have a written sermon at one part of the day, why at least should we not have the benefit of variety by adopting the extemporaneous style at

the other? That success in this style can be attained only at the price of intense labour, much writing, a diligent cultivation of the memory, and perhaps something of strong nerve, is to be admitted. But the object to be gained is worth it all; and I believe the instances are very rare in which it will not be a man's own fault if he does not succeed. Only let him not vilipend the requisite preparation. Let him not think to spin a sermon out of the fugitive musings of his morning's walk, or the arguments which flitted through his brain while sitting with his feet on the fender before his study fire. And let him not be disheartened by a mortifying failure,—a first, a second, or a third. *Fit fabricando faber.* No doubt there are born orators as there are born poets. But, as a rule, fluency of utterance is not so much a gift of nature as the slow growth of practice, and the reward of patient and persevering toil. Robert Hall used to say that if Mr. Simeon could preach extempore any man might; so little did that excellent man seem gifted by nature with the requisite fertility and readiness. Yet an extemporaneous preacher Simeon was, and I believe was generally accounted a very successful one.

But I have done. In the brief space at my disposal it is obvious I could dwell only on the intellectual and external characteristics of the preaching required for the present times. Can it be necessary to add, before an audience like this, that if even while satisfying these merely professional conditions, we be found wanting in the higher qualities of ambassadors of Christ; if there should be nothing in our message either to build up the believer on his faith or to cast down the formalist from his false hope; if there be no pungency in our appeals to the conscience, nothing heart-stirring in our word of exhortation, no fitness in our exhibitions of the great mystery of godliness to draw all men to Christ,—to His footstool, to His cross, to His heart, to His throne; in a word, if our whole preaching be permitted to degenerate into a hard, soul-less, dialectic exercise,—of body without spirit, of intellect without heart, of Christianity without Christ,—fearful will be the account we shall have to render to the Eternal Lover of the souls of men, and fearful will be the recoil upon our Church and upon ourselves. God has told us we are to covet earnestly the best gifts: and intellect is one of the best. But the limits of its employment in the pulpit are defined plainly. It is to clothe truth with power. It is to adorn holiness with beauty. It is to help to seat conscience on its throne. It is to witness for a loving Saviour and a pardoning God “to the world, and to angels, and to men.” It is well used of the Christian minister to reclaim the erring, to instruct the ignorant, to convince the gain-sayer, to establish the wavering and the weak. The rest is vanity; the rest is presumption; the rest is sin.

\*.\* The writer of the above address feels it due to the members of Congress to state that the title of the paper, as selected by the Committee, fell in so exactly with subjects already discussed by him, in two volumes recently given to the public, that the avoidance of occasional self-repetition he found to be impossible. The two publications referred to, are “*Thoughts on Preaching, specially in relation to the requirements of the age.*” Hatchard, 1861. And “*The Age and the Gospel, being the Hulsean Lecture for 1864.*” Rivingtons, 1865.

## PREACHING: ITS ADAPTATION TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

BY THE REV. E. HOARE.

THE first question to be considered is, What are the peculiarities of the present times to which our preaching is to be adapted? And the answer to that question may, I believe, be summed up in one word, viz., *Activity*.

There is activity of *mind*. The present times are marked by the vast increase of persons who are reading, thinking, and discussing. Men will think for themselves. They take nothing for granted, but old truths, instead of being received as a matter of course, are brought to the test of new ideas.

There is activity in *religion*. There is a vast increase of persons who feel deeply on religious subjects, and present a wonderful contrast to the lifeless apathy of the last century. The same activity is shown in efforts for the spread of the Gospel and the benefit of man. Such efforts have been marvellously multiplied within the last twenty years, and it is impossible to calculate the number of their supporters.

There is activity in *error*. Truth is not allowed to spread without a struggle; but side by side with it is the progress of error. This assumes all forms, and is prepared to meet all minds; but the two forms most powerful and most conspicuous are Infidelity and Popery; both of which are beyond all doubt in full activity, and both straining every nerve in opposition to the truth of God.

To be adapted to the present times, preaching must be addressed to the understanding, the heart, and the conscience.

### I. *The Understanding.*

1. Interest must be maintained. If no interest is excited, nothing is done; if no attention is secured, the sermon is useless.

2. Instruction must be given. People feel the need of it, and it is our duty to give it, so that many complain bitterly because they are taught so little. Instruction is necessary for the people, in order that their zeal may be healthy, vigorous, and intelligent. Instruction is absolutely necessary for their protection against error. If they are to be prepared to stand against error when they meet it, they must be armed with a clear knowledge of doctrinal truth, and we must supply them with distinct statements of dogmatic theology clearly stated, and well proved from Scripture. They must know what they believe, and why they believe it; why they are Churchmen, why they are Protestants, why they are Christians, and why they believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. And if our sermons are to be adapted to the times, they must contain in a clear and intelligent form the material for such knowledge.

But how is this to be conveyed to mixed congregations such as those whom many address? There are no public speakers who have a task so difficult as ours, for there are none who address such mixed assemblies.

Certainly not by the weekly repetition of familiar phrases, even

though those phrases contain the very truth of God. However devout the preacher, and however true the sermon, such unstudied, or ill-studied, repetitions fail either to arrest attention, or to instruct the inquirer.

Certainly not by dry abstract disquisitions.

Certainly not by attacking those who are never there to hear.

There is, I believe, only one mode of securing the two great objects, attention and instruction; and that is, by the diligent and prayerful endeavour to bring out Scripture in all its parts. In it there is infinite variety, while in all human compositions there is more or less of sameness. In it all classes are suited—the rich, the poor; the learned, the ignorant; the young, the old; the joyous and the mourner; and if we are enabled to draw out for the people the countless treasures of that most blessed book,—unfolding alike Old Testament as well as New; doctrine as well as practice, and practice as well as doctrine; whole passages, and not merely isolated texts; whole characters, and not merely parts of character;—we shall find it always fresh, always interesting, always suited to the human heart, and always so full of sacred instruction, that it will be the people's own fault if they go away untaught in the truth of God.

II. *The Heart*.—There is a prejudice often entertained against preaching to the feelings. It is thought sufficient to interest and instruct the understanding. I am quite willing to admit the danger of preaching to the feelings only; but I do not believe that even it is half so great as that of not preaching to them at all. The perfection is seen in that combination of love and judgment, which St. Paul expressed when he said, "The love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge." The fact is, that however clever a sermon may be, it is a failure if it does not reach the heart; and I believe in these difficult times we deeply need the warm, loving, heart-stirring appeals of men whose own souls are full of the love of Christ.

For let it never be forgotten—

1. That love is the great motive power of the Gospel. "The love of Christ constraineth us." And all our Christian zeal depends on that one motive.

2. That love is the great preservative in times of error. I verily believe that a loving heart is much safer than a clear head; and that the person who loves much though he knows little is much safer than he is whose head is full, but whose heart is cold. St. Paul's words are remarkable on this point. He describes the followers of the great apostacy of the latter days, as "believing a lie," or as having received falsehood into their understanding; and he traces their declension to this cause, "They received not the love of the truth that they might be saved."

3. That heart is the great evidence of reality. People want reality, and large bodies of men are never really moved until they are convinced of reality in the preacher. But nothing is more calculated to shake that opinion than a sermon on vast truths which ought to move the soul to its inmost depths, but which never so move the preacher himself as to wake him up from his dulness, or, if he be awake, to draw his attention from the correctness of his composition, the propriety of his attitude, the beauty of his vestments; or to rouse his own soul to deep emotion in earnest longings for the welfare of his people.

Sir T. F. Buxton used to say of a dear friend that he never preached well till he spoke bad grammar. Sir F. was the last man to advocate bad grammar. But I imagine he meant that his friend never preached with power till his heart was so full that it burst through all rules of composition, and in utter forgetfulness of self, pleaded with souls that they might be saved in the Lord Jesus.

III. *The Conscience.*—A sermon to be adapted to the times must reach the conscience. And yet how many there are, clever, interesting, and perfectly true, which never even aim at it.

1. We want to *awaken* conscience.

There are thousands and tens of thousands around us whose conscience is in a deep sleep, who feel no conviction and shew no sensitiveness to sin. But till the conscience is aroused, there is no real concern about the soul, and no personal hold on the great salvation. How important, then, is the powerful searching application, not left to a short paragraph at the end of a long sermon, but so interwoven into the whole of it that from first to last it is a sermon *to* the people and not merely a discourse *before* them! How important that we should watch closely the working of our own souls, and preach our sermons first to ourselves, for we may be quite sure that what reaches our own conscience will not fall very wide of the mark when aimed at that of others; while, on the other hand, the sermon that never touches the conscience of the preacher is not very likely to strike home and deep into that of the hearer.

2. A sermon to be adapted to the times must also *satisfy* conscience *when awakened*.

An awakened conscience is a tremendous power, one that will not let a man rest till it is either lulled to sleep, or satisfied. It destroys a person's quiet of mind, and forces him to seek for something that may give him peace in his uneasiness. The result is that there are tremendous dangers in the way of an awakened, but unsatisfied, conscience.

There is the danger of scepticism. A person will sometimes struggle on for years with religion enough to make him uneasy, but with his conscience never satisfied, and the sad result follows that after a time he begins to give up, and doubt everything. If a man cannot find peace in faith, he is very much tempted to seek ease in unbelief. And this explains the painful phenomenon of persons becoming sceptics who were once, in a sense, religious men.

There is the danger of Popery.

I believe that Popery has its chief hold in awakened, but unsatisfied consciences. When a conscience is really awakened, it must have something to satisfy its craving; and if a person fails to embrace the gospel, and cannot lapse into infidelity, he will readily welcome anything to ease his conscience. It is at this point that Rome meets him with the fairest promises. The heart craves for something which it cannot reach, when Popery steps in, and presents the promise of peace in a form tangible and visible. It offers a visible apparatus for the communication of invisible blessings; a man-made machinery to help the inquirer in the realization of the gifts of God. It seems a help, and in many cases is eagerly grasped. But, oh! how fatal is the issue when the human apparatus obscures instead of helps; hangs like a thick veil between the soul and the living God, and lulls conscience to rest by human teaching and human assurances, instead of satisfying



it by the truth of God, and the free gift of a free forgiveness from God himself!

Never therefore be surprised if you see Infidelity and Popery advancing side by side with truth, for the gospel always awakens more souls than it saves; and they are both almost certain to pick up many of those whose consciences have been awakened but not satisfied. But if these two tremendous dangers lie in the way of this wide-spread and most important class, what words can express the solemn responsibility laid by God on every preacher of the gospel!—the solemn duty of so preaching in these dangerous days, that our message may be the means in God's hands of satisfying as well as of awakening the conscience! But how is it to be done? I know but of one way, and it is with no desire for controversy that I speak of it. But I know no other, and I cannot but speak that which I have seen and heard. I believe the one and only way of satisfying conscience, is to bring out the two great truths of the 31st and 11th Articles—the full satisfaction of the law through the vicarious suffering of the Son of God, and free justification through faith and faith alone. This is the one message—Atonement and Justification by faith—to give the conscience peace; and before it I believe the doubts of sceptics and the Romish tendencies of those who are really seeking life, will melt away like snow in a summer's sun. The preaching, therefore, best adapted for the times, I believe to be that which best exhibits those blessed truths, which most exalts a Saviour, and sets forth with the greatest power His marvellous grace in the free salvation of a ruined soul.

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## PREACHING: ITS ADAPTATION TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

By THE REV. E. H. BICKERSTETH.

MR. CHAIRMAN,—There is a certain ambiguity about the terms in which the subject is proposed; but I understand it to mean how those entrusted with the administration of Christ's word and sacraments can so preach the Gospel of our salvation as most effectually to meet the peculiar dangers and duties of the times in which we live. I assume it for granted that the great commission of Christ's ambassador is to preach Christ, not Christianity only as a collection of doctrines or code of ethics, but Christ as a personal, present, and perfect Saviour and Lord. Thus Philip the evangelist "preached Christ" in Samaria, and "preached Jesus" to the eunuch. (Acts viii. 5, 35.) Thus S. Paul in polished Corinth "determined not to know any thing among them save Jesus Christ and Him crucified" (1 Cor. ii. 2); and in the learned and philosophic Athens "preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection." (Acts xvii. 18.) (Compare also 1 John i. 1—3.)

The essentials of his message no faithful ambassador can consent to modify, even an hair's breadth, to suit the prejudices of those to whom he comes declaring the unchangeable Gospel of the grace of

God. But yet the same Gospel, and not another, may be so presented in different aspects, that it may on the one hand supply the needful corrective for prevalent error, and on the other enable us to use to the utmost the vast facilities lying round us on every side for the dissemination of truth.

The question therefore at once occurs, What are the leading characteristics of our own times? I suggest the following, not as dreaming they embrace all, but as among the most prominent; and I would without hesitation affirm that to preach Christ simply, boldly, fully, is the only true secret of success for the watchman who would rise to the solemn responsibilities of these last days.

1. The present times are times of incessant activity of thought, of sifting inquiry into things old, and of an eager pursuit after things new. This activity of thought has its bright side and its dark: its bright, in a hunger and thirst after truth; its dark, in the pride which knowledge without charity engenders. How can we adapt our preaching so as to impregnate with Divine life this mighty stream of intelligence? I answer, Preach Christ as the Creator of all those marvellous works in which science delights, and of the yet more marvellous human mind which investigates them; as the One in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; and yet as the One whose perfect knowledge was ever vivified and sanctified by perfect love, and who was content to still the deepest questionings with those words of supreme affiance, "Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in Thy sight." (Matt. xi. 26.) The contemplation of this true Light, the unfathomable Source of all light, humbles while it elevates, and chastens while it animates, reminding men, in the language of Sir Isaac Newton, that they are but children playing with the pebbles upon the shore of the bottomless ocean of truth.

2. These are times of abounding wealth, of superseding muscular and, as far as possible, mental toil by the appliances of science and the erudition of others, and generally of enabling men, by the exertion of the least amount of personal labour, to achieve the greatest amount of apparent success. This affords unexampled opportunities for the spread of the Gospel at home and abroad. Of this our great ecclesiastical institutions, our world-wide Missionary and Bible Societies have availed themselves to the utmost. And no doubt the Christian man who prayerfully subscribes to these associations, may realize that he has a part and share in the evangelistic work of Christ. But the dangers are obvious,—worship of Mammon, self-indulgence, and a very low standard of devotion. Looking broadly upon society, I fear we must describe ours as *an undevout age*; and that the present character of Christian life is, in the words of a true witness, "rather humane than devotional, its tendency rather outward than upward, its utterance rather in works of mercy than in songs of praise." What is the corrective for these things? Preach Christ, as the great Example of self-sacrifice, "who, though He was rich, for our sakes became poor, that we through His poverty might be rich." We learn beside the manger of Bethlehem, what it is to surrender all. We learn as we contemplate His nights of prayer after His days of exhausting toil, what it is to redeem time to be alone with God. We learn at the foot of His cross that we cannot bear ours by shifting the burthen upon another. And lastly, we learn as we stand on Olivet and listen to His words ere He

ascended, that as "HE CAME and preached peace," so He says to His Church, "Go YE and make disciples of all nations." (Ephes. ii. 17; Matt. xxviii. 19.)

3. But I must, though briefly, allude to another and more painful characteristic of our own days: they are times in which many and ruthless attempts are made to remove the old landmarks of truth. Let me only instance such fundamental truths as these: the plenary and infallible inspiration of Holy Scripture; the infinite value of Christ's atoning sacrifice on the cross; the Divine obligation of the Christian Sabbath; the awful reality of eternal punishment. We may adapt our preaching to meet the prevalent heresies on these cardinal points in various ways, but I am persuaded none will be so effectual as preaching Christ, the Christ foreshadowed in the Old Testament, and luminously revealed in the New.

The honour which He, the Incarnate Word, ever put upon the written word, is the best answer to attacks, come from what quarter they may, upon the living oracles of God. What are man's speculations regarding the origin of his own species worth, before His words who was the Creator, by whom and for whom all things were made, and who says, "Have ye not read that He, which made them at the beginning, made them male and female"? (Matt. xix. 4.) Or before the inspired dictum of the apostle, God "hath made of one blood all nations of men"? (Acts xvii. 26.) Or what do all the shallow sophisms of an heretical Bishop, respecting the writer of the Pentateuch, countervail the majestic assertion of the Truth Himself, "Moses wrote of me: but if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words"? (John v. 46, 47.)

Again, what are all the persistent denials of the atoning sacrifice of Christ's death, that one hope for guilty and ruined man; what are they but lighter than vanity when weighed against the great evangelistic proclamation, for which God had been educating mankind during four thousand years, and to which at last the forerunner of His Son gave utterance, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world"? (John i. 29.)

Again, how can those who would attempt to tear the fourth commandment from the Decalogue, embedded there as it lies amid the unchanging precepts of morality, meet the solemn declaration of Him who said "Verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled"? (Matt. v. 18.)

Or, once more, how can we better convince those who would question or deny the awful certainty of eternal punishment than by reminding them, the most clear, unmistakeable and repeated declarations regarding it fell from the lips of that compassionate Saviour who died to save men from the everlasting wrath of which He warned them?

4. I feel bound to add that these are times in which there is in a large and it is to be feared an increasing body amongst us, partly through recoil from the rationalism and scepticism that are abroad, a desire to return to the bondage from which the blessed Reformation delivered us, an unhealthy craving for excessive ceremonial, a longing for auricular confession and priestly absolution, and for an external unity which is the prerogative not of the Church militant here on earth but of that triumphant in the heavens. The characteristics of this wide-spread love of ritualism are somewhat diverse from that

ascetic devotion which so deeply moved many minds five-and-twenty years ago. This is far more tolerant of worldly conformity. This insists little upon crucifying the flesh. This would combine self-indulgence in a thousand forms with services which lull, without healing, the wounded conscience. Hence its subtle delusiveness, a delusiveness which can only be met by preaching Christ. When the Hebrew converts to whom the apostle wrote were in danger of falling away from Christianity and of falling back to Judaism, how does he meet their imminent peril? Not only by solemn warnings against apostasy, but also by reminding them again and again that they had in the simple faith of the Gospel all and more than all the things they craved for. We must preach Christ crucified as the alone way of our access to God, the alone peace for the stricken heart, and the alone source by His life-giving Spirit of that true holiness whereby we are made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light.

And so with regard to that instinctive and God-implanted desire for unity, we must preach Christ as the true centre of union. As to any imaginary coalition betwixt ourselves and the idolatrous Greek and Roman Churches, such as we heard of yesterday afternoon, England, Protestant England, Protestant England's Church, loves no such coalitions. We can only re-echo the Apocalyptic cry to the down-trodden exiles in Babylon, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." (Rev. xviii. 4.) We ought not, we dare not, and, God helping us, we will not stir one step from that great platform of protesting truth, on which our forefathers stood. Truth is inflexible. They must come to us, not we to them. The Holy Catholic Church is no longer one seven-branched candlestick like the Jewish nation of old, one external ecclesiastical polity, but seven candlesticks or lamps on seven different stems, and their unity this, the Son of man walking in the midst of them and supplying all with the golden oil of the One Eternal Spirit. For a visible and manifest unity, we must wait for His return and for our gathering together unto Him. (2 Thes. ii. 1.)

5. And this leads me to my last remark. These are times of feverish excitement as to the future.

The hearts of thoughtful men, statesmen and philosophers as well as divines, often fail them for fear and for looking after those things which are coming upon the earth. Nor can we marvel at this. One theory after another of human perfectibility has been falsified by time. And now the vast increase of knowledge and the facilities of commerce among all nations have armed evil as well as good with tremendous powers unknown to former ages. A blow struck in any part of Christendom vibrates to the ends of the earth. And there is already a work among men the predicted distress of nations with perplexity. How shall we best meet this wide-spread solicitude? I answer, by preaching the second advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, who says, "Behold I come quickly, and my reward is with me to give everyone according as his work shall be." (Rev. xxii. 12). We must draw our intelligent hearers more and more to the ill-understood and therefore much-abused study of the word of prophecy. We must fearlessly proclaim the midnight cry, "Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet Him." And then, and not till then, may we expect that we who preach and those who hear shall maintain that attitude of holy vigilance to which

we are called, our loins girt, our lamps burning, and we like men that wait for our Lord, that when He cometh and knocketh we may open to Him immediately.

## DISCUSSION.

THE VEN. ARCHDEACON DENISON: I think that all we have heard this afternoon, ought certainly to satisfy us at least upon one point, which was ably touched upon in the address of the Very Reverend the Dean of Canterbury, who so well opened this discussion. He intimated, as you will remember, that it were perhaps not a bad thing if preaching were confined to fewer persons than it is at present. When one has listened, as one has, for the last hour and a half, to an account of all the requisites to make a good preacher, many in this meeting must go away with the impression, which has certainly been left on my mind, that it is wholly impossible for the clergy of the Church of England, in the mass, ever to approach in any degree the qualifications required. I think there is some danger lest this ordinance and this part of the business of a clergyman should be too much over-rated and over-estimated to the exclusion of other things. In listening to what has been said this afternoon, I asked myself—"Who is there that is sufficient for these things?" No doubt it is perfectly true, as the Dean remarked, that sermons generally are some of the most tedious things in the world; not only from their length but from other causes. I do not quite agree with him when he said that tediousness and length were generally more characteristic of written than extemporaneous sermons. I think that those which go to extravagant length are rather extemporary than written sermons. But most sermons are tedious things, not only to the men who have to deliver them, but to those who have to listen to them. Perhaps I may be allowed to relate to you a story that was told of a great statesman some years ago. He went down to see one of his most intimate friends, who had just been presented to a large incumbency. After the service was over, the clergyman said, "I was afraid of being tedious, therefore I did not preach long." "Oh but you were very tedious notwithstanding," was the reply. Now what is the best thing for adapting the preaching to the times in which we live? In considering this question, I have asked myself, How can we ascertain what is best for the times in the matter of preaching? Much that has been said to-day will apply to all times. We are told that preaching is to address the conscience, the intellect, and so forth. That applies to all times; but with regard to this particular time, what are the clergy of the Church of England to do to make their preaching best adapted to the times? How are they to know that their preaching is adapted to the times? They are to look at what are the special dangers of the times. There are two special dangers:—first, calling in question revealed truth, and next bringing into the place of a heart religion, a sensuous and æsthetic religion. I will confine myself to those two points, and in meeting the first danger, I will ask what ought to be done? Some people want all the clergy to be learned and scientific men. Now that is absolutely impossible. They cannot be all learned and scientific men. There is another point upon which I must touch on account of its great importance. When the question is raised, as it has been raised in this hall to-day, as to the differences between science and religion, the argument commonly put forward is, "Oh never mind, they are both seeking the truth." Now I say that that is a fallacy. It is true in words but not in fact. The truth the religious man seeks is one kind of truth; that which the scientific and learned man seeks is another kind. One is human; the other divine. I am not seeking this last truth; I have accepted it. Therefore to speak of these two things as one, and to put them in the same category, is a fallacy, and should be carefully guarded against. We cannot all be learned and scientific, and we cannot, if we were, be said to be seeking the truth in the same sense, when we are striving to come up to the standard of God's Holy Word, and striving to attain to the conclusions of science within our reach. The remedy is to know our Bibles. I say fearlessly,—and I say it because for years I had the honour to hold the position of Examining Chaplain,—I say fearlessly, that candidates for holy orders do not know their Bibles, and that they do not know their Prayer-book, which is the expositor of the Bible. When I look at the millions of men who form the great majority of God's creatures, who cannot have any learning or science, I hardly know who they are that are so much concerned in what has been addressed to this meeting to-day.

All that has been said about preaching, has been said on the supposition that all are learned and scientific people, able to understand an argument. But that is not the truth. The truth is, that the learned and scientific are in a very great minority, and that preaching ought not so much to be argumentative as full of warning and consolation. Therefore the remedy which I have always thought of,—and which when Examining Chaplain I did suggest to the Bishop I had the honour to serve, but reasons interfered to prevent it from being carried out,—the remedy I proposed was, to see that no man was ordained who had not certainly a very sufficient knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and a sufficient knowledge of the expositor of the Holy Scriptures, the book of Common Prayer. When we find he has got that, we may examine him in other books; but I often found it the case, that men assumed they knew their Bible and Prayer-book, which was far from being the fact, and spent all their time in getting up a little smattering of what they called “their books.” Make preaching more scriptural; do not make it learned and scientific. Do not think of answering objections, when many of the people you address never heard of the objections themselves. I have been a priest of God for thirty years, ministering among the poor, and when did I ever hear a poor man raise an objection as to the authority of the Pentateuch? Get rid of all this. It is an excrescence of the times. Think of your duty; preach the Gospel; preach Christ crucified in all its fulness, and if you must argue, argue from the Bible; if you must teach, draw your teaching from the Bible; if you must reason, never let it be to confute objections which never ought to have been raised. And now one word more about the second matter. It is a matter upon which I feel very deeply, and with regard to which I wish to speak with the utmost tenderness, but I do feel that in this country we are in a dangerous position, on account of a great disposition to introduce so much of ultra-ritualism, of observances which are doubtless the exponents of a very high state of doctrine, which has been painfully arrived at, but which never can be put in the place of the teaching of doctrine. There can be no greater mistake made than for a man to say, “I am going to teach my people doctrine, by wearing certain vestments, and using certain forms.” Where you have got this high doctrine let it be so. You always find that when people have got to be very fond of their church, as the place from which they have gathered all their superabundance of God’s holy comfort, they will do all in their power to adorn and ornament it. So when minds are full of high doctrine, nobody will quarrel with them if they spontaneously say, “let us have more of ritual observance.” I do not quarrel with them, but it seems to me to be wisest and best to keep to the simple, solemn, observances of the Church of England. It would be a happy thing to be able to go through the land, and see no clergyman vested in any way but in that way to which all eyes have been accustomed. I will not say more upon this point, because I wish to touch it very tenderly, because I have the utmost regard and respect for many of those who differ from me; and there are among them many of the most pains-taking and hard-working of God’s ministers. But that they are making a mistake I cannot doubt, and that they are leading people away, or doing that which has a great tendency to lead people away from The Faith. It was not with any pomp and ceremony that our Lord and the apostles got the people to bow down and confess the truth, but by the simplest forms. It is not necessary that we should have the amount of outward ornament and decoration which we see expended upon the vestments of the clergy in some of our churches, but what we have to look to is the life of the congregation from week to week, month to month, and year to year, and what their attendance is at the Lord’s table.

The DEAN OF EMLY said: Rhetoric is a relative art. Its essence lies in the precise recognition of the hearer who is addressed. It is, therefore, of much importance that the preacher should have some knowledge of the general conditions of thought, and whole contexture of circumstances, which make his hearers to be what they are. We have heard much that is valuable on this side of the question. But I have not as yet heard anything upon that which seems to be a growing and formidable danger—I mean that of an exaggerated adaptation of our preaching, both in tone and substance, to the supposed wants and supposed tendencies of the time in which we live. The great safeguard here lies in a recurrence to that which the great Roman orator has laid down as the primary condition of true oratory—that a man should speak *sapienter*. This, applied to our subject, means that the preacher should be generally a well-educated man, and (as Archdeacon Denison has reminded us) specially instructed in the Holy Scripture, and such studies as help to the knowledge of the same. This general good education will save a man from those adaptations to an unwholesome taste which rise from want of culture rather than from want of reverence, but which are so offensive to educated men. But above all is a thorough mastery of Scripture needful. The age, with all its faults, has made real positive acquisitions of knowledge in other subjects. It demands from the preacher real knowledge, not sham knowledge in this. Concordance-gathered

texts; conventional formulæ; sentences strung together from commentaries; a Bible held so close to our eyes that we can only see some favourite passages, will never do. The *Criticus Apparatus*, the lexicon, and the grammar must be diligently used. Seeking knowledge, as knowledge, the preacher shall find it to be power. Aiming at his object, not at earnestness, earnestness shall be added unto him. Studying accuracy, because "it is of the noble family of truth," if he have the gift of utterance, he shall mould it into the truest eloquence. The man who can speak thus *sapienter*, will be able not merely to reproduce crude lumps of the Fathers, but to apply the most precious parts of Christian antiquity to the wants of his day. Lord Brougham has said that he never produced such an effect upon popular audiences as when he was almost translating Demosthenes. Bossuet is never so touching, I had nearly said never so original, as when he is almost translating Augustine. It is frequently said, that the foundation of a chair of Sacred Oratory is a peculiar want of the Church at this day. In the interest of eloquence itself I deprecate this notion. It will be, I think, an unhappy day for the English pulpit, when young men shall be taught how to speak before they know what to speak; when theological students shall be coached in rhetorical dodges by an ecclesiastical posture-master, with a pompous title. The freedom, the vigour, and the freshness for which the English pulpit is becoming so remarkable, will be exchanged for sermons cut out after one uniform pattern, and declaimed with the insolent pantomime of the Tabernacle, or the theatrical pantomime of a Continental *action d'éclat*. The advice of a wise master in Israel to a young student would surely be substantially this—You should thoroughly study the great principles of rhetoric; you know Aristotle's *Rhetoric*; add to it a thorough study of the fourth book of St. Augustine, *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*; read your Bible diligently, and pray over it. Be made free of the secrets of man's moral nature in your parochial work, and in your own home. Seek to have in your heart an earnest desire for the salvation of souls. Throw your soul into your weekly sermon. Go and hear some of the great preachers of our Church. Perhaps after all you will never be eloquent. If so, it is not God's will that you should be eloquent. But there is a higher than verbal eloquence in which you need never fail. If you cannot adapt your preaching to what is indefinitely called the age, you can always speak with authority to your own flock. "Cujus vita fulgur, ejus verba tonitura sunt." But, above all, we must beware of adapting the substance itself of our preaching to the supposed tendencies of the time. The manner of the message is our own, the matter of it is God's. The full truth, as it is received by our Church, is peculiarly adapted to the real wants of humanity in this as in past times. It is so adapted beyond Romanism or dissent. You have only to read Dr. Newman's sermon on the Assumption of the Virgin, in his volume of "Discourses," to see a man of genius grappling with the impossible problem of adapting modern Romanism to educated Englishmen. It would be easy to show, if my time were not exhausted, that the teaching of our Church is adapted to the spiritual wants of the times, beyond the teaching of dissent. Let not, then, our preaching ape either Romanism or dissent. Let us not, under the pretence of winning over one or the other, palter with our message. The message contained in the old Book, which was placed in our hands when we were ordained Priests; whose keen edge has cut down to the quick of all penitent souls, bringing out that cry of pain which proves that there is life; and in whose deep and deathless hope all saints who have exchanged life's long weariness for God's eternal rest, have fallen asleep, down to the last whom we dressed for their graves before we left our parishes for this Congress; that message has a universal language. The Bible and the Catholic Faith, the Book and the Creeds, these are adapted to man's wants in this age, as in every other age. These are the preacher's sufficient materials. Nothing more is wanted. Nothing less will do.

THE REV. J. S. B. MONSELL: Sir, I have listened with the deepest interest to all that we have just heard, descriptive of that wondrous intellectual machinery by which, when brought to perfection, mortal men can be made more fitting and effective instruments in the preaching of God's holy Word. But if I have listened with interest and pleasure, I have listened also with somewhat of pain, lest the standard of natural or acquired human fitness being lifted too high, some among us, not to say the great majority, should go home from this Congress discouraged, disheartened, deprest; feeling that in the want of some mental powers which others possess, they want the means of being faithful preachers of the Gospel. We are not all Wilberforces or Alfordes, but we are the ministers of Christ; with His commission to do His work, with His promise of help and power. The greater our gifts and attainments, the nobler that offering which we make when we devote them all to God. But the gift of ourselves and our whole hearts to His work is the chief offering which He desires at our hands; and those most humbly endowed in mental wealth can render this to Him. My complaint then is not that the

intellectual standard has been raised too high, but that it has been placed so near the eye that it has somewhat shut out a standard which is higher, and which is after all the only true standard by which to measure such things. That standard is a spiritual, not an intellectual one. Preaching is a spiritual work. It is God working, not man. It is God working in us and by us. It is God working by means, which, however humble and inadequate in themselves, yet as those of His appointment, are to faith effectual. Just as in the sacraments He uses the simplest elements to produce the greatest results. Pure water when He gives spiritual life, and bread and wine when He gives Himself to renew it. So in this sacramental work of quickening some and waking others to the life of Christ; when He uses man as the vessel to hold His Word; it is not the inherent worth of that which He uses which gives it efficacy, but the use of it in faith, that is the secret of its power. There is, however, this striking difference between preaching and the holy sacraments; namely, that in the latter God uses inanimate vessels to hold the inanimate elements with which He works the wonders of His will: while in preaching He uses that living instrument, man; that mysterious combination of body, soul, and spirit; that cunning workmanship of His mighty hand, to save which He shed the precious blood of His loving heart. He uses that which He seeks to save, as an instrument in saving. This intensifies the wonder, but at the same time it is this very fact which makes man too often imagine that in his own strange mechanism lies the secret of his success. Now it is directly against this notion that I would plead. It is not in his genius, or his wisdom, or his eloquence, or his argumentative power, that the secret lies. It is in his mission, and his faith in that mission. That he is *sent*, and that he believes in the *Sender*, this is the strength of his weakness! That he is nothing in himself, everything in the hands of Him who uses him. Like some instrument of music which, though never so cunningly framed, is voiceless, powerless, passionless, until the Master's hand be laid upon it; then it utters *his* thoughts, pours forth *his* feelings, tells out *his* whole soul to the souls of others around: soulless, senseless, powerless, voiceless before. So is man; the great God lays His hand upon the mysterious chords of his being, or breathes into the secret places of his soul His unutterable love, and he becomes the living agent of His mighty will. Mighty himself, through God's indwelling power, mighty to save. And why is this power apparently dead, or at least lying dormant in the English Church? Why are our pulpits a byword for dreariness and dullness? Why, when our clergy are (as all must admit) the best educated priesthood in the world, why should their sermons, oftentimes accurate and perfect in composition as possibly can be, be the weekly grievance of the squire, and the oft recurring subject of the leisure sneerings of the *Times*? I believe the cause lies in our forgetfulness of the greatness of the spiritual office which rests upon those who are sent of God to preach the Gospel of Christ Jesus. Could we return to the times of apostolic faith and practice and preparation, I believe the times would return to us of apostolic power in saving.—I. Apostolic Faith—which rests fully and solely on that mysterious "power of God," which lies in the Gospel preached; "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." Had we this faith! did we trust in more than we can see, or hear, or understand, or know; even in the mysterious power of God's inward working! could we rely on His promise, that His word once gone forth shall never return unto Him void!—then, though our preaching might be to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness; it would be Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God to them that believe. I undervalue not human learning in this estimate, but I fear others overvalue it; and I wish to keep chief above all things before your mind that this is a *spiritual* work. The jewelled cup, the costly chalice, the golden plate, are not too rich or good for the service of the altar, but they are not essential to the efficacy of the Holy Sacrament. If none other can be had, Christ's presence will be as really with His people, where the poorest vessels are used to hold the consecrated elements, and offer to faithful souls His body and His blood. And so with man in this great, this sacramental work of preaching the Gospel; the gold of genius, the jewels of lore, the chasing of laborious culture, are only too little to offer in God's service. But the humblest intellect, the simplest education, if the bread of life and the wine of God's refreshing be in the soul, will, with a mission, and faith in that mission, enable the humblest disciple to take his allotted share in feeding the thousands. And he that has this apostolic faith, will not fear to follow.—II. Apostolic Practice. That practice was the use of the *spoken word of God*. "Remember them who have the rule over you, who have *spoken* unto you the word of God." Thus St. Paul preached. "He *spoke* boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus." "He *so spoke*, that great multitudes both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed." Thus St. Stephen preached—so that "they were not able to resist the wisdom and the Spirit by which he *spoke*." Reading is one thing, preaching another. To the living voice, uttering the living truth, in faith and love, when heart speaks to heart, and eye tells to



eye the glowing fire of the life within, to that I believe the promise is given, and souls will be the hire of those who trust that promise well. But I am prepared to hear from many around—I am not, and never could be, an extempore preacher. I cannot try this. You may not be a man of genius, or wisdom, or eloquence: how few such exist! And yet how many flocks are to be fed that must starve, if only genius, and wisdom, and eloquence can feed them! But you are God's minister, with a high commission, and an everlasting promise; and you can do His work with the natural powers with which He has endowed you. You can easily follow apostolic practise, if you use—III. Apostolic Preparation. What was that? "We will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the Word." This is what we want. We are all busy, and active, and useful, but we are too busy about comparative trifles to have leisure for the great things of our work. Penny clubs, clothing societies, public charities, serving tables, fritter away our time and distract our attention. We have not leisure to fill ourselves to overflowing at that Divine fount whence fulness only comes. The Church of England wants more saints in her Priesthood; and her laity must take the serving of tables more entirely into their own hands, if they would leave their Priests leisure to grow holy. If we are holy we cannot but speak. If we are full—not filled for the occasion, but full, full of the fulness of God—we cannot keep silence; it would be pain and grief to us to do so. Too many rise up to speak, only because they must say something; if we were daily living with and in God, we would rise and speak because we had daily something fresh to say. He who in his closet, with God's Book, and his own heart, and his peoples' hearts, lying there open before him, asks for Divine help to deal with the mysteries of his calling, will go forth every day with a fresh consecration from on high; his lips touched with fire and his soul with love—a saviour of men!

THE REV. J. C. RYLE: I feel it almost an act of presumption on my part to stand forward to address you on this occasion. Your minds are naturally exhausted after all you have heard during the last three days, and the addresses you have already listened to from those who have gone before me increase the difficulty I feel in standing up to say something. But still I feel that, although the field has been so effectively reaped, there are a few ears left to be gleaned by those who are to come after. One department of the subject before us this afternoon has not yet received the attention I think it ought to receive from a Church Congress. The department to which I allude is the subject of preaching to country parishes and rural congregations. We have heard much from the Dean of Canterbury and Mr. Daniel Moore—both men who are masters in Israel on this subject of preaching; but as one who has preached more or less for twenty-four years exclusively to country congregations, I feel that what they have said does not apply to the country parishes I have had to do with. Now I think that country parishes occupy a most important place in our Church system. We have but to turn to the Clergy List and look over the long list of parishes, to find no less than about eight thousand that may be reckoned as country parishes; and in those parishes the difficulty of preaching is extreme. The clergyman has to deal with a class of persons many of whom are without education; while others, if they can read a little, are altogether unaccustomed to think over what they read. The consequence is, that in these country parishes the sermon is the only mode of giving instruction, and it makes it important that it should be fitted to the congregation and be of the best and most suitable description. This difficulty has been felt by others who have gone before us. I need not remind you of the honoured name of George Herbert, who, in speaking of the "country parson" when he gets into his pulpit, says that the minds of the country people are heavy and dull and require "a mountain of fire" to move them. He also speaks of the country parson in the pulpit as being in one of the most difficult positions he has to occupy. I remember a clergyman stating at a large ecclesiastical meeting, that if he were asked what was the most difficult position to place a preacher in, he should answer this—to stand up in a country church pulpit on a summer afternoon, when the people were warm, and then endeavour to keep them awake. I know that you all sympathise with me on this subject, and I therefore call on you to give me your indulgent consideration while I dwell for a moment on this important matter of preaching to a country congregation. The flocks which God has committed to our charge in country parishes are not to be preached to as if they were in the nave of Canterbury cathedral or beneath Mr. Daniel Moore's pulpit. They have never heard of Archdeacon Denison's favourite book, or of that of the Dean of Ely. They never heard of capitular bodies; they know nothing of the division of seas, or of the difference between science and theology. How to get at them and to bring your mind in contact with theirs, is one of the great problems which we ought to look in the face and endeavour to solve. When I stand in a pulpit to preach to a country congregation, it is very much like standing on the battlements of Norwich Castle and trying to make myself heard in Norwich Cathedral, the distance is so great.

If they only hear a noise it is almost all, I fear, that many of them do hear. There is a vulgar error abroad against which I wish to protest, namely, that the highly educated clergyman is not the man to deal with the poor. I do not believe it. There are many who say, "It is all very well for the clergy to preach to the middle classes and the upper ten thousand, but if you want to do good to the poor you must send out some non-conformist minister, some city missionary, or scripture reader who has never been at Oxford or Cambridge. He is the man to do good to the poor." Now I do not believe it. I believe it is the greatest fallacy. I believe that many non-conformist ministers, if the truth were told, use words far more above the comprehension of their hearers than the clergy. Superficial and half-educated men are far more apt to cover over their want of knowledge by long-winded dictionary words than men of education. We ought never to concede that either the Church of England clergyman or the Church of England Prayer-book is not admirably adapted to the wants of our country parishes. If you have the right man in the right place you will be able to meet the wants, the consciences, and the hearts of the poorest in the realm. I trust that when we go away from this Church Congress this afternoon, although we have all met together from very different schools of opinion, from our different stand-points of view, I hope all will agree in hearty love for and hearty confidence in the Church of England of which we are members. Nor do I concede for a moment that the times in which we live demand anything new in the matter of doctrine. The old Gospel of Christ is not worn out, nor is it *effete*. We only want the old truths which have been the power of God unto salvation in days gone by, and those truths put plainly, simply, and affectionately, in order to reach the hearts of men. In our country pulpits we should forget the style in which we write at Oxford and Cambridge, and endeavour to suit the intellect of the persons we address. We must speak ideas they can comprehend; use language they can understand. We should cast aside all stops except the good old full stop and the good old comma. We should never be ashamed of illustrating our sermons by anecdotes and good stories, when pertinent and reverent, if we want to gain the attention of the poor. What an example our Saviour has set us! See how he went to the ravens, the tares, the wheat, the sowers, the plough, the virgins who went forth to the wedding feast, and to the talents. We should not be ashamed to do the same thing. As St. Augustine said of old, a golden key may be a very beautiful thing to look at, but if it will not unlock the door a wooden key is much better.

THE REV. WILLIAM WALLACE: I am satisfied that it would not be by any power of my own that I could gain your attention, and therefore I will introduce you at once to a letter which the Dean of Cork has written to me, on a subject which he deems essential to the preaching in the English Church at the present time—namely, the subject of homiletic preaching. The letter of the Dean of Cork contains as follows:—

"I quite agree with you that such preaching should be much more frequent than it is. Indeed, I think that every clergyman who preaches twice on Sundays, should make one of his sermons strictly exegetical. But I would not dispense with the prepared oration, setting out and illustrating some one principle. . . . . Both seem to have their models in Scripture. St. Paul *preached* at Athens a set sermon on a theme: while more than one chapter in his Epistles is an exact model of homiletic *teaching*. Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, and indeed all His discourses, are eminently homiletic; most of the prophets are oratorical. The very best models that I know of for homiletics are St. Augustine's *Enarrationes*. They are remarkable for that *courage in repetition* of which you speak; and without this there can be no teaching of the ignorant."

The Dean then speaks of written and extempore discourses: and since the Dean of Canterbury has mentioned the volubility which is the counterfeit of extempore preaching, I shall read some remarks from the letter on this head; for in avoiding the counterfeit we may lose the real thing. It seems to me self-evident that writing is the discipline for logic and diction, but speaking is the further discipline for a preacher.

The audience has something to do with the question: "but always it should be a sermon, not an essay: a discourse, a *word*, though a written word. For an ignorant audience, or even an imperfectly educated one, I think the spoken sermon far the best. Of course I speak in either case of a carefully prepared sermon. An extempore sermon, properly so called, I imagine no conscientious minister would ever be guilty of giving. But then it is to be remembered, that there is such a thing as extempore *writing*, as well as extempore *speaking*. It is a great mistake to talk of a *written* sermon always as a *prepared* sermon. To deliver a first-rate spoken sermon is, I think, more difficult than to deliver a first-rate written one."

"Homiletic preaching, however, need not be necessarily spoken, though it would obviously better be so: allowing the preacher to reject or vary his sentences, until he has seen that he was thoroughly understood by his hearers. It would have the advantage

too of almost necessarily excluding the ambitious and formal style of preaching now so painfully common. A teacher must be plain and familiar if he is to teach at all. I am not sure that really good homiletic teaching would not be the most difficult of all styles; certainly catechising, which it comes nearest to, is one of the most difficult of all our duties to do really well."

Again, the Dean wrote, "Of the great importance of homiletic preaching, and of the fact that it is too much disused in our Church in these days, I have no doubt whatever."

This homiletic style, the conversational, how is it to be attained? The letter gives the clue. Dictate the sayings of Christ. Argue the arguments of the Apostles. To preach Christ, present His discourses: to be a preacher such as Paul, be St. Paul; reproduce his subjects, and his way of arguing them, and his illustrations. The Gospels were the catechetical instruction of the Apostles, afterwards collected. The Epistles are oral, and not one of St. Paul's was written till he was twenty years a preacher. He knew how best to inform, move, and edify the Christian body. Fill up his skeletons, not some modern teacher's; argue his arguments, not adopt some one-sided theology and thought of modern days. This was the way St. Chrysostom preached; this was the way St. Augustine preached.

But then, how are we to get congregations to listen to the lessons of Christ and the lessons of St. Paul? Let Christ and St. Paul do the work among them which they did before. Each day the minister of the Word will present it more truly, and so more fully, and so more savingly. Let the beginning, middle, and end of his work be the Word itself; then logic and rhetoric will find their place as handmaids. I have long observed that the congregations have been habituated to a style, which cuts away an ever-improving and ever-expanding exhibition of the New Testament from the reach of commencing teachers of the Church. Patience, practice, and courage will restore more health.

To dictate the sayings of Christ. To argue the arguments of Apostles. This is the way. Other things will come in course from this attempt. After speaking to all the learned men I could see about this matter, I have come to the determination to tell you that you will find the matter, the method, and the manner of preaching in the Word of God itself.

The Right Rev. the President having given the benediction, the Congress adjourned.

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### THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5th. AFTERNOON MEETING.

AT ST. PETER'S HALL.

SIR J. P. BOILEAU, BART., IN THE CHAIR.

AFTER prayer, the Chairman said: I am sure I am only giving expression to the opinions of all present in saying that, in order to preserve the regularity of the proceedings of the section, we must attend strictly to the rules which have been laid down for us by the Executive Committee. As your chairman, it will be my duty to endeavour that that shall be the effect; and I am sure that, relying on your kindness, on your indulgence, and on your support, the proceedings in this section will, with the blessing of God, be conformable to those which have already taken place in St. Andrew's Hall, and quite in keeping with the Christian duty which devolves upon us all in carrying out the great objects of our Church Congress. I have not any duty myself to perform beyond that of occupying the chair, and seeing that the rules are observed. It is a very great pleasure to me to do so, because I believe that in doing so, I show my zeal and earnestness for the welfare of this Church Congress, for the county to which I belong,

and for this ancient city. The subject to be considered this afternoon is, "The Position of the Church in Ireland;" and the first paper to be read is by the Rev. Dr. Butcher, who, I may mention, is Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin.

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## THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH IN IRELAND.

BY THE REV. S. BUTCHER.

A FULL discussion of this question would require much more time than I have now at my disposal. I shall, therefore, confine myself to a brief notice of some of the main points which it involves. These may be reduced to the following heads:—

First, What is "The Church in Ireland?"

Secondly, What functions has she to discharge?

Thirdly, How does she discharge them?

Fourthly, Could she efficiently discharge them if the Church Establishment were abolished?

Fifthly, How would such abolition affect the Church in England?

I. What is the Church in Ireland?

The earlier history of the Church in Ireland I shall not dwell upon now. It has been, over and over again, from the time of Ussher to our own day, stated and unanswerably proved that, from the remotest times of which any authentic records remain, down to the middle of the twelfth century, there existed in Ireland a national Church, independent of the See of Rome, or any other external ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever. It is unnecessary to remind you of the means whereby that once independent Church was rendered subject to the Papal See. Archdeacon Wordsworth, in his admirable speech, delivered at the meeting of the Irish Church Missions Society in London last May, summed up that sad history in a few expressive words:—"It was not until the twelfth century that Ireland was Romanized, and, to the shame of England, it was Romanized by her." The subsequent fortunes of the Church in Ireland were intimately bound up, whether for good or for evil, with those of the Church in England. Turning our attention to the benefits for which we are indebted to you, we acknowledge with gratitude that, if the Romanizing of our country was the result of English influence in the twelfth century, to England we owe the introduction of the Reformation in the sixteenth. From England we received her reformed Liturgy, soon after it was first compiled. Easter Day, 1551, holds the same place in our ecclesiastical annals that Whit Sunday, 1549, does in hers. The accession of Queen Elizabeth led to the revival of the Reformation in Ireland, as it did in England. It is an indisputable fact that, with the exception of two, the whole body of Irish bishops accepted the Elizabethan Liturgy, and renounced the authority of the Pope. And as the English Book of Common Prayer was introduced into Ireland from the first, so were the Thirty-nine Articles formally approved and adopted by the Irish Convocation of 1634. Thus, long before the Legislative Union of 1800, the two national Churches of England and Ireland had been united in doctrine,

in ritual, and in discipline, having the same translation of the Holy Scriptures, the same Articles of Religion, the same Book of Common Prayer, and a code of Canons almost identical in substance. So intimate, indeed, was their connexion felt to be, that from the time of Edward VI.,—two centuries and a half prior to the legislative Union,—we find the two Churches frequently described by the common title of “The Church of England and Ireland.” This was, in fact, the usual form of designation during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, and even so early as that of Henry VIII.; and it was not until the accession of James I. that the plural, “Churches,” began to take the place of the singular, “Church.”\*

But it was the great international treaty, which, in the year 1800, made one united *Kingdom* of Great Britain and Ireland, that established also one united *Church* of England and Ireland. It is hardly possible to conceive any form of words more solemn and perpetually binding than those in which the fifth Article of the Union is drawn up. We must be pardoned for so constantly insisting upon them: when the permanence of our ecclesiastical constitution is denied, we cannot avoid appealing to our title deeds. I wonder at, rather than envy, the casuistical skill and ingenious rhetoric of those who undertake to maintain that a solemn national compact, expressed in the plain and unambiguous words which I am about to read, is not permanently binding on the conscience, the honesty, the honour of the great English people, whose boast it has ever been, that amongst their proudest national characteristics this one shines forth in unsullied purity and splendour, “*Justitiæ soror, incorrupta Fides.*” I, for one, cannot believe that England’s “incorruptible fidelity” will ever be tarnished by juggling away the sense of such words as these:—“That the Churches of England and Ireland, *as now by law established*, be united into *one* Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called the *United Church of England and Ireland*; and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said *united* Church shall be, and shall remain in full force *for ever*, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England; and that *the continuance and preservation of the said United Church*, as the Established Church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be *an essential and fundamental part of the Union.*” One United Kingdom, one United Church,—these are interwoven as inseparable parts of the same system. And if the fifth Article of the Union may be sacrificed to supposed political expediency, then, unquestionably, the whole treaty, of which it forms “an essential and fundamental part,” must be deemed equally open to reconsideration. Those who proposed, as well as those who accepted, that treaty, understood it to be an indivisible whole: “One State, one Legislature, one Church,—these are the leading features of the system, and without identity with Great Britain in these three great points of connexion we can never hope for any real or permanent security.” These are the words of the statesman who played the chief part in bringing about the Union, Lord Castlereagh. And then he adds, with the view of silencing for ever that very objection which the enemies of our Irish Church Establishment are perpetually urging, “While we remain a

\* Vid. Primate Beresford’s Letter to the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, 1851, pp. 34, 42, 43; and Lee’s “Facts,” p. 6.

separate country, the Church will ever be liable to be impeached on local grounds. When once incorporated with the Church of England, it will be placed upon such a strong and natural foundation as to be above every apprehension and fear from adverse interest, and from all the fretting and irritating circumstances connected with our colonial situation. As soon as the Church Establishments of the two Kingdoms shall be incorporated into one Church, the Protestant will feel himself at once identified with the *population and property* of the *empire*." The permanent maintenance of the Established Church in Ireland was also a fundamental condition in the Roman Catholic Relief Bill of 1829;—a condition, moreover, not merely acquiesced in, but emphatically proclaimed, by the leaders of the Roman Catholic party at the time. Witness the following remarkable words, uttered upon oath by an eminent Roman Catholic layman, Anthony Richard Blake: "The Church is connected with the State by an indissoluble union, and must, therefore, stand or fall with it. . . . The Protestant Church is rooted in the constitution; it is established by the fundamental laws of the realm; it is rendered, as far as the most solemn acts of the Legislature can render any institution, *fundamental and perpetual*; it is so declared by the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland." Well, then, might Archdeacon Wordsworth say, in the speech to which I have already referred, "In the face of Almighty God the Parliament, in 1800, registered this vow, That it was an essential and fundamental part of the Union that there should also be a union between the Churches of England and Ireland, and that the Protestant Church of Ireland should be regarded *for ever* as the Established Church."

This, then, is what the Church in Ireland *is*,—an integral portion of the Church of the united Kingdom, and as inseparably joined to the Church in England as the internal bond of identity in doctrine, discipline, government, and worship, together with the external bond of a solemn national compact, can render it.

II. Let us now briefly consider, in the second place, What functions the Irish branch of the United Church has to discharge.

These may be reduced to two general heads, which it is very important carefully to distinguish, more especially because injudicious or designing persons have not unfrequently confounded them, or rather wholly ignored that one which is by far the more essential of the two.

1. The primary and most important function of the Irish branch of the United Church is identical with that of the English branch, viz., to provide for the religious wants and promote the spiritual and moral well-being of her own members, by the employment of the various agencies which, as a Church, she has at her command; such as the public services of the Church, parochial visiting, the religious training and moral culture of the young, &c. These are the direct and proper functions of an Established Church; in the efficient discharge of them consists her first and paramount duty; and, accordingly, the character and value of the Irish branch of the Church ought, in the first instance and mainly, to be estimated by a reference to the manner in which she acquits herself of this obligation.

2. The second, and subordinate, function of the Irish branch of the Church is to propagate the principles of the Reformation among the

Roman Catholic population of Ireland. This was doubtless one of the leading objects of the first establishment of the Anglican reformed religion in Ireland. It was deemed of the utmost importance, even in a political point of view, that Ireland should become one in religion with England. True loyalty to the English crown was looked upon as hopeless so long as the great mass of the Irish people adhered to a faith which England had just cast aside, and so long as their allegiance continued to be rendered to a foreign pontiff, whom her spiritual rebellion had converted into a deadly foe. To spread the principles of the Reformation in Ireland was, therefore, at first a great political necessity. But when, in the lapse of time, that country became more subject to English rule; when English influence pervaded more or less every portion of the land; when the members of the Established Church grew into a great community, representing almost the whole of the property and intelligence of the country, then the necessity of a *missionary* Church Establishment became less pressing, at the same time that the call for the more ordinary and normal offices of the Church became more imperative. Hence, what may have been at first a primary design of the establishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland fell into a comparatively subordinate place, and attention to the spiritual well-being of her own members became, as it ought, the chief object of the regard of the Irish Church. It is a great mistake, therefore, to represent the missionary function of the Church in Ireland to be still her primary office, and to rest her title to her position and revenues solely on the success of her polemic against Rome, and the number of converts from that communion which she can show.\* I am very far indeed from denying that a grave responsibility rests on the Church in Ireland to propagate by every suitable means the pure truth of God amongst the Romanist population, and I am sure that there is not an earnest churchman in Ireland who would not heartily co-operate in any wise and judicious plan whereby the Church, in her corporate capacity, might promote this object. But this is a matter which every one who knows anything of the peculiar circumstances of Ireland must be aware is beset with many and grave difficulties. It is possible that a formally organized and episcopally sanctioned Church-machinery of this kind might act in such a way as to defeat rather than promote its object, by arousing violent opposition on the part of the Romish hierarchy and priesthood; and, certainly, both they and the other enemies of our Church would be only too ready to charge her with bigotry and intolerance, and to clamour still more loudly for her overthrow, as the perpetuator of religious discord, and the disturber of the harmony and peace of the nation.

III. Having thus defined what are the two principal functions which the Church in Ireland has to discharge, and their relative importance, let us next inquire, for a moment, how she has discharged them.

\* At the Manchester Church Congress, in 1863, the Rev. Canon Mc Neile is reported to have said, "If Romanism be saving Christianity, then withdraw the Church of Ireland; but if Romanism be anti-Christian, then sustain it." And Mr. Goldwin Smith, in his "*Irish History and Irish Character*," p. 61, speaks of the evangelization and civilization of the *Irish* population as the *principal* work of the Irish Church, and states that the performance of that work could *alone* justify her existence.

1. And, first, as regards her missionary office. Admitting that she has not succeeded in propagating the principles of the Anglican Reformation among the native Irish as extensively as it was expected that she should have done, still, there are many causes of this failure for which the Church cannot be held responsible. In the first place, there is the *antagonism of race*, which, long before the introduction of the Reformation into Ireland, divided the nation into two Churches,—that of the Anglo-Norman conquerors, and that of the native Irish. This antipathy of race was further envenomed at the period of the Reformation by the intrusion of a foreign priesthood into Ireland, whose special mission it was,—as it has been the cherished object of their successors to the present hour,—to support the interests of the Papacy, and to oppose the spread of the Reformation by every means in their power, and, above all, by fostering the ancient hostility of the Irish race to the English name. Nor can England herself be acquitted of the charge of having,—unintentionally, doubtless, but still most materially,—impeded the progress of the Reformation in Ireland. It is sufficient, in proof of this, to refer to the well-known clause in the first Irish Act of Uniformity, 1560, than which no enactment can be well conceived more calculated to neutralize the very purpose for which the English reformed Liturgy was introduced into Ireland:—"In every church or place where the common minister or priest hath not the use of the English tongue, it shall be lawful for the same to say the matens, evensong, &c., in the *Latin* tongue." A strange mode this of evangelizing a people who knew as much of Latin as they did of Chinese! And, to come down a century and a half later, on the last occasion that the Irish Convocation was assembled, in 1711, and when the Lower House was engaged in drawing up Canons for the purpose of enabling the Church to operate more effectively on the Irish-speaking population, by the translation of the Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer into the Irish tongue, the Convocation was suppressed, mainly, it would appear, because these proceedings were not approved of by the English Government. It is somewhat hard, then, to charge upon the Established Church in Ireland neglect or apathy in disseminating the principles of the Reformation among the native Irish, when the English Parliament and the English Government have taken such decided measures to prevent it.

Still, the influence of the Church in promoting the spread of Gospel truth among the Roman Catholics of Ireland has always been great, and, perhaps, never was greater than at the present moment. There is an extensive missionary agency at work in Ireland now, carried on for the most part by Churchmen and on Church principles, which, I think, we may safely assert owes its existence and, under God, the success which it has achieved, to the Church established in that land.\*

2. And, as to the way in which the Irish branch of the United Church discharges its duties towards its own members, we fearlessly appeal to the verdict of every honest and candid inquirer, who desires to inform himself on the subject. In an assembly of English clergymen and gentlemen, it is, I am sure, needless to reply to the caricature,—too

\* See the Rev. W. C. Plunket's valuable pamphlet, "The Church and the Census," pp. 24—32; and that of the Rev. George Venables, "The Good News is True."



absurd to be offensive,—which the *Times* newspaper drew of us not long since. Did time permit, I should be glad to lay before you some authentic evidence as to the healthy state and continued progress of our Church, as indicated by the large sums of money spent, of late years, on the erection or restoration of churches, whether out of the funds of the Church itself, or contributed by the munificence of individual members of it, one splendid instance of which many of you are, I dare say, acquainted with. On this subject I gladly refer you to the admirable Charge of the Primate of Ireland, delivered at his annual visitation last year. I should like also to notice, did time allow, some misconceptions and misrepresentations, occasioned by the last census, of 1861, as to the diminution in the number of the members belonging to the Established Church in Ireland. In the Charge to which I have just referred, you will find this point also ably and convincingly discussed. I shall merely quote the result, in the words of the document itself (p. 19): “The testimony of the Census, then, is not unfavourable to us; on the contrary, it shows that the members of our Church, through many years of unprecedented trial and difficulty, have, relatively to the other sections of the community, increased in numbers. It proves, upon a fair examination, that our Church Establishment is not greater than the necessities of our people require, and their number justifies.” And this suggests another topic, to which also I can merely allude, in passing,—a topic on which the enemies of the Established Church in Ireland are never weary of dilating,—I mean its enormous revenues. It seems to be utterly in vain that the falsehoods and fallacies, so confidently asserted and industriously propagated on this attractive subject, have been, over and over again, refuted and exposed. Even a Cabinet Minister has not scrupled to reprint, very lately, certain statements, hazarded by him twenty-five years ago, and which, even at that time, were gross exaggerations, but which *now* are, literally, a ludicrous travesty of the truth. The proof of this any one may see, at the expense of a few minutes’ reading, in the excellent pamphlet recently published, in reply to Lord Russell’s statements, by the Rev. Alfred Lee.\*

It is not, I trust, necessary before this audience to adduce evidence as to the fidelity, zeal, and efficiency of the general body of the Irish clergy. The words of our late venerated Primate† might, perhaps, be supposed to be tinged with partiality;—“The clouds that now overhang and darken the prospects of the Irish Church may not be dispelled before my eyes are closed in death; nevertheless, I shall bless God that the Church which I leave in earthly troubles and adversity is in a state of spiritual health, and life, and order, and devotedness, such as, I believe, never adorned it at any former period of its history.” But no such suspicion can attach to the testimony of the Archdeacon of Westminster:‡ “Notwithstanding the assaults from without, continued for many centuries, notwithstanding her perils from within, the Church of Ireland still survives. . . . Long may she continue to do so! She has been tried in the furnace of adversity, and even her bitterest foes have lauded her patience and her love. And she not only survives, but we do not scruple to add, that now, in the nineteenth century, after

\* See also the able exposure of Lord Russell’s statements by the Right Hon. James Whiteside, M.P., in his Lectures on “The Church of Ireland,” pp. 154—156.

† Charge, 1846.

‡ Wordsworth, “Lectures on the Irish Church,” p. 292.

so many difficulties and afflictions, the Church of Ireland bears more tokens of vitality, and shows more signs of efficiency, than she has done for a thousand years." Nay, Mr. Gladstone, himself, admitted in the House of Commons \* that "all were agreed that the Irish clergy were zealous and devoted ministers, given to the high purposes of their sacred functions in a degree not inferior, probably, to any portion of the Christian Church."

Such are some of the testimonies to which we refer in answer to the question, How does the Established Church in Ireland discharge her duties? The verdict of every unprejudiced man will, I am bold to say, be, that she has not betrayed her trust, and that she exhibits an earnestness, energy, and faithfulness worthy of the sacred cause in which she is engaged. And be it remembered that her position and prospects have, for many years, been such as might well damp the ardour and paralyze the exertions of even the most energetic men, had they not been supported by the consciousness that they were doing God's work. Threatened, year after year, in Parliament and out of it, with extinction, maligned by her enemies, treated coldly or contemptuously by many who ought to be her friends, our Church has had little encouragement to initiate or carry out those measures of improvement, for the non-accomplishment of which she is perpetually taunted by the very men who actively seek her overthrow, or are prepared tacitly to acquiesce in it.

IV. And this brings me, in the fourth place, to consider for a moment, whether the Church in Ireland could efficiently discharge her functions if her Establishment were overthrown, her endowments confiscated, and she herself compelled to have recourse to the voluntary system for the maintenance of her churches and the support of her clergy. I have no hesitation whatever in declaring my conviction that she *could not*. Her vitality, indeed, would not be destroyed,—God forbid! *That*, I trust, depends upon influences which political expediency and parliamentary majorities cannot affect. Her clergy,—such of them, that is, as means might still be found to support,—would, doubtless, continue to labour on faithfully, zealously, devotedly, in their Master's cause: but it is equally certain that her energies would be enfeebled; that her power of working out the principles on which the parochial system is based would be crippled; that the authority which she now possesses as a great State institution would be impaired; and that the influence which her present position enables her to exert on the religious condition of all denominations of Protestants, and on the social well-being of all classes of the community, would be much diminished. It may, indeed, be said, that the members of her communion are comparatively few in number, and wealthy enough to provide religious ministrations for themselves, as the Roman Catholics do altogether, and the Protestant Dissenters for the most part. But it must not be forgotten that the main support of the clergy of the Irish Church is at present derived from a rent-charge upon land; and we are told, on the highest authority (that of Mr. Gladstone), that, if the Church were disendowed to-morrow, not one penny of this rent-charge would belong to the owners of the land, but that it would all become forthwith the property of the

\* Debate on Mr. Dillwyn's Motion, March 28th, 1865.

State, to be applied to any purposes, educational or other, that Parliament might determine. Now, would the landowners, with this State tax on their estates, increased, be it remembered, by the twenty-five per cent. which they now receive out of the clergyman's rent-charge,—would they, *as a body*, be disposed to contribute voluntarily to the adequate support of the rural clergy, the maintenance of churches, &c.? Would they be willing, in effect, to increase very considerably the sum which they already pay? Those who imagine that they would, take a very different view of the matter from that which, I confess, I feel myself compelled to take.

And, in connection with this, another very grave consideration suggests itself. It is notorious that, in consequence of the many new openings now presented to young men for advancement in life, the supply of candidates for the Ministry has been gradually diminishing, and already falls considerably short of the demand. Let our Church be deprived of her endowments; let her dignities be abolished; let her clergy be reduced to the condition of dependents on the good-will or fancy of their congregations; let precarious, voluntary contributions be substituted for the certain, however small, emoluments which they now receive, and, I am persuaded, the ranks of the Irish clergy, if recruited at all, must be so from a class of men far below the present standard in social position, in intellectual ability, and in educational culture. How calamitous to the Church, to Ireland, and to the United Kingdom such a result would be, it needs no argument to prove.

There is one point more, directly bearing, as it does, on the social well-being of Ireland, which should not be overlooked in discussing the question of the abolition of the Church Establishment. The parochial clergy constitute a body of educated gentlemen, resident in every portion of the country, spending their incomes in the places whence they are derived, and, by their example no less than their teaching, exerting a powerful moral influence on those around them. In not a few cases the clergyman is the only resident gentleman in the parish, and his income the chief or only portion of the landlord's rents spent among the people. If the abolishing of the Church Establishment would go far (as I am persuaded it would) towards annihilating this important element of civilization and social improvement, it suggests matter for grave reflection to those who profess great zeal for the material well-being and social advancement of the people of Ireland, and at the same time clamour for the sweeping away of the Establishment, as a national grievance and disgrace.

V. I come, in the last place, to the question, How would the abolition of the Church Establishment in Ireland affect the condition of the Established Church in England? Some persons dismiss this consideration very summarily, with the simple and easy assertion, that the two parts of the *nominally* united Church stand upon very different foundations; and that the destruction of the weaker portion would rather confirm than impair the stability of the stronger. But I believe, on the contrary, that no thoughtful man, who calmly and dispassionately weighs the question, can avoid coming to the conclusion, that the overthrow of the Irish branch of the Church would be a measure fraught with peril to the English branch also. With the great principle, not only theoretically admitted but practically exemplified, that enterprising

statesmen, backed by a sufficient parliamentary majority, may dispose of the property of the Church as they see fit, without any regard either to the purposes for which that property was originally bestowed, the length of time during which it has been enjoyed, or the solemn national compacts by which it is secured, the English Church would soon find herself assailed by a phalanx of powerful and indefatigable opponents; and she would learn, perhaps too late, that, in sacrificing her Irish sister, she had inflicted a deadly wound upon herself, and that in giving up what she conceived to be an useless and troublesome appendage, she had really abandoned an outwork the loss of which rendered her own position no longer defensible. Nor may it be wholly out of place here to glance at some further possible consequences, to England, of the destruction of the Irish branch of the Church. If to the deep-rooted and, as many think, wide-spread disaffection which prevails in Ireland among persons whom this sacrifice would not in the slightest degree propitiate, there were added discontent and alienation on the part of the Protestants, with whom the most solemn engagements had been made and broken, the bond of union between the two countries would receive a shock, the violence and peril of which it would not be easy to exaggerate. Upon this point our modern reformers would do well to take heed to the warning voice of the great statesmen of the last generation. These are the words of one of the most sagacious of them all, Lord Plunket:—"He had no hesitation in saying that he considered the Established Church the great bond of union between the two countries; and if ever that unfortunate moment should arrive when they should rashly lay their hands on the property of the Church to rob it of its rights, that *would seal the doom and separate the connection between the two countries.*" Some, at least, of our present statesmen seem to be alive to this danger. Thus, the Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, in the debate on the Irish Church in 1863, declared: "It is impossible to get rid of the fact, that this Church has existed for centuries, has become interwoven with the constitution of this country, and could not be subverted *without a revolution:*" and, with still greater emphasis, if possible, the same statesman, in the debate on the same subject this year, declared it to be his belief, "that the abolition of the Irish Church could not be carried without entailing upon Ireland all the horrors of a revolution; and that no practical evil existed which could call for redress at the cost of a great shock to all the laws and institutions of the country."

These are solemn words, and deserve to be pondered by adventurous statesmen and others, who contemplate the overthrow of our Church with a calm and complacent air. It would, doubtless, gratify a few noisy agitators; it would please many political dissenters, democrats, and philosophical theorists; it would be hailed with shouts of triumph by the hereditary foes of the reformed faith and of the English name; but all this would be dearly purchased by the violation of a solemn international treaty, by the alienation of a large body of the loyal inhabitants of Ireland, by "a great shock given to all the laws and institutions of the realm," and by the peril to which it would inevitably expose the remaining branch of the dismembered Church.

## THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH IN IRELAND.

BY THE RIGHT HON. JOSEPH NAPIER.

THE lucid and complete statement of my friend Dr. Butcher, has made me more apprehensive of saying too much than too little on this important subject. I have kept steadily in view the exact terms in which the Committee have proposed it for discussion.

The Church in Ireland is a part of the "one Catholic and Apostolic Church;" it is also a part of the Church of England and Ireland by law established.

"It is a well known fact," says the Dean of Chichester, (in his Sermon on the Catholic Clergy of Ireland,) "that of all countries of Europe, there was not one in which the process of the Reformation was carried on so regularly, so canonically, and so quietly, as in Ireland." The Archdeacon of Westminster has added the weight of his authority. Mr. Gladstone is not less explicit. Having vindicated the course of the Reformation in England, he proceeds to say: "The case of Ireland is *providentially yet more simple*, as there was in that kingdom a much smaller difference of opinion among the rulers of the Church."\*

The agreement of the Church in England and Ireland was made complete in 1634. In the convocation that was convened in Dublin in that year, under Archbishop Ussher as president, in which Bramhall and Bedell took an active part, the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion and the reformed Liturgy of the Church of England were canonically adopted by that national Synod, "being the representative body of the Church of Ireland, in the name of Christ, and by the King's authority, lawfully assembled."

An attempt has been made to displace our Church from her historical position, by falsely asserting that she was organized at the time of the Reformation, and was then put in the place of the Church which had been theretofore in possession.

There was not at any stage of the Reformation or in the Convocation of 1634, and there is not now, one Bishop of our Reformed Church, whose title cannot be traced in strict succession from the ancient Church of Ireland. There is not a fault to be found throughout the line of connection.

What is the meaning of a title by succession? It is this. That the hierarchy, at each successive stage of transmission, have derived their office from their predecessors by the canonical mode of continuing that office. And what is the testimony of authentic records as to the succession in the Reformed Church? It is summed up by Mr. Evelyn Philip Shirley in the preface to his volume of State Papers relating to the Church in Ireland. "It is evident," he says, "that although from the distracted state of the times, the Reformation was necessarily very imperfectly carried out in Ireland, the true succession of Bishops in the Church was ever preserved, and that *solely* in the line of prelates acknowledged by the State. The Romish intruders into their dioceses

\* "Church and State," vol. ii. p. 124 (4th edit.)

have derived their orders from Italy and Spain, AND NOT FROM THE IRISH CHURCH."

Thus, by an appeal to history, we establish the connexion of the Reformed Church with the early Church of Christ in rightful possession of the country; and by an appeal to Holy Scripture we show that her doctrine, discipline, and government are conformable thereto. In our fundamental laws, they are described as "*permanent and inviolable*."

She is confronted by the Church of the Papacy. What is its history, and whence comes its doctrine? Its hierarchy were imported into Ireland after the Reformation; its creed was unknown to the Church before the decrees of the Council of Trent. It neither submitted to the king's supremacy nor to the king's ecclesiastical law. It had not any connexion with the Catholic Church of Ireland before or after the Reformation.

It was a leading object of the Papacy to regain an influence in England. The intrusive settlement in Ireland was a step in that direction. It was not less a political than a religious movement. The imperfect conquest of Ireland; the rude condition of the people; hostility of race and other enmities, enabled the emissaries and allies of Rome to disturb English dominion and mar the work of the Reformation. The difference of its progress in the two countries is explained by the circumstances peculiar to each. Within the last month, I saw a cedar from Lebanon, with its stately trunk spreading its branches freely on one side, but the other was bare. A furtive shrubbery had intruded upon it, in the early stages of its growth, stopped its expansion and spoiled its symmetry. Still it was a lordly tree and cumbered not the ground. When I reflect on the history of Ireland, on the periods of civil war and confiscation, of disaffection and misrule, of folly and of crime; and then consider the shortness of the time in which the Church has had any thing like freedom and fair play; and when I observe what she has done and what she is now doing, I thank God and take courage.\*

[Circumstances do not change the nature of truth, nor can they alter the mission of the Church of Christ. But the pressure of circumstances may produce a peculiar effect. When an extreme is before us to which we are averse, we are liable to fall into the opposite towards which we may be naturally inclined. We neglect the moral and the religious safeguards which might protect us from the danger to which we are really exposed, whilst we are intent on avoiding that from which we are safe.

In controversy with the Church of Rome, we are sometimes tempted to forget what we owe to the Church to which we belong; we stunt our religious sympathies and narrow our religious creed. When we contend against the political system of Rome, the loyalty that we cherish as a principle may be changed into a passion.

In controversy with the nonconformist, we are liable to exaggerate the importance of Church membership and to forget the claims of inward personal religion.

The Church in Ireland is more exposed to the former temptation;

\* "The attempt has not been made until within a period comparatively very recent (thank God it has commenced) to ascertain what results will follow from the general proclamation of Scriptural religion throughout Ireland."—*Gladstone on C. & S.*, vol. ii. p. 16 (4th edition.)

the Church in England, to the latter. It is easy to see how the difference might be instructive to the members of the Church in both countries, if they would "follow after the things wherewith one may edify another." Economic laws require that every civilized country should contribute to the world's market. Stars that differ in magnitude and glory, cluster in those masses of light which brighten and beautify the vault of heaven.]

I have now to deal with the position of the Church in Ireland as a part of the Church of England and Ireland, established by law. When the Anglo-Norman dynasty was extended to Ireland, the Church in possession coalesced with the State, so far as the English rule prevailed. There was (as in England) a submission to the King as supreme; an acceptance of the king's ecclesiastical law, to the exclusion of foreign law and jurisdiction; and an allowance of the king's prerogative in naming and placing bishops and other dignitaries. There was a system of territorial division, to facilitate the Church's ministrations; and she was enabled to acquire property, and hold it in her corporate character, as a permanent provision for the discharge of perpetual duties.

In both countries the State co-operated with the Church in the work of the Reformation. Her Articles of Religion, her Book of Common Prayer, and of the Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, were established by the law of the State. The corporate continuity of the Church was not broken. The fiction of the transfer of property from the Papal to the Reformed Church, is another version of the story about the substitution of the latter Church for the former at the time of the Reformation. The Church by law established, before and since that period, has been one and the same body corporate, and as such is entitled to the Church's property.

It may be asked—Is there anything peculiar in the position of the Church in Ireland with reference to property? I know of nothing except this, that all her wants are supplied out of her own separate estate, supplemented by voluntary contributions. There is not any compulsory rate or tax levied for her support, save and except the tax imposed upon the incomes of the bishops and the beneficed clergy. If any part of her temporalities should be confiscated to-morrow, who is to be the gainer?

Land is let tithe-free. The rent reserved is paid by the tenant for the use of the land. A fixed portion of it belongs to the incumbent or to the lay impropriator, to whom the landlord pays seventy-five per cent. of that portion, and retains twenty-five per cent. as a bonus allowed for collection. In paying that part, he can no more be said to pay out of his own pocket, than the tenant can be said to pay his rent out of his own pocket. When a sale is made under the Landed Estates Court, the land is sold subject to the rent-charge, so that the title of the Church is as indefeasible as the law can make it.

The great majority of proprietors, liable to pay rent-charge, are members of the Church; but if it were otherwise, it could not change a question of right into one of religion. If it could, the title of an absentee Protestant proprietor to his rental might be assailed, or an objection made to the free gift of any part of his rents to the support of a Church on his estate. Suppose that on some part of the Irish estates of the Duke of Devonshire, of the Marquis of Lansdowne, or

of the Earl of Derby, the income of the Church should be confiscated, and that the proprietor should come forward with the offer of an endowment, in order to preserve the benefit of the Church's ministrations to the Protestant families in the district. If some one should object—"Does not this endowment come out of the rents mainly paid by Roman Catholic tenants?"—the answer is ready—"Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?"

But politicians try to make capital out of the Church's position, by proposing to appropriate to public secular purposes, what they are pleased to call "*the surplus*" of her property. They admit that "*the spiritual instruction of the members of the Church ought to be fully provided for,*" and that disposes of every appropriation scheme. Thirty years have almost elapsed since the then Lord Althorp openly confessed to the House of Commons, that "upon the subject of the revenues of the Irish Church, greater exaggerations existed than upon any other political topic that had ever come under his consideration." Mr. Justice Shee, a Roman Catholic, when he was a member for an Irish county, proposed in 1854, to re-adjust the Church Establishment in Ireland, and after a searching discussion the available income of the Church was found to be insufficient to meet the wants which (he admitted) ought to be provided, as a matter of right, for the Church population. Thus, "even our enemies themselves being judges," the deficiency was real and the surplus was imaginary. Since that time our demands have increased, and our income has been substantially diminished by the loss of what was called Ministers' Money.

The fact of liberal voluntary contributions for Church purposes, which have of late been increasing from year to year; the building and endowment of new, and the enlargement of old churches, and the provision for additional curates in many districts where their aid is urgently required, is a practical proof that the conclusion at which the House of Commons arrived, was right. The parochial agency is most valuable where the district is large and the population scattered, and that is the condition of many of the Irish benefices. From the nature of the soil and other local incidents, they were made of very wide extent, so as to provide an income for the incumbent. What is called civilly a parish, is often but a small portion of one of these benefices. In seventy-six of them, there are 575 civil parishes. The smallness of the income and the superficial extent make it necessary to have help afforded. This is peculiarly the case in the West of Ireland.

But cases are sometimes selected in which the income seems to be in excess of the requirements of the benefice, and then it is asked, "What do you say to that?" First—I say it is not peculiar to Ireland. I undertake to find case for case in Wales, and in England. Next, I say—that for one case of excess in Ireland, I will undertake to show three at least of deficiency (and I keep below the mark), where valuable labours are grossly underpaid. Nearly one-third of all the benefices are under £150 a year, and do not average £110. Nearly one-half are under £200 a year, and two-thirds are under £300 a year. There are, out of 1,510, but 72 above £600 a year. If you can suggest a plan for a more equitable adjustment *without unsettling the foundation of the parochial system*, I will give it a cordial support. But before you deprive a district of the benefit of the local expenditure, and of the residence of an incumbent with his household; before you cut off your Protestant



brethren, where they are few and far between, from ministrations which they may not be able otherwise to provide ; be very clear and very sure that you can turn to a better account the small surplus which you shall have obtained at so much sacrifice.

How do you propose to apply it ? Will you transfer it to a benefice where there are more Protestants ? But may you not deprive more in the one place than you supply in the other ? Will you give it to increase the revenue of the State for general purposes ? That seems to me the worst form of confiscation. You do not thereby benefit the tenant, who must pay his reserved rent ; nor the landlord who may lose the bonus of twenty-five per cent., and must at least pay the seventy-five ; nor the district, for it loses the local expenditure, and the other benefits of the residence of the incumbent. You use the parochial system in order to create a demand, and then you proceed to cut off the means of supply.

As to anomalies and defects in the system, which admit of a judicious remedy, I am ready to say with Hooker—"We are no patrons of those things, the best defence whereof is speedy redress and amendment. That which is of God we defend to the uttermost of that ability which He hath given ; that which is otherwise, let it wither even in the root, from whence it hath sprung."\* But I believe that it is vital to the National Church to uphold the parochial system *in its essence*, as the basis of Church ministration. In that respect the Church differs from voluntary associations which adopt the congregational system. They follow the law of demand and supply : the Church obeys a higher law ; she follows the commandment of Christ. Temporalities and the territorial system are but means. If, with the view of making the means more available, you begin with the reduction of excess, you are bound to proceed with the supply of deficiency. What can be more important than to have the ministry of the Church supplied with competent and well-educated men ? We have to deal with problems of intelligence as well as of ignorance. It is a matter of the highest policy so to connect the Church with the property of the country, as to have her ranks recruited by a class of men above the low ambition of mere priestly influence, and able to uphold the authority of religion. If we consider the mixed motives by which men are actuated, we may expect the character of the clergy gradually to sink, if the temporalities of the Church are not kept in proportion to the state of society. Men who have been disciplined by education ; men who might be the seasoning (if not the salt) of society, cannot *in general* be expected to turn from the prizes of the State and the prospects of other professions, for an underpaid benefice in the Church. Still less can we expect that parents, who secure to their sons a liberal and expensive education, should not desire to see them afterwards in a position of comparative independence. You may tell me that this is a secular view of the matter ; but I tell you that it is true to human nature. If the provision in the Church is not adequate to secure the services of men whose influence might tell upon the community, depend upon it she will be supplied with inferior men, unsuited to their station, and unequal to the crisis through which she has yet to pass. Priestly assumption would be natural to such men, and the Church of the Reformation might sink into a narrow sectarianism. Whatever surplus can be saved, without injustice to parishioners or

\* Book ii. chap. 1. s. 1.

incumbents; whatever supplement can be had from any quarter, is not likely to be more than adequate to meet the wants of the Church in Ireland. I have not entered upon an argument of figures and averages. They are used by our enemies, who exaggerate and falsify, and from their own fallacies extract the principles on which they rely. My object has been to deal with principles that do not fluctuate, and to apply them to the circumstances in which we are placed.

I have sought to show that the Church in Ireland rests upon the basis of Christ's institution; that she has a historic life; that she has been connected with the State from the beginning of the Anglo-Norman rule; that she holds her property by a prescriptive title in order to enable her to execute the trust committed to her charge.

At the period of the Union, the Churches of England and Ireland were one in doctrine, discipline, and government, connected with the State under the same conditions, and alike subject to the King's Majesty, as, under God, the supreme governor, *in foro exteriori*. It was of great importance to England as well as to Ireland to have the two realms united in one, and their union was based upon that of the two National Churches. A Christian State connected with the Church in both countries, could not, without apostacy, have renounced that connection in either. The position of the United Church as National, has been settled by the treaty of Union. Civil and religious freedom has been secured to all the liege subjects of the Crown. As a *minority* of the whole, the Roman Catholics have been relieved from disabilities. As an *integral* part of the *majority*, the Protestants of Ireland have been put in an improved position. "A common form of faith (says Mr. Gladstone) binds the Irish Protestants to ourselves, while they, upon the other hand, are fast linked to Ireland, and thus they supply the most natural bond of connection between the countries." \* Equality of protection to the two branches of the National Church of England and Ireland, is as fully secured as the faith of international treaty and the fundamental laws of the realm can bind the public conscience. It is provided for by the Act of Union with Scotland, stereotyped in the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, included in the Coronation Oath, imbedded in the Act of Roman Catholic Emancipation, and recognized in the Clerical Subscription Act of the present year, as also in the latest canons of the provinces of Canterbury and York.

If Ireland is an integral portion of this United Protestant Kingdom, then, to put the Protestants of Ireland in a minority, is to disregard the treaty of Union. Even as a minority, they are to be weighed as well as counted.

On the 21st June, in the year 1850, the late Mr. Sheil, a Roman Catholic, an Irishman, the friend and associate of O'Connell, said in the House of Commons:—"When I reflect upon the great things which have been achieved by the Protestants of Ireland; when I consider how much genius, how much wisdom, how much eloquence, how

\* C. and S. vol. ii. p. 15, (4th edit.) The sentence which follows is this—"But if England by overthrowing their Church should weaken their moral position, they would be no longer able, perhaps no longer willing, to counteract the desires of the majority tending under the direction of their leaders (however by a wise policy removable from that fatal course) to what is termed national independence." He might have added—What support in Parliament could the Church of England (*as such*) then expect to gain from Irish representatives?

much virtue, and how much valour; how many great statesmen, great writers, great thinkers, great speakers, and most surpassing soldiers, have issued from a minority so comparatively small, I cannot withhold my admiration. Influenced by these feelings, I deprecate, as strenuously as any man here can do, the infliction of the slightest wrong to the religious feelings of the Protestants of Ireland." I believe he expressed the sentiments of not a few of the Roman Catholic laity.

The argument of numbers must be applied to *every* parish in England and Wales, if it is admissible in *any* in Ireland; and I need not tell you what must follow. If a numerical majority is to become the sandy basis of the established Church in England, must it not ultimately lead to the establishment of the Church of Rome in Ireland? Is our Church to remain national, established by the State as the Church of Christ, with its historical and scriptural title, or is it to be dealt with merely as a voluntary sect?

It is well that we should be taught to maintain the principles on which *alone* either branch of the Church can stand secure. Would the Church of Rome, which, unlike every other, usurps secular dominion, stoop to the argument of numbers or to the cry of religious equality, were it not for the end which she seeks to accomplish? \* For that she combines with the Liberation Society of England, to depose a true Church in connexion with a free state, the great hindrance to her desired supremacy. Ought not the union of Church and State to be most firmly upheld where the pressure of Ultramontaniam is the most severe? It has a State policy as well as a Church organization. Let England remember the words of her great Bishop (Butler)—"In process of time, amidst the infinite vicissitudes of the political world, the leaders of parties will certainly be able to serve themselves of that superstition, whatever it be, which is getting ground, and will not fail to carry it on to the utmost length their occasions require. The general nature of the thing shows this, and history and fact confirm it. But what brings the observation home to ourselves is, that the great superstition, of which this nation in particular has reason to be afraid, is imminent, and the ways in which we may, very supposably, be overwhelmed by it, obvious." †

On the other hand, there are lawful ways now open, by which we may, in God's set time, overwhelm the adversary with the light and the liberty of the Gospel. *Sursum Corda!* We have a Church that holds a providential position—as a standing and accredited witness for the truth of God, and a national homage to Christianity. That position she cannot abdicate. If I look merely at the place she occupies in our social system in Ireland; the influence which she exercises for the good of the people at large, softening what she cannot subdue, and instructing by multiplied example, I should say, in all the sincerity of my heart, "Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it." Changes which are passing over Ireland must open fresh occasions for kindly and useful offices, which the parochial minister, who seeks to be "a living epistle, known and read of all men," can turn to good account, and which the people can and will appreciate. Christianity is greater than controversy. It may be well to confute those "who say they are

\* See the Encyclical Letter of 8th December, 1864, especially prop. 60 and 78.

† Sermons, p. 218, Oxf. Ed. See also p. 282.

apostles and are not;" but it is better still, to cherish "the first love" and "do the first works." "To maintain and set forth, as much as lieth in you, quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people," is a pledge which the Church exacts from her priests, in words of tenderness and solemn obligation. May God enable them to fulfil it diligently! Her position in Ireland, from the time that she emerges into the light of history, appears to have been of His divine appointment. At the end of fourteen hundred years she stands like the everlasting hills, scourged by the storms of earth, but brightened by the smiles of heaven. Through times of darkness and convulsion, through much tribulation and through fiery trial, she has been preserved by God's help and goodness; cleansed and defended by His continual pity.

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## THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH IN IRELAND.

BY THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF EMLÝ.

I wish to illustrate the position of the Irish Church, as a Church by the grace of God, rather than as an Establishment by the right of national compacts. We have no immediate fear for our establishment: we have no ultimate fear for our Church. But there are certain circumstances of our position, and certain impressions of our ecclesiastical character, which appear to chill the sympathies of English Churchmen towards us, and to render their recognition of us at times distant and hesitating. Some of these I shall now consider. In the first place, then, we are constantly reminded, even by those who are not unfriendly to us, that after three centuries of establishment, we are still in a minority, something less than 700,000 Churchmen to four millions and a-half of Roman Catholics. This, of course, is a fact and a formidable fact. But there are three important qualifications of our minority. It is influential, it has gained relatively in numbers, it is likely to gain still more. When we analyse the elements of which our minority is composed, we find that it comprises a majority of the landed proprietors, of the professional and upper mercantile classes. It preponderates in the intelligence and property of the country. It is beyond contradiction that the census of 1861, compared with that of 1834, shows a relative increase in our favour. The force of this fact, on behalf of the Irish Church, is evaded by two arguments. It is maintained that famine and emigration have been the sole factors in this change, and that religion must be eliminated from the list of its determining causes. It is further asserted that our emigrants do not, in any appreciable degree, represent the proportion of the home population, being almost exclusively Roman Catholics. Those who have read Mr. Plunket's paper, delivered before a previous Congress, will scarcely be disposed to admit that religion has had absolutely nothing to do with the matter.

As for the second assertion. It is sometimes convenient to erase Ulster from the map of Ireland. I will mention one fact. The Church population of the Diocese of Derry and Raphoe, by the census of 1834, was 83,857. In 1861 it had fallen to 65,603. How is it that, allowing 5,000 for Wesleyans returned as Churchmen in 1834, but separately in 1861, one of the most prolific stocks in the world has lost twenty per cent. in the last

twenty-seven years? Certainly by emigration. In one parish which I know, 82 souls out of 450, who composed its Church population five years ago, have emigrated. The fact of our relative advance since 1834 may therefore be looked upon as one which, when fairly questioned, gives an answer which is favourable to the Irish Church. Our Church is likely to gain still more. Men may tell us that they suspect the statistics of proselytism. They can hardly mistake the tendencies of modern civilization. In Europe there may be certain thin but noisy side-eddies to Rome. The whole broad current of popular impulses sweeps, perhaps perilously, to the opposite bank. There is no reason to suppose that Ireland will be left alone in Europe. Upon the front of the Irish Church may be written the words in which the Roman historian accounts for the amplitude of the walls of Rome in proportion to the scantiness of its population—"In spem futuræ multitudinis." I may cite the late Sir Robert Peel as having, in the year 1835, distinctly anticipated the probability of an expansion of the Irish Church. Referring to the removal of civil disabilities, to the rectification of abuses in the Establishment, and to the heroism with which the Irish clergy had borne undeserved wrong, Sir Robert Peel said;—"If there have been causes in operation, up to a very recent period, which have prevented the growth and expansion of Protestantism, and if those causes are no longer operative, you are not justified in arguing from the experience of the past, in appropriating a surplus, which might not be necessary for the wants of the Church if the past were to continue, but which may be now, or may become, necessary for the spiritual wants of the Irish people."

In addressing an assemblage of English Churchmen, we may surely be permitted to take higher ground on the question of our minority. We may say to them—In the name of fairness and of truth, do not make quite so much of this question of numbers. Do you find it so easy a task so expeditious a process, to overcome the power of prejudice, and to undo the negligence of the past? Do the Baptists, Independents, and Methodists come flying to your churches, like doves to their windows? It is natural, perhaps, but surely it is dangerous, to apply the habits of thought, which you have learned in popular assemblies, to such issues as those which are at stake in Ireland. Let the watchword of English Churchmen be truth, and not a majority. Let them weigh arguments, not count heads. When the Irish Church is in danger of being weighed down in the balance, let them throw into the scale her truer succession and her purer faith. But not only in point of numbers, in all other circumstances which indicate ecclesiastical growth, we are frequently charged with being stationary and unprogressive. Listen to a few facts. I have had an opportunity lately of analysing an unpublished Visitation Book, drawn up by Dr. William King, Bishop of Derry, (better known as Archbishop of Dublin) in 1693. There were only thirty-nine churches in his diocese, fifteen of which had been destroyed by neglect, and were but partially repaired. The "conformable" in all the parishes, but four or five, are enumerated, some say exaggerated, by Archbishop King. They were about 3,200—I assume 1,600 as the contemporary church population of Raphoe. This gives us in the two dioceses of Raphoe and Derry, in the year 1693, 4,800 members of the Church, scattered over an immense area of country, with few churches, fewer schools, yet fewer resident ministers. Pass over about five generations, and come to the episcopate of Bishop Higgin. Since 1854, the cathedral has been completely restored, ten new churches built,

five parish churches rebuilt, five enlarged, twenty-one refitted. There were, in 1861, 65,603 members of the Church in the united dioceses. The attendance of worshippers in church on Sunday averaged 16,844; monthly communicants, 3,246; children attending schools superintended, or statedly visited by clergy, 21,045; children in Church Sunday-schools, 9,327. The Bishop confirmed 13,226 children between 1855 and 1865. The statistics of the dioceses of Down, Connor, and Dromore are at least equally gratifying. I can only refer to two points.—The Bishop confirmed 9,331 at his last two confirmations. The population in 1834 was—Established Church, 136,650; Roman Catholic, 230,304; in 1861, Church, 153,467: Roman Catholic, 215,832. So that while the Roman Catholics have *decreased* by 6.2 per cent., the Church has *increased* by 12.3 per cent.

Passing from particular and, no doubt, favourable specimens, to a more general survey, I may mention the following statistics as illustrative of Church progress. The clergy of England since 1831 have only increased in the proportion of 6.6 per cent. The Irish clergy have increased 18.8 per cent. Consider one other fact. In 1726 there were but 141 glebe houses in Ireland. There are now 978, or an increase of 837 in 138 years. Civilization in every community is of no spontaneous growth. Even after it has been introduced, it is a creeping plant, which languishes without support. Those who, like Archbishop Whately, have observed that in Ireland “a sort of nucleus of civilization is formed by the house of a clergyman”—who have remarked how the moral influence of the Irish Church is wafted beyond her own pale, in the beautiful language of Mr. Napier, “softening what she cannot subdue,” will understand the momentous social importance of this increase of residences in a country like Ireland. It has indeed been said that if those who directed the Government of England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, could look down the vista of time and see the result of their labours for the Irish Church, their disappointment would be intense. With all respect, I know not whether it be very wise or very reverent to evoke the passionless dead, and cite them before the wrangling bar of our controversies. Possibly in their severer light, other institutions beside the Irish Church may appear unsatisfactory. But there were those who knew more of the state of religion at that time and subsequently, than English statesmen. And if Bedell, who summed up the condition of the churches over which he presided in two words, “very miserable;” if Bramhall, or Jeremy Taylor, or King, could revisit the dioceses over which they watched so well; we may be allowed to conjecture that their surprise would partake of the character of joy.

There is, I think, a general impression against us among English Churchmen on the score of undue neglect of the externals of religion. Something is, in fairness, to be set down to the poverty of our country. Something is to be attributed to the intense jealousy of Romanism, not unnaturally felt among a population, whose fathers more than once encountered Rome with sharper controversial weapons than syllogisms. Something, it is to be candidly confessed, is our own fault. It is, however, much to be wished that those who find fault with us would consider the size of our parishes. The average of each of 68 incumbencies in Derry is 16,035 statute acres with 639 parishioners; in Raphoe, of 41 incumbencies, 21,221 acres, with 543 parishioners. When the clergyman of such a parish is asked what Church-work he is doing, he may not unreasonably answer that he is walking seven miles to visit sick parishioners, or driving eight to hold services for those who are unable to attend a distant church. Yet we are improving

rapidly even in externals. We no more pump cold water out of our churches than, as a rule, we pump hot water into them. In the last ten years, the Irish Ecclesiastical Commissioners have received more than £100,000 voluntary private subscriptions for building and enlarging churches. Since 1848, 114 churches have been built by them, on new sites, or rebuilt upon old; 172 enlarged and improved. This does not nearly represent the whole extent of the case. Many churches besides these have been built entirely by private generosity. In addition to St. Patrick's Cathedral, restored at a cost of £150,000, by one who "as a king gave to the King," three cathedrals have been completely restored, and three more are in process of restoration.

From the externals of religion, I may turn for a moment to those substantial proofs of a Church's life, which are to be found among its people and its clergy. The Irish clergy have their witness in hundreds of virtuous communities. I was myself the rector of a parish with 1,200 church people, where for five years I only baptised one illegitimate child. This may be attributed to the superior purity of the Celtic temperament. But then the people of whom I speak were the descendants of Scotch and English settlers. The Irish clergy have their witness also in the general character of the emigrants who leave our shores. Of these, a Canadian Bishop has stated that of all who came to his diocese, none were such steady men, and none such sound churchmen, as emigrants from the North of Ireland. Of the general character of the Irish clergy, it would not become one of themselves to speak. As a graduate of Oxford, however, I may be permitted to express my admiration and my envy of the Dublin Theological School. It is a general source of regret that in Oxford and Cambridge, with the noble exuberance of their intellectual life almost running to waste, no real effort is made to imbue their students with a taste for Scientific Theology, or almost to impart its very elements. The Dublin course extends over two years. Its system is a combination of the professional and tutorial. The Trinitarian Controversy, Pearson, Ecclesiastical History, the principles of Biblical Criticism and Dogmatic Theology, are included even in the compulsory course of study. It is generally said at Oxford that a Theological School is impossible; it is found possible in Dublin. The University has had her reward. I do not say that the Irish clergy are equal in scholarship to the English. The latter are about eight times our number. They should produce, and no doubt do produce, eight times our number of distinguished men. But at all events the Theological School saves a vast number of young men from the ruin of falling into error, or the anguish of blundering into truth. Whatever our faults, none of those fires which have scathed the Church in the last twenty-five years, have been lighted by our hands. We may point with some satisfaction to the shelf, which contains the not very numerous works of standard Anglican Theology. The work of the only great writer whom Rome has ever won from our United Church has been best answered by one whom the Irish Church won from Rome, William Archer Butler. In the recent controversies which have raged round the Bible and the Cross, no English Churchman is likely to have forgotten Magee on the Atonement, or Lee on Inspiration.

To conclude. For seven hundred years, since the original contract between Henry II. and the people of Ireland on the submission of Ireland, through the Reformation, down to the Act of Union and Catholic Emancipation, the principle at first of exact conformity between the two Churches

—latterly of their absolute identity—has been fixed and constitutional. No wonder that we cling to a principle which has been recognised by statesmen as well as divines, by Roman Catholics as loudly as Protestants. We do not find that the overthrow of our establishment is very earnestly desired on our side of the channel, except by those with whom the establishment is the cry, but property and English ascendancy the game. We were Irish citizens before we were Irish clergymen. If the confiscation of our average income of £168. 3s. 2d. *per annum* would give peace to our country, we might submit to it with a better grace; but, when we see all that is involved in it, we know that instead of a sound of peace it would be a tocsin of war. But I wish to assert that there has been far more than a legal juxtaposition of the two Churches. Ever as the mysterious tide of spiritual life has ebbed and flowed with you, it has ebbed and flowed with us. The restoration of your Church and Monarchy gave us that memorable day—January 27th, 1662—when the unearthly eloquence of Jeremy Taylor rang through St. Patrick's Cathedral, at a solemnity which, I suppose, Christendom never witnessed but once—the consecration at one time of two Archbishops and ten Bishops. The Latitudinarianism of England sent us prelates, who thought that the chief end of their ministry was not to win the natives of Ireland to the Church, but to win “the great places of Ireland for natives of England.” Wesley crossed the Channel; if his voice did not produce such an awakening as with you, it was because, himself being witness, our lethargy was not so profound. The Evangelical movement was to us as life from the dead. The long-lost secret of power in the pulpit, the faculty of speaking deep and burning words about Christ, which now fills your cathedrals to overflowing, was in some measure taught you by Irish preachers. The Church revival—though its proximate cause, was the suppression of our sees, and its herald, if not inspirer, was an Irish layman, Alexander Knox—has not yet had a proportionate development among us. Taught by experience, matured by time, free from some intolerance, some eccentricities, and some errors, I believe that it has a great career before it in the Irish Church.

I know that the sketch which I have drawn may seem partial and overcharged. Where, it may be asked, is the expression on the part of you Irish Churchmen of your penitence and shame? Yours!—say rather, ours. As we unroll the list of the Primates of All Ireland for 160 years, between the Irishman, James Ussher, and the Irishman, Lord John George Beresford, we find a long succession of English Archbishops. We know that through the last century nine of our principal sees were frequently occupied by Englishmen contemporaneously. You did not always give us a Bramhall or a Trench. You made us in great measure what we were. English Churchmen, and Irish Churchmen together, let us look backward without recrimination and forward without despair. We are not without signs that the stream which appears to have failed in fertilizing the past is bearing upon its waters the seeds of a wider regeneration of the future.



## THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH IN IRELAND.

By THE REV. GEORGE SALMON.

It is difficult to deal with so comprehensive a subject in so short a time. I have divided it into the same branches as the preceding speakers—the position of the Church as regards the work she is doing, and her position as to the endowments she possesses. The latter is a secondary question, but rises into importance through the violence of the hostile assaults which are made upon the Established Church in Ireland.

The claims of our Church to be the only true Catholic Church in Ireland is one that will have little weight with Parliament. Parliament will not enter into the question of superiority on that ground. They will not consider what is truth, but simply what is held; and the course of legislation indicates that Parliament will expect to be satisfied that our right to our endowments shall be made out on the same grounds which would apply to the endowments possessed by any other sect. But the topic is an important one as affecting our claims upon the sympathy of English churchmen. I have heard English churchmen complain of being unable to sympathise with the Church in Ireland on account of the low state of churchmanship in that country, as shown by the paucity of daily service and the infrequency of weekly Communion. Now, on that point I would first say, let it never be forgotten that we, and no other body, are the Church of Ireland. We are the legitimate successors of those who planted the Gospel in Ireland. The bishops whom the Pope has intruded into occupied Sees have no more claim to be the successors of the original evangelisers of Ireland than Dr. Manning has to call himself the successor of St. Augustine. Now that must follow in the mind of any real churchman when he has once acknowledged that we are *the* Church of Ireland! Can it be a question with him whether or not he will sympathize with it? It is no small sin lightly to despair of any portion of Christ's true Church, lightly to break communion with it, lightly to lose sympathy with it. We heard yesterday yearnings expressed for a re-union with foreign Christians, though the obstacles to such a consummation are so great that it seems to be a matter much more for prayer than for work. Here, however, is a case where there are no such obstacles, God having already granted to the Churches of England and Ireland that communion which we desire with all members of the true Catholic Church. And shall we, by harsh and uncharitable speeches, do anything to break or injure that communion?

I must say that the churchmanship of Ireland is underrated. People compare picked parishes in England with parishes taken by chance in Ireland. An Englishman goes over to Ireland and forms his conclusions from what he sees in particular places, forgetting that if an Irishman came over here and did the same he might find examples of very low churchmanship indeed. But, however that might be, it cannot constitute any reason for wishing to overthrow the fabric of our Church in Ireland. It might as well be proposed to do away with Norwich Cathedral because—as was remarked in this Congress a day or two ago—there is no weekly Communion there. We should rather wish to see the fabric beautified

and improved, especially when we see that the Church is zealous in its work.

I would especially refer to the pastoral work in Ireland, which I think is better done than in England. I do not say that to the discredit of English clergymen, for it is much easier to do the pastoral work in Irish parishes, while the overwhelming population in English parishes makes it impossible for the clergyman to know as much about his parishioners as we do. I hardly like to refer to facts, because it might seem that I was speaking in an unfriendly spirit to the Church of England; but I may take one single point. It is said that the Church of Ireland holds low views with respect to Baptism. Now I should say it would be possible to find a parish in England where there are more unbaptized persons than in the whole of Ireland. A friend of mine took duty once in a parish in the north of England, and was perfectly shocked at the number of unbaptized children; and I have reason to think this was no isolated case. Such a state of things is wholly unknown to us. Until thirty years ago, I should say that the tone of Church feeling in Ireland, instead of being lower, was really higher than in England. For instance, Good Friday has never been observed in Ireland as a day of riot and jollification—a thing, I have been assured, not uncommon in England. As to our being a minority, I believe that we are not more of a minority than in many parishes in England. I believe that if a clergyman in one of our large English towns were to count his congregation and the number of his parishioners whom he could influence, and who benefitted by his ministrations, the proportion would not be found to be greater than it is in Ireland.

There are a great many other topics which time will not allow me to refer to. I would just correct a misrepresentation which has been repeated in the *Fortnightly Review*, and which exemplifies the astonishing vitality of a lie. The misrepresentation I speak of has been refuted over and over again. It has been exposed by Mr. Alfred Lee in his tract on the Irish Church, and it has been dealt with in the very archiepiscopal Charge which is quoted by the *Fortnightly Review* itself. The statement is, that at the last census there were one hundred and ninety-nine parishes in Ireland which contained no Protestants. Now, anybody would suppose that that meant one hundred and ninety-nine parishes where the clergymen had nothing to do. The fact is that, not merely years ago but centuries ago, these parishes were joined on to others, but they still remain as geographical divisions. It would be just the same as if the census of England were to include the dioceses of Dunwich and Thetford, and then an argument were to be founded as to the work of a bishop of the Church of England upon statistics of the condition of the dioceses of Dunwich and Thetford. Many of these parishes are so small that one, in Cork, is covered by the site of a large brewery.

There is another point I should like to speak upon, which will come before Parliament. The endowments for the religious education of the people, they say, have now fallen into the hands of the minority, and that is put forward as an abuse. I have two things to say to that. First, the religious endowments are not *sufficient* for the education of the whole people; but barely sufficient for ourselves. Secondly, they are not the endowments *intended* for the whole people. The first point has already been touched upon. The endowments, if distributed equally among beneficed clergymen, would amount to less than £240 a year each. If the State were to take all our endowments, and undertake to provide for

what we require merely as a sect, it would have a deficiency to make up out of its own funds. But I say they are not the endowments intended for the religious instruction of the whole people. If we are not one-fifth of the whole population of Ireland, the endowments are not one-tenth of what was intended for the whole people. The Church property has been subjected to a succession of spoliations. Large portions were given away at the Reformation to the laity, and that title which is the least respectable in its origin would be considered the strongest if Church endowments were dealt with. Then there was the tithe composition, which composition was made greatly to the disadvantage of the Church. Then there was the Act of 1835, which took away 25 per cent. from the tithe. Then there was the doing away of church-rates and the substitution for them of a tax on the clergy, amounting in some cases to 15 per cent.; the abolition of Ministers' Money, by which the town clergy were paid; and then the imposition of the poor-rates, quite a new thing, and which was so arranged as to press more on the clergy than on the laity. Taking all these things together, I am under the mark when I say that the endowments are not one-tenth of what was originally intended for the Church. If they wish, then, to provide for the wants of the Roman Catholic population, they must come, not to us, but to those who possess the property which was intended for that use, and of which the Church has been deprived.

But the Roman Catholics do not want the property, because they would not have it on the same conditions on which we hold it. If a bishop were to suspend a priest for want of orthodoxy, the Roman Catholics would never tolerate that the priest should appeal to a Lord Chancellor Westbury for a certificate of orthodoxy. But then, it is said, the money might be devoted to educational purposes. Why, of all things in the world there is nothing so easily got as money for education in Ireland. There would not be a penny more a head given by the Government if it had the whole Church property at its disposal, and for this simple reason, that at present all is given that will be accepted.

The controversy about national education has been raging most violently for twenty or thirty years, and the consequence is that both Protestants and Roman Catholics have been unanimous in refusing to accept State aid. And so it has happened that the proper position of the Government as stewards of the public money has been reversed. Instead of the Chancellor of the Exchequer keeping a tight hold of the public purse, the Government holds out money in both hands; while the clergy, Protestant and Roman Catholic, put their hands behind their backs and refuse to have it, and that clergyman stands the highest in Government favour, and is considered the most liberal, who consents to take the largest portion of the public money.

But then there is the question of vested rights. People acknowledge the vested rights of individuals. They say that if the endowments were alienated from the Church, the clergy at present holding benefices would have to be provided for. Well, I suppose the curates would also be entitled to a provision, for it would be a hard case to have every prospect of a living taken away after waiting twenty years for preferment. But it seems to me that there are other rights which have been altogether overlooked, the rights of the laity. Supposing there was an endowment securing to me and my family the services of a medical man: who would suffer if that endowment were alienated? According to the notion about

the Irish Church, it could only be the medical man. Now, I do not think it is believed by the laity of Ireland that the ministrations of the clergy of the Established Church are of no use whatever, and therefore you cannot touch the endowments which secure those services without inflicting an injury on the laity as well as on the clergy.

## DISCUSSION.

MR. BERESFORD HOPK said: Sir John, ladies and gentlemen, I rise with the advantage, or disadvantage, of being the first Englishman to speak to-day, and I am half an Irishman. But I must say, for the credit of Irishmen, that the case has been so well argued that I hardly know that there is anything left for me to say. Three more masterly successive speeches—speeches that would have told in the House of Commons—I have never heard. The sustained and powerful argument of my learned and distinguished friend, the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the eloquent appeal of the Dean of Emly, and the acute observations of the last speaker, almost exhausted the subject; and I only regret, for the credit of this Congress, that they should have been delivered in a section and not before the whole Congress. I will address myself to the question from a political point of view. It seems to me that the whole question of tampering with the Irish Church temporalities is an experiment to set up a philosophy of allowable confiscation. No man can stand on his legs and say that taking away the revenues of an old corporation is not a confiscation of property, and I ask what it is that makes the property of the Irish Church liable to confiscation which would not expose to the same risk the property of any other religious body which the legislature might think did not show sufficiently large congregations when the census was taken. Take the Church in Wales: we know that in Wales churchmen stand in rather an ugly minority. Where is the argument that would turn out Archbishop Trench from Dublin that would not also send Bishop Thirlwall from St. David's? Then, again, how absurdly counter this project runs to the spirit of modern legislation! What is the cry in all the newspapers? "Identify Ireland with England; do away with the Lord Lieutenant; do away with St. George's Channel if you could." You are trying to identify Ireland with England, and yet you wish to dis-identify her by setting up either an alien establishment or no establishment at all. And then we have the cuckoo-cry which has been echoed by my friend Anthony Trollope, in a moment of relapse into theology which came across him the other day, and which has been raised by other people before him, wiser or less wise—"the Irish Church is the great grievance of Ireland: you will appease the Irish if you do away with the Established Church." Now I have not such little respect for Irish discontent as to think that that is the case. What is the latest form of Irish discontent? Why, Fenianism. And who denounced Fenianism? Why, to their great credit, the bishops and clergy of the Church of Rome in Ireland. How, then, can a man get up and have the face to say, with Fenianism shaking its ugly paws before him, that the abolition of the Church of Ireland would do anything more than transform the chronic discontent of Irish agitators into some other phase? No doubt there are anomalies. No doubt Munster and Ulster do not stand to each other in the same position with regard to the Church Establishment. But I would ask a single question: do you consider the Bishops in Ireland to be either knaves or fools? Do you not suppose Archbishops Beresford and Trench, Mr. Napier, Dean Alexander, and other people may be trusted to meet together and re-adjust the revenues of the Irish Church as well as even the Secretary of the Committee of Privy Council? I have had something to do practically with the Irish Church—I may state the fact, for it is not to my own credit, because I am simply an administrator or trustee. A distinguished and illustrious Irishman, the late Marshal Beresford, my relation, and to whom I owe a deep debt of gratitude, enjoyed a pension from Portugal for three lives. Of those three lives I am the second holder under the trust deed which makes it partly distributable and partly accumulative for the benefit of the Church in Ireland; I am one of these trustees at present, along with the Lord Primate and another gentleman, and that position has afforded me some insight into the working of the Church in Ireland, and gives me a sort of claim to speak about it. I will tell you what is at the bottom of a

good deal of mischief. At the time of the Temporalities Act, the residuary money of the Irish Church was put into the hands of an ecclesiastical commission. You must not confound the Irish Commissioners with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of this country. But whatever thinking people may say for or against the Commissioners of England, I believe there is no man in or out of Ireland who would not say that the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission has hitherto secured the respect of any but its own clerks. That Irish Ecclesiastical Commission has heretofore been a millstone round the neck of those who would give development in a Church-like form to the Irish Church. And yet, in the face of that fact, I have seen enough of the administration of that Church to know that a remarkable revival has been brought about by the bishops and clergy in spite of the deadening influence of this unlucky Commission. Who came in for Dublin at the last election? Mr. Guinness. And why? Mr. Guinness has spent £100,000 in the restoration of the Cathedral of St. Patrick. What was the first cathedral restored, even before the restoration of Ely and Lichfield and Hereford? Why, Armagh, under the auspices and with the money of the late Primate. What was the first cathedral of the United Church which has been rebuilt for the last hundred years? Why, Kilmore, by the present Primate. What is the next cathedral, not merely restored, but actually rebuilt, on a plan almost commensurate with that of our English cathedrals? Why, Cork, in the province of Munster, which stands among the lowest in Ireland with regard to the numbers it holds of the members of the Established Church. When all this has been done in face of the Irish people and in spite of politicians, I ask whether, instead of disestablishing the Irish Church, we ought not to work for the revival of her life and the continuation of her usefulness. If all the statistics and arguments which as we have seen would carry you miles farther than you are aware of, induce you to pull down the Irish Establishment, you will just simply fish yourself out of a dilemma which was not your fault, and plant yourselves in a tenfold worse one, which will be your fault. Your consolation will be that of the father in *Molière*—*Tu l'as voulu, George Dandin!* Ireland's difficulty will certainly not be England's opportunity. It may be France's, it may be New England's opportunity. But of this I am certain—you will not have contented the Papist; you will not have contented the Presbyterian. You will have discontented that portion of the Irish people which looks to England with loyalty and affection, and who, if we make allowances for their extatic way of talking, as I hope they make allowances for our graver and more impassable Saxonism, may not only be good fellow-citizens, though that is something, but really pillars and bulwarks, great lights and glories of our Reformed Catholic Church, which is not so very large, which does not spread over so many nations of the earth, that she can easily and readily and cheerfully allow herself to amputate any one limb, and that for the most cowardly of all reasons, to content an alien, a discontented, a clamorous, and, I will add, an unphilosophical and a sophistical, antagonistic, public opinion.

MR. JOHN M. CLABON said: The little book by the Rev. Alfred T. Lee, of which copies are in the room, at the service of any one who wishes to have one, goes fully into the various points connected with the Church in Ireland. I desire, now, to concentrate the attention of the Church in England on three points only, which should always be borne in mind when dealing with the subject.

The first is that the spoliation of the Church in Ireland will not be for the benefit of the people of Ireland, and thus, speaking generally, they care nothing about the subject. To appropriate the property of the Church will not be accepted by those who are dissatisfied as a measure of pacification. It will not allay irritation or prevent emigration. To go into the proof of this would occupy much time. Suffice it now to say that there has been no popular agitation on the subject—that the association formed so recently as last winter by a few agitators makes no way among the people—and that the number of petitions presented with reference to Mr. Dillwyn's resolution of last session, which had also been put on the books of Parliament in the previous session, and of which, therefore, the notice had been ample, were curiously small in number, with very few signatures.

The reasons why the subject is not popular are self-evident. The tithe rent-charge, according to figures given by Mr. Whiteside, is paid as to £370,000 by Protestants, and as to £30,000, by Roman Catholic landlords. If the tithe be simply abolished, the money will go into the pockets of these few landlords. If it be handed over to the State for other purposes, the money will still be paid. There will in no case be relief to the cultivator of the soil.

The spoliation of the Church in Ireland would have no doubt the effect pointed out in the *Fortnightly Review* of Sept. 15, viz.—the whole force of the Established Church, and the influence of a great majority of the clergy having hitherto been exercised in a conservative spirit, a liberal Government would thenceforth be freed from their opposi-

tion, and (the writer says) it would therefore gain immensely in moral power and capacity for good. But other consequences would also follow. The Irish clergy form a nucleus for truth—a rallying point for loyalty—they are Christian gentlemen of independent position, always ready to help misery in every form. Abolish the tithe rent-charge, and a great many of them, insensibly and pleasantly dying out (as the Review has it) would leave a void which it is difficult to estimate.

The second point on which I would concentrate your attention is, that if the property of the Church in Ireland be seized, no property given for purposes of religion or charity will be safe. I care not to go into the remote origin of the Church in Ireland. Mr. Lee has done this admirably. It is enough for me that the Protestant Church in Ireland has enjoyed her property for centuries. Every cause of complaint connected with it was taken away in 1835. Seize it, and the tithes in England—the property of our colleges and charitable foundations and institutions—are no longer safe; all is reduced to a question of numbers, or of some other expediency.

If, the argument would run, the Irish tithe rent-charge was taken, there being 700,000 churchmen in Ireland to four and a half millions of Catholics, and 600,000 Presbyterians and other Dissenters, the same rule will apply in England. If, in the principality of Wales, the Churchmen are less in number than Dissenters, the tithe ought to be seized; and why should not the same rule apply in every county—nay, in every parish? It is a mere question of number. Truth is out of the question.

It seems to me that such an argument would be irresistible.

I shall mention but one more point, and it is a delicate one; but I beg you, Sir, and the meeting, to trust me in not going beyond the bounds of the strictest propriety. It will not concern party. It shall not savour of Whig or Tory, Liberal or Conservative. But it does relate to politics—such politics as the best churchmen may, nay, must pay attention to.

Where is the battle of the Church in Ireland to be fought? Where, but in Parliament? and are churchmen to rest quietly and to do nothing when an enemy is at the gates?

I grieve to say that we in England do not our duty in this respect. I speak here as holding the office of Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Church Institution. When Mr. Dillwyn's motion was coming on, we sent an abstract of Mr. Lee's pamphlet, and a form of petition, to every parish in England. We got about as many petitions as did the agitators; and from many there came letters, and from clergymen too, that Ireland was England's difficulty, and the sooner the plague spot was cut out the better. I venture to hope, that when the whole subject of the Church in Ireland is better understood—as I hope it will be after this Congress—the apathy will vanish, and that the Church in England will give to the Church in Ireland that help which she so much needs and so much deserves. I only say, as to politics, let each churchman exercise his influence as an elector, as a constituent, in petitioning and promoting petitions,—in acting in and out of Parliament, so as to uphold the Church in Ireland and its property, as the out-work of the Church in England.

The Rev. J. S. JONES: I only venture to address two or three words to this meeting because as Mr. Hope is a layman who is "half an Irishman," I am a clergyman who is half an Irishman, and therefore can speak from a point of view which has not been spoken from to-day. As an Englishman in the orders of the Irish Church, having a mother by birth in the English Church, and a mother by ordination in the Irish, and having laboured in both countries among the masses of the people, I have so far some right, which I would not otherwise claim, to speak on the position of the Church in Ireland. I will only do so to this extent—to bespeak, in so far as it may be at all needful, which I hope is not the case, not only the sympathies of my countrymen and countrywomen for the Irish Church, but their interest, their examination, and their investigation. When any of you go over to Dublin to see the Exhibition, do not content yourselves with seeing that. When you go to Killarney, do not content yourselves with seeing the lakes; but if you have interest enough in the Church to come to Norwich to attend a Church Congress, when you go to Ireland make yourselves acquainted with the Irish Church. Ignorance of the Irish Church is, more than any thing else, at the root of apathy towards Ireland. It is because people do not understand the measure of piety, and learning, and skill, and professional handiwork, so to speak, which is to be found in the Irish Church, that they think so disparagingly of it and of the country. I have learned quite as much from very small clerical meetings, in country parishes in Ireland, as I have learned at a very large clerical meeting in a large town in England. I have learned a great deal from the country clergy in Ireland, and others I know have done the same. On some Church matters, if you would look into the *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*—I am not advertising it, for I do not know its publisher or editor at all—you

would get more valuable information than from almost any Church newspaper in England. Then, as to the growth of the Church in Ireland. It is a real growth. It is a growth in numbers, a growth in zeal, a growth in churchmanship. When I speak of the growth of churchmanship, there is a sense in which that growth was not so much needed as it was some years ago in England. The almost unanimity with which the Irish clergy maintained the catholic character and antiquity of the Church, stood in favourable contrast with the attitude of some of their brethren in England on those important matters. They almost unanimously met the Romanist on his own ground so far, and said, "You appeal to antiquity; to antiquity thou shalt go." One part of Ireland has not been spoken of so far, except in relation to its political character and social standing—the province of Ulster. In some parts of that province, the Church is in a minority. I laboured once in a parish of 10,000 inhabitants, of whom less than one-tenth were Church people, in a very Presbyterian district; and even that minority was scattered over a very large extent of country. But there, as elsewhere, I can testify that the influence the clergy exert is altogether out of proportion to their numerical position, and to their position regarded solely as denominational: and to great numbers of people, including Presbyterians and Romanists, the ministrations of the clergy were the only ministrations available. It is because I know that the Church is growing in strength and influence, and power and churchmanship, and spiritual life, that I ask you to be very cautious how you give, even by your indifference or your reticence, the least colour or sanction in the world to the unscrupulous agitation of this ecclesiastical Fenianism. Romanism in Ireland is to religious life what Fenianism is to civil and political life. The Romanism of Ireland is, of all countries in Europe, the most wanton, the most insufferable, the most arrogant. Do not treat your Irish sister as a pauper and as a beggar, but as a sister and as a wife. Let her have a share in your affections and imperial regards; and, if I may venture to add one word, remember that if you encourage the attacks against the Irish Church, you are at the same time promoting the designs of the Liberation Society against your own Church in this country; and that, as politicians, you are doing something to convert Ireland from an integral part of a great empire into a merely conquered province, by recognizing claims which, under the pretence of doing justice to a part of the population, would do permanent injury to the whole.

THE REV. CHARLES CATOR: Sir John, I am an Englishman altogether, but I am a Christian brother of our sister Church in Ireland. We have heard of the Appropriation Clause. It is now thirty years since I advocated the cause of the Irish Church and defended the Clergy of Ireland from the imputation of having been careless in their work. I drew up at that time a statement of certain facts with which I became acquainted, when I belonged to the first Irish Society, which was established for the express purpose of teaching the Irish people gospel truth in their native tongue. My time is so extremely short, that I wish to lay before you a few facts which have not yet come before you, and which, I think, every one ought to know. They were laid before the House of Commons at the time, and I verily believe, from what I have heard, had great influence at that time in overthrowing what was then called the Appropriation Clause. To these I refer, lest I mis-state the dates. The translation of the Holy Bible in the English language having been reviewed in 1539 by the Ecclesiastical Synod, it was no sooner permitted to be read than it was discovered to be as unreasonable as it was unscriptural to speak to the people in an unknown tongue. But Henry VIII., desirous of establishing English interests in Ireland, adopted the unsound state policy of "obliging the natives to learn the English tongue." Such an attempt to conciliate a people, or to make the stronger party more acceptable, must have a contrary effect, for men are naturally as tenacious of their language as they are attached to their country. The following, however, is a remarkable instance of human inconsistency and failure. Those who came to the laudable resolution that it was "plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the primitive Church, to have public prayer, &c., in a tongue not understood of the people," caused the Holy Scriptures and the prayers to be read in the English churches in the English tongue; but unhappily, instead of making the same wholesome provision for Ireland, they ordained that "in every such church or place where the common minister hath not the use or knowledge of the English tongue, it shall be lawful for the same to use matins, &c., in the Latin tongue." That we have already heard of to-day. This may be ascribed to the absence of an Irish version of the Holy Bible and the ignorance of the Irish letter. But Elizabeth sent over a fount of types in 1571, which, falling into the hands of the Jesuits, was carried over to Douay. Before this occurrence, however, Nicholas Walsh, after his promotion to the see of Ossory, began the translation of the New Testament in the Irish language and character. Those who remember Tyndale's persecution, even unto death, for persevering in his work of translating the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue, not-

withstanding his version was adopted within four years after that tragical event, may not be surprised to read of Walsh's fate, who was murdered in his own house while engaged in a similar undertaking in the Irish tongue. After his death, we find N. Donnellan, Archbishop of Tuam, engaged in the work, who died, leaving it unfinished. It then devolved upon W. O'Donnell, Archbishop of Tuam, by whom it was completed, and in 1602 it was published. At the age of 57, Bishop Bedell commenced the study of the Irish language, and lived to finish the translation of the Old Testament, although he died before its publication. His manuscript was entrusted to Dr. Jones, Bishop of Meath, and was rendered available to Mr. Boyle, who caused a fount of Irish types to be cast in order to supply the place of those which were carried away by the Jesuits. These versions of the Old and New Testament are the only Irish versions now extant. In promoting the former, the encouragement given by Archbishop Ussher, adds only to the list of those able prelates of our Church, to whom, although calumniated for "*want of zeal*," the people of Ireland are now indebted for the greatest blessing which, by the zealous efforts of the Irish clergy, they enjoy. These have at last overcome the prejudices of Englishmen against the Irish language, which the fear of injuring English interests excited, and up to the year 1826 or 1827, deprived the people of Ireland of the Bible in their vernacular tongue. The Convocation held in Dublin in 1634, ordered the Irish version of the Bible and Liturgy to be used, but it was argued that the Act of Henry VIII. was opposed to it. In 1681, Dr. A. Sall relinquished all other studies to give effect to Mr. Boyle's attempt at a new publication of the Scriptures in Irish, but though he was countenanced by Dr. Brice, Archbishop of Cashel, who had appointed the Psalms and Common Prayer in Irish to be read in his Cathedral, and also maintained many Irish Clergymen to preach to the natives in their own language, yet it is recorded that this was not sufficient to prevent opposition to Dr. Sall. It was objected that "while he went about to gain the Irish (to God) he would lose the English." Several attempts were made by the Clergy in Convocation from 1702 to 1710, to introduce an Irish version of the Bible and Liturgy, but without success. In 1823, Mr. Daly recorded the fact that there was not a copy of the whole Irish Bible to be had for money in the Irish language and character. In the year 1825, the Bible Society, which was expressly formed for the purpose of giving the people the Scriptures in their own tongue, refused to perpetuate a "barbarous language," and would not give the Irish a version of the Bible in their own vernacular. Afterwards they published one in the Roman character, and there remained 5000 copies a dead letter, because the Irish, being attached to their own language, and having a tradition that the devil could not speak Irish, and certainly could not write it, would not read the Scriptures in the Roman character. They have now got the Scriptures in their own tongue, but up to the year 1827, they had not the opportunity nor were they allowed to have services in Irish; and if you consider the short time they have had, and compare it with the long period the people of this country have enjoyed the Scriptures in their own language, you can easily understand how it is that the Irish are not Protestant as we are. If they had had the same advantages, I believe they would have been one with us in creed, one with us in church, and one with us in the love of our holy religion. That they have it now is a great blessing, and I do hope, with all my heart, that the English people will never allow the Church of Ireland to be separated from the Church of England, or to be robbed of her property. She deserves every encouragement. She ought to be one with us as she is in faith and in spirit, and I hope we may continue to go hand in hand together in upholding the Protestant faith.

THE EARL OF HARROWBY: I labour under the disadvantage of not having heard the four able speeches of the distinguished Irishmen who, I understand, have electrified this assembly, and therefore I feel it rather a difficult matter for me to rise and say anything on a subject which has been so fully exhausted, and to which our attention has been called, in a manner which I cannot pretend to emulate. But my friend here, Sir John Boileau, has asked me as an English gentleman, and connected with the legislature of the country, to say a few words on the subject; and interested as I have been always in the question of the Irish Church, and having visited Ireland on several occasions, and not very long ago, when I took particular pains to investigate and examine the scenes of later activity in the wilds of Galway and Kilkenny, perhaps I may be excused for a very few moments. There can be no doubt that the question of the Irish Church is a difficult one to deal with. The Irish Church is, no doubt, an anomaly; and if we were satisfied that because it is an anomaly it therefore ought to be removed, I believe there are a great number of other institutions in this country which would have to follow suit. There are a great number of institutions which would be found, on examination, to be anomalies, and which, perhaps, if they did not already exist, would not now be called into existence. But it is not sufficient, as practical men, to satisfy



us that it is an anomaly. We must be satisfied that it is an anomaly doing mischief to the country with which it is connected, and the removal of which would be a benefit to that country. Now I think we may maintain distinctly the reverse of both these propositions. I believe that the Irish Church is no grievance at this moment, and that its removal would be no benefit, but the reverse. If these propositions can be established, the mere fact of its being anomalous, may affect us as logicians, but not as statesmen. Now is it a grievance? It certainly was a grievance not long ago. No doubt, when you had the tithe collected in small sums from the Roman Catholic peasantry, it was a grievance. It was felt as such, and if the question of tithe itself was once a sore even in Protestant England, and in districts where the great majority of the population belong to the Established Church, for the benefit of which the tithe is levied, it is not surprising that, when collected from a very poor population, in very small payments, and from people antagonistic to the creed for the support of which it was collected, it should have been felt to be a grievance, and a very considerable element in the discontent of Ireland. But is it a grievance now? You all know that the tithe rent-charge, with a very considerable abatement in its amount, was converted into a rent-charge payable by the landlord; and that it is no longer collected in small sums from the tenantry, but paid in larger sums by the landlords, who are mostly Protestants. The tithe, therefore, is no longer a grievance. You do not hear of it as a grievance. It is not bursting out spontaneously as a grievance all over Ireland. You are obliged to have the assembled Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland called together in synod to proclaim it as a grievance. The population of the country do not spontaneously complain of it, and it is evident that it is not a grievance that pinches them, because, in order to give it the colour of a grievance, the Bishops were obliged to attach tenant-right to it. They are quite aware that the Church question in itself is not one which would excite the complaints of the people, and therefore they were obliged to tack to it the tenant-right difficulty, which does agitate the poorer population, but which has no connexion whatever with the tithe or the Irish Church, for the purpose of creating an agitation, by the semblance of which an attempt is made to throw dust into the eyes of the people of England, and an impression is to be created on this side of the Channel, that the Irish Church is a grievance to the Irish Roman Catholics; whereas such a grievance is not felt at all. How, indeed, is it a grievance? Is it a grievance that Protestant landlords should pay a charge on their estates for the maintenance of their own religion? I could understand it if it were a question between two endowments—between a Protestant endowment and a Roman Catholic endowment. I do not say which way the argument would turn, but it might be maintained that this endowment should go to the benefit of the poor population, instead of their having to support their own priests. But that is not the question at issue. They would not have it, as we have heard just now. They reject it. The Romish clergy will not have a connexion with the State. They prefer the amount of contributions, often a larger one, which they are enabled to extort from the fears and the liberality of their own flocks. Therefore it is not a question whether this property shall be transferred from the minority to the majority—from the spiritual purposes of the Protestant population to those of the Roman Catholic peasantry. It is simply a question of the abolition of the Established Church, without a counterbalancing advantage in any other direction. People even have to look round and ask themselves what they would do with the money when they had got it. The great point is abolition. Abolition of what? Abolition of a moderately-endowed, well-educated Protestant clergy, planted all over Ireland, ministering to the Protestants in that country, many of whom are strongly attached to the English connexion, the fathers and the friends even of the Roman Catholic population, often more trusted by them in the hour of sickness, and in times of difficulty and distress and in pecuniary relations, than their own priesthood; and to abolish this without holding out any other purpose to which the money is to be appropriated, is to be considered such an advantage as to overbalance all the inconvenience of severing the tie subsisting between the Churches of England and Ireland, and setting the example of unsettling the great settlement of the Act of Union, and giving a shock to all other endowments! I see no possible temptation for us to say, that to remove this pretended grievance would appease any discontent. I do say, therefore, that whether it may be an anomaly or not, has nothing to do with the question of its removal merely for the purpose of getting rid of a logical difficulty. If the Irish Church had merely slumbered contented with its revenue, and made no attempt to propagate the truth which it was appointed to teach, it would probably have been left alone undisturbed; but it is because with the progress of light and knowledge, and order and education, the conviction grows that Protestantism must extend in Ireland, it is felt now to be necessary to extirpate the Protestant clergy, so that, if possible, the progress of that great movement may be arrested.

THE REV. R. H. GROOME: I feel that I have the sense of the meeting entirely with me, when I desire to supplement an unintentional omission on the part of Mr. Hope, who referred to *three* addresses on this important subject. I am sure this meeting would not wish it to be left as a matter of doubt that we all feel very thankful to Dr. Butcher for the able and eloquent paper, which Mr. Hope had not the good fortune to hear.

ARCHDEACON DENISON: I am sorry to begin by falling foul of the last speaker but one, my most excellent and kind friend, as I am sure the Earl of Harrowby will allow me to call him. I listened to the earnestness of his speech with much pleasure, but the basis of that argument I dispute. I say the Church of Ireland is not an anomaly. I hope I am not misinterpreting him when I say that I suppose what he intended was, that it was the Church of a minority. If there is one thing against which I would most earnestly raise my voice, and one principle against which I would most strongly contend, and one of the most dangerous principles which I think could possibly be admitted by any English churchman, it is, that the fact of a Church being an Established Church, has anything to do with its being in a majority or not. There is but one foundation which can justify the position of a National Church, and that is, that it maintains and upholds and teaches the truth of the Gospel. If we once adopt the other principle—and this, though it is not the real reason why I contend against such a principle, I mention as a subsidiary argument—the Church of England might find herself in a very difficult and delicate position; because if we are to test an Established Church by the numerical standard, and deduct all the Roman Catholics, and Presbyterians, and other Dissenters from the population of this country, it is not quite so clear that, as a mere matter of figures, we should find ourselves in a majority here. Therefore let us take heed that that is not the principle on which we resist. I resist on this principle—that the Church of Ireland is the exponent of Gospel truth, and for that reason, if there was only a very much smaller number of priests and bishops and people than there is now, that would make no matter to me. I would fight unto the death rather than I would surrender one iota of the inheritance and possessions which the Irish Church enjoys as the teacher of God's Truth in that land. One word as regards ourselves. There is a motto in an old poet—*Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*. Now, I am advised to give the ladies a translation, and if there be any here who do not know the meaning, which I doubt, it is this—"Take care of yourself when your neighbour's house is on fire." Now, I am sorry to find from conversation with friends in various parts of the country—and therefore I am glad to have this opportunity of entering my protest against it—that there is creeping up a disposition to abandon the position of the Irish Church as untenable, on the false principle that it is the Church of a minority. It is contrary to all principles of military tactics that it is a good thing, in order to defend your citadel, to give up your outworks. I say, give up nothing! I have never surrendered any one thing, as far as I have known, and I certainly am not going, now that I am getting on in years, to begin so vicious and bad a practice. Therefore I would say to this meeting, what I have always said—Defend the Church of Ireland just as you would defend your own Church. Let no finger be laid on the bishoprics of the Church of Ireland which you would resent being laid on the bishopric of Norwich: let no parsonage or parsonage house be touched in Ireland, unless you would be content to see the same sacrilegious hand coming in and taking possession of your own. Above all, be careful of the great thing which is the consolation of this life and hope of the next, which is to teach and spread amongst God's people His pure Word. Do not be tempted, by any consideration of political expediency, to deprive your brethren on the other side of the Irish Channel of such a blessing; of that Truth which you and they have maintained so long, and for the defence of which they are now stretching out their hands to you, saying, "In the name of our common Master and Saviour, do not leave us; help us to maintain the Faith, and to transmit to our children the inheritance we have received ourselves."

The Dean of Dromore having pronounced the benediction, the Section separated.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5th. AFTERNOON MEETING.

AT MR. NOVERRE'S ROOM.

E. HOWES, ESQ., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS  
THE HEATHEN.

BY THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF GRAHAMSTON.

IN considering the duty of the Church towards the heathen world, our thoughts at once revert first of all to that parting command which our Redeemer left with His disciples, which has made preaching the Gospel to all nations of the earth the very law of the charter by which the Church is founded. We cannot separate from each other the command and the promise. It is to those whom He sends forth to evangelize all nations that the promise is also bequeathed as an inheritance, "Lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world."

It is not, however, my present purpose to enforce this duty; though would indeed that this Church of England were at all adequately conscious of those weighty responsibilities which our vast opportunities for fulfilling this commission are increasing every year! Indeed, that one word *προειθένητε*, when interpreted by the varied means and agencies which the Church might now use,—that word which commands every member to bear his portion of the work,—might well arouse us from our slumbers. But my object on the present occasion is to examine somewhat carefully another question, also arising out of this command of our blessed Lord; I mean, as to the process through which those who labour in the missionary field are to accomplish their work. For, from the words of our Divine Master, as they are recorded by St. Matthew, we may gather, as it appears to me, some express directions for our missionary labour. That language points to our Lord's own ministry as the pattern for us, and thus marks out a certain path to be followed. The word *μαθητεύσατε*, for example, suggests the method by which through several years His own disciples had been trained. Again, *βαπτίζοντες* recalls to us the fact that the baptism of Christ's disciples (as we must infer from St. John, iv. 1, 2) was at the commencement of their discipline; whilst the expansion of the command into the words *διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετείλαμην ὑμῖν* reminds us, that the purpose of this training of the first disciples was to form, not believers only, but pastors and teachers, and not mere teachers but apostles; to constitute a fully organized body, which, from Christ the head, being fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, might so attain perfect manhood in Him.

These conclusions from our Lord's own language are confirmed by

the history, left us in the Acts of the Apostles, of the method through which these instructions were fulfilled by those apostles under the suggestion and inspiration of His own Spirit.

1. In this, as in the ministry of Christ Himself, the first step was by the preaching of the glad tidings of the kingdom of heaven, to awaken men to faith and repentance.\* And here the simplicity of the testimony of the apostolic preachers supplies an important rule for the guidance of missionary labourers. If we examine their addresses, we find that whilst the arguments considerably varied as Jews or Gentiles were the hearers, yet the substance of the testimony was in all cases the same, namely, those truths which are the direct objects of faith, and which are embodied in the creed called the Apostles'; † and specially those acts of God manifest in the flesh by which man's redemption was completed; with which preaching of faith they combined the summons to repent of sin, and turn to the living God, and do works meet for repentance.

The experience of all ages,—indeed of the apostolic no less than our own,—proves abundantly that the preaching of these simple facts of redemption, without any outward signs to confirm the testimony, has the power, through God's grace, of awakening in men's hearts a thorough conviction of their truth, arising out of their marvellous adaptation to the spiritual being and condition and wants of man; the deepest springs of man's spirit are touched by them, and a new world is opened in them of life and peace and strength. Let any one who doubts this visit any mission amongst the most ignorant and degraded of the human race, in which the facts of Christ's gospel are preached to the heathen, and he may find there proofs sufficient. ‡

2. Further, as baptism was the initiatory rite for the discipline of Christ, so were those who received the testimony of the apostles and their fellow-labourers at once baptized, and thus admitted into the fellowship of Christ's Church, in which they should be trained up from infancy to manhood in Christ.

I must confess that none of the arguments by which a deviation from this apostolic usage is defended, and a prolonged preparation for this holy ordinance is justified, appear to me to have sufficient weight against those which are to be drawn from Scriptural precedents. We are not, I think, justified in deferring the baptism of those, who being instructed in the *elementary principles* of the doctrine of Christ, § and not being induced, (so far as we can judge) by temporal motives, are willing to pledge themselves to renounce sin, to believe in Jesus Christ, and obey the laws of God. We must at once meet the demand of an awakened conscience, by the free gift of the promises of God in Christ.

\* Matt. iv. 17.

† See especially 1 Cor. xv. 1—7, for St. Paul's own account of the gospel which he preached.

‡ I have known the simple reading of the Apostles' Creed among heathen who had never before heard it, arouse them like a voice from heaven. A journal lately received from a missionary of my diocese contains the following passage:—"Heard our man Limani giving some of the Amapakati a very good idea of the Christian religion. I heard one of them say, 'How is it that to-day, for the first time, we hear that we will rise again from our graves, and our hearts without any doubting believe these new and wonderful tidings, and yet this is the *first* time.'"

§ Compare Heb. vi. 1, 2, where I cannot but believe that the doctrine of baptisms is the teaching given at the time of baptism.

3. The converts having been thus made disciples, the next step in the process in apostolic times was, ordinarily, bestowing on them the gifts of the Holy Ghost, by the imposition of hands.\* This, when divested of the accidents which belonged only to the infancy of the Church, is manifestly the organizing of the spiritual body and fellowship into which the converts are baptized;† that is, assigning to each member its proper and peculiar function, by the power and authority, immediate or derived, of the one Head, Christ Jesus.

Without entering now upon the discussion of so large a question, I would observe, (as sufficient for our present purpose) that in apostolic missions, the admitting of the converts into the Church by baptism, and the organizing of the society of the baptized, were two distinct steps, generally separated by a brief interval, and requiring somewhat different authority and powers in the instruments by which they were effected.

4. The next step, if we may not rather consider it a special case of the preceding, was the ordination, in some cases at a very early period,‡ of those who should be pastors and leaders (*ἡγούμενοι*) of the new society.

5. The completion of this work, so far as concerned the organization of this society, was the substitution of a local episcopate, (in the ecclesiastical sense of the word) for the oversight of the apostles themselves. In Ephesus, indeed, we are able to trace the whole process of evangelization, in accordance with Christ's command, from the first preaching of the Gospel to the perfect organizing of the Church by the appointment of Timothy, within the space of about ten years.

Such is the exposition supplied in the labours of the inspired apostles, of the method by which the duty of the Church towards the heathen world is to be fulfilled. These are the principles which must direct us in obeying that command which is left for the Church of all ages. We must indeed be guided by the spirit, not by the letter, of apostolic precedents. The miraculous gifts, for example, which accompanied the laying on of the apostles' hands, evidently create an important distinction as to the time required before new converts should be qualified for various offices in the Church. The bread, which is the result of man's labour, is no less truly the gift of God the Creator, than that with which our blessed Saviour fed the multitudes. But the latter act was instantaneous; the former required the ordinary period of nature's course. So the gifts of God's Spirit in His Church differ from those which were miraculously bestowed, chiefly, we might almost say only, in the condition of *time*. Still, when every allowance has been made for altered circumstances, it seems to me difficult for any candid mind to deny that in the latter part of the process of evangelization, that which relates to the organizing of the Church, we have not in our modern missions given sufficient attention to those directions, which the commands of our blessed Lord and the practice of His apostles clearly indicate.

Indeed an objection has been urged against the missionary labours of the present age, which, if it could be established, would convict us of

\* The case of the first Gentile converts, in Acts x. 47, was an exception, for a special purpose, to the usual order of the process.

† See especially 1 Cor. xii. for the connexion between all the gifts of the Spirit, whether miraculous or not, with the organizing of the body.

‡ Acts xiv. 21—23.

having departed very considerably from apostolic usage. It is objected that, although we may perhaps succeed in awakening amongst those to whom the gospel is preached some religious and spiritual perceptions, yet in that which ought to be regarded as the ultimate aim of such labours—in forming churches with organic spiritual life in themselves—we have utterly failed; that our converts remain feeble dependents on the teaching and authority of foreign pastors, and receive from them a new religion as a system wholly external to their own national and social life, which is only kept alive by a continued supply of teachers from a distant land: in short, that Christianity does not take root in these nations, does not become indigenous, or even acclimatized, among those who accept it.

This is a very serious charge. If it were wholly true, we should be bound to confess that our missions differ from the apostolic in one of their most essential features; that either we have departed from the apostolic method in our missionary labours, or else, which no man who believes the promises of Christ can for a moment admit, are destitute of apostolical powers in those things which are necessary for the evangelizing of the world. It is indeed a comfort, in reply to such a charge, to point to instances not a few, one of which is now conspicuous by the presence in England of a Christian sovereign from the Islands of the Pacific, which prove that churches which have been founded by the labours of modern missionaries are not the dead branches which they are represented, but have already made progress towards independent national life. And it is somewhat unreasonable to accuse us, on the one hand, of enthusiasm, if we expect great results in a single generation through the preaching of the gospel to uncivilized races; on the other, of failure, if the growth of infant churches is not as rapid as in the days of miraculous gifts.

And yet, I cannot but believe that there is sufficient amount of truth in this charge, to make us seriously consider how we may follow more closely the directions of our Saviour and the precedents left us by His apostles. I believe that it points to a defect in the process of missionary operations as hitherto almost universally adopted, one which the experience of the wisest friends of missions is, I believe, every year discovering to them more distinctly: I mean, that we have contented ourselves too readily with awakening spiritual life amongst those to whom we have preached Christ, without using sufficiently those spiritual powers, which we know that our Redeemer has committed to His Church, for the purpose of forming Christian communities, with organic life of their own, derived, even as ours is, from the Divine Head of the Church. There has been,—and I say this without in the slightest degree detracting from the honour due to those, whose faithful labours in the mission field will ever be examples for us to follow,—but I am persuaded that there has been a tendency to place too little confidence in our native churches, to keep them too long in a state of dependence on ourselves, and to shrink from developing their resources, lest they should prove unequal to the burden. Like foolish parents, who conceive that by protecting their children from all temptation until they come to mature age, they are preparing them to resist it afterwards; so we seem to have imagined, that our converts would gain spiritual strength by being retained under the shelter and shadow of the matured Christianity of European missionaries. I have, for example, present to my

mind a mission, not indeed of our Church, which has laboured with much success for nearly half a century, but which has not as yet a single native teacher entrusted with the same ministerial powers and authority as the missionaries themselves possess. In the missions of our own Church, there is, I trust, in the present day, a sense of the reality and value of Christ's gifts in His Church, which would prevent an error, so extreme as it seems to me, from being committed. Yet I fear that the same feeling of distrust towards converts from the heathen still operates injuriously in Christian missions, and it must, I think, be admitted by all, that the object of training our converts to become organized societies, with responsibilities and powers of their own, has not as yet been at all adequately recognized.

At all events, we do well to remember that such a defect, so far as it exists, must be remedied, first of all, by more faith in the power of the Spirit of Christ to inform and guide our converts. To such it was said of old, "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things;" "Ye need not that any man teach you." Are the promises of that Spirit limited to those who from their infancy have been brought up within the covenant? Had not the converts in Rome, in Ephesus, in Corinth, at least as powerful moral corruptions to overcome, as any of ours? Was not the Oriental mind enfeebled and enslaved then, as it is now? Was not the Scythian, although selected by St. Paul as the type of extreme barbarism, yet declared to be one in Christ, and therefore partaker of the same spiritual blessings with the Jew or the Greek? And in Church organization, the moral and spiritual power, and not the intellectual attainment, is the life. To apply to these infant churches the standard of our refined Christian civilization, is a serious error. Indeed the rough vigour of the more untutored intellect is, I conceive, often better suited to deal with minds of the same class, than the more refined and cultivated, but certainly not more vigorous, powers of the educated English Christian.

And surely all the gifts of the Holy Ghost, though not imparted miraculously, that is not instantaneously, or without our own labour, are yet ours, for this work of extending in the earth the kingdom of the Redeemer. Surely, so long as we neglect not the ordinary means which God's Providence supplies, it is not presumption, but simple faith, to rely upon the promise of Christ for those powers which can alone enable His Church to exercise its functions as a spiritual body. For how can the evangelization of the heathen world advance, if the churches which we gather in are to remain, through a long period of dependent and helpless minority, a burden on the Church from which they have received the Gospel; if they are merely to occupy and exhaust its energies, instead of becoming new elements and sources of strength, and aiding the Church in carrying on further and more effective aggressions into the domain of heathenism?

But certainly, if such results are to be produced, we must commence the training of our converts from the first. The Christian has to be educated for his manhood in Christ, and qualified for the work of the Church, not by mere instruction, but through practical co-operation in the duties of that divinely constituted fellowship, which is ordained amongst other ends to be a school for the discipline of its members. By this he has to be taken out of personal, family, and national selfishness; he is taught lessons of faith, charity, and obedience. He

becomes acquainted with the full value and limits of authority in its different degrees and relations, by not only being himself under authority, but exercising it in his own proper sphere. Any Church which shall govern its members as children, and not as constituent parts of itself, will dwarf and enfeeble them, and will remain destitute of inherent strength. And in a body instinct with life and energy, organization will not be confined to the highest members, but will extend to the remotest and feeblest. It may be that the practical disuse of such organization, or rather the torpor which paralyzes its action in our National Church in England, has affected our mission Churches. But I am convinced that, without any considerable additions to our Church system, such modifications and adaptations may be made by our missionary bishops and clergy as will supply all that is wanted, and give our converts that training in the practical work of the Church which is so much needed. For example, I should recommend, as the results of my own experience—

1. That in our missions confirmation should always admit those who partake of it to the exercise of certain rights and responsibilities in the Church; such, for example, as the right of voting in Church matters, which practically teaches them to feel—and that to an extent that can hardly be realized in England—that they are members of a body whose interests are their own.

2. Again, those lay offices which our Church recognizes in the exercise of godly discipline may be made means for a most real and living fulfilment of Christian duties; and may be extended in perfect accordance with the principle which recognizes them in England. For discipline, it must be remembered, in an infant Christian community, is not only expedient but an absolute necessity, and it presents few if any of those difficulties which in a different state of society impede or wholly obstruct its healthy action. In this, and in the management of Church finances, there is always to be found much scope for the Christian education of our converts.

3. A yet wider field is open in the employment of both men and women, under efficient direction and supervision, as labourers in temporal and spiritual ministrations among their fellow-countrymen. The effect which may be thus produced, even at an early period, in calling forth the powers and resources of native churches and the willing offering of themselves by the native Christians to their Lord's work, is indeed a most encouraging proof of life. But I consider it of the very first importance, if this is to be training for future independence, that such labours should be, as a rule, either *unpaid*, or remunerated only by the offerings of the native Christians themselves; and also, that those who labour should be solemnly set apart as to a real, though not necessarily a permanent, office in the body of Christ, as a recognized and definite part of the Church organization. It appears to me that the so-called catechist system loses much of the advantages which might be derived from it, when the catechists are supported by the same fund which maintains the European missionaries. It ought to be made an instrument for strengthening—not for enfeebling—the independent action of the native churches.

4. Further, whilst we remember the Apostle's caution against the admission of a novice to the office of the ministry, yet, after a due period of probation, those who have proved themselves competent to



instruct others in the faith, and to exercise authority, ought in my judgment to be ordained as deacons and presbyters of the native Church, although they may not as yet possess the attainments which would qualify them to expound to others, or even perhaps to understand themselves, all the theological distinctions which the experience and conflicts of the Church through eighteen centuries have elaborated. For the ultimate support of these native pastors from other funds than those which maintain the European missionaries, provision should be made as soon as possible.

In this work of organization, however, I am persuaded it is our wisdom no less than our duty to preserve in our Mission Churches, not only the fundamental principles, but to some extent even the distinctive peculiarities, of our English Church system. We must aim indeed to produce among our converts, a Christianity, bearing fruit of the soil and climate in which it is planted. But principles, truths, and laws, which have been tested by the experience of one nation, do not become less real, or true, or precious, by being transferred to another hemisphere. Those who blame our missionaries for attempting to Anglicanize their converts from heathenism, appear to me hardly to understand the difficulties of the problem which has to be solved. We must civilize by somewhat of the same process. No race of men—especially, no savage race—learns civilization from us, without borrowing some of the peculiar features of European civilization. If either civilization or Christianity takes root in a nation, it will in time grow into its own distinctive national form, but it probably will always retain some traces of the source from which it was first received. Our own Book of Common Prayer, for example, may in future generations become greatly modified, and in different directions, in India, in Africa, in the Islands of the Pacific; but even in its present form, with all its marks of the conflicts through which it has passed, and of the peculiar national circumstances to which it was adapted, its value to infant churches is proved by the most impartial and independent testimony, and it is surely no small comfort to us to know that in its missionary work, our Church is leaving on nations the most various, scattered over the whole earth, its own characteristic impress, which time cannot efface, and which shall be a witness to generations yet unborn of labours for Christ, alas! how feeble and insufficient when tried by the Word of God, and yet such as we trust that the Lord himself will acknowledge when He comes to judge the nations of the earth.

To sum up shortly the practical conclusions which I would draw from a comparison of apostolic missions and our own, I would say, let us not consider that we have succeeded in our work, until its results appear in self-supporting native churches with native pastors; and whilst we go not forward with profitless haste, let us study more how from the first, after the example given us in Holy Scripture, and on the principles of the Church to which we owe allegiance, our converts may, under the guidance and teaching of the Holy Spirit, be trained and disciplined so as to be men, not mere babes, in Christ. Thus, I am persuaded, through that blessing from our Divine Head which He will never withhold from work for Himself, directed by His Word, shall we effectually prove to the world that the Lord is taking to Himself His own inheritance over the nations.

## THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS THE HEATHEN.

By THE REV. HENRY BAILEY.

I SHALL best introduce what I have to say on the subject assigned to me, by a restrictive explanation of its several well-chosen terms. We shall thus not only guard against vague declamation and trite generalities, but avoid intrusion into topics which, however interesting and even momentous, lie outside the special question now before us.

By "duty," then, I understand, not the sentiment of duty, not the motives, or the encouragements, or the obstacles to duty, but according to the strict and surely striking meaning of the word, that which is due, as an obligation. By "the Church" I understand, not the Universal Church, not the Church of Rome of course, not the assemblage of any Christian communities in this land, which, though we may regard them as of the soul, are not of the body, of the Church,—but that organized Society known by the name of the Church of England. By "the Heathen" I understand those who are without the pale of Christianity, in any one or other of its forms, in foreign parts.

Let me clear the way by another preliminary remark. I am not called on, by the terms of the subject, to treat it historically, with critical exposure of past shortcomings and present defects; or polemically and controversially, for purposes of laudation or disparagement, or invidious comparisons with the efforts of other religious bodies. All this I gladly and thankfully escape on the present occasion.

We have the advantage of a distinct, limited, and practical subject of inquiry; yet one, too, of the very gravest possible importance. For what tremendous issues hang upon the answer, when even the variations between different estimates of one of the terms—the number of heathen in the world—are counted not by hundreds and thousands, but by millions, yes, hundreds of millions of immortal beings!

Has the Church, then, as a Church, any duty towards the heathen? This is a preliminary question; but one, surely, on which I need spend no time with an assembly which accepts the Bible as the supreme rule of faith and conduct. And yet, so much are many good persons in the habit of limiting their practical application to individual efforts, that it is well to remind them that the duty of evangelizing the world, and the promises annexed to that duty, in Holy Scripture, are given to the Church,—“To the end that to the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known *by the Church* the manifold wisdom of God.” And when I speak of the Church in this respect, I am anxious to be understood as speaking of the Church of, or belonging to, Christ; i. e. as redeemed by His blood, as founded, governed, and sanctified, by His Spirit. For if every private Christian is an inheritor by grace of the Spirit of God, certainly the largest promises of the Spirit of which we read in the Bible are made to the Church, or to the ministers of the Church. And if we assume the presence of the Spirit in individual missionary agents, we must not begin by the doubt or denial of it with the Church of Christ, and so reduce its agency to an unspiritual

mechanism. In the Old Testament, as might be shown by numerous quotations, the Church is throughout the prophesied agent of the conversion of the heathen world. "Individuals (under this view) are considered, not in themselves, but as the Church's members and organs, as her feet, and hands, and tongue, connected with the body." So wrote Dr. Pusey when preaching for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Similarly the Rev. Henry Venn: "The principle of the Church Missionary Society is voluntary action in subordination to constituted Church authority."

We may advert for a few moments longer to the inspired precedents in the New Testament of the apostolic age. For some years the Apostles did not understand the fact or the nature of their commission to the heathen, but their minds were enlightened by degrees. First Hellenists were evangelized, then the Samaritans, then the devout Roman centurion, and then the Gentiles of Antioch. This place became the first centre of missionary action; and the first step was taken by express direction of the Holy Ghost. Paul and Barnabas were set apart by laying on of hands with prayer and fasting to be the first agents in this new branch of ministerial service. On the completion of their journey, we read, "they assembled the Church, and rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how He had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles." But a more important function was soon to be exercised by the mother Church; no less than a collective judgment on vital questions of doctrine and discipline, i.e., the conditions upon which the heathen were to be received into the spiritual body. A solemn convocation was held accordingly, under the presidency of James, generally thought to have been Bishop of Jerusalem; and after each speaker had freely declared his mind, the Church drew up a decree, and issued it to (as we should now call them) all missionary stations. We have a supplementary account of this great Church Council in Gal. c. ii., which I refer to now mainly to notice that the heads of the Church determined which of their body should be specially entrusted with the missionary work. These, when once commissioned, seem to have been allowed, and to have taken, considerable latitude of action and authority; but to have given to the mother Church from time to time an account of their labours.

From the duty of the Church as thus broadly laid down in Holy Scripture, and thus early acted on, we derive by a plain deduction that a share of that duty has been devolved by the Lord upon this Church of England.

We proceed then, without further delay, to our chief inquiry, What is the duty, the office, of the Church of England in this nineteenth century, towards the heathen of various races and in various climates of the world? What ought the Church to do? and through what several agencies?

My answer to these questions will necessarily partake of a twofold character, being partly a statement of measures whose value has been proved by wide and successful experience, the *acta* of Church missions; partly of suggestions which have yet to be tried, provided they are thought worthy of it, the *agenda* of Church missions.

I. One of the first duties of the Church is, naturally, to survey the field of missionary need, and fix the centres of missionary action. Without denying the manifest providence which has directed the

movements of our missionary societies and others, or the wonderful blessing which has followed them, it must be acknowledged that there has been too little system and care and mutual understanding in the selection of fields of labour, and the result has been evident in increased and unnecessary expenditure, in speedy abandonment of enterprizes, and in unseemly collision with other Christian bodies. I, for one, hailed the passing of a minute by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel last June, for the appointment of a "Missions' Committee," his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury being always a member *ex-officio*, "to consider the whole missionary field from a purely spiritual point of view."

The duties of such a body would be in the main not legislative or executive, but deliberative: and would include not only the mapping out of Missionary Districts at large, but the indication of the most suitable Stations for Clergy, the number of Clergy and Assistants for each, the present or prospective settlement of Episcopal Sees, the subdivision of them, the time for inaugurating a native Pastorate and native Episcopate, the erection of Cathedrals, and especially the institution of Cathedral Chapters, for in early times one main end of Cathedrals was the propagation of the Gospel by aggressive measures upon the heathen around them. The researches of explorers and travellers will be largely serviceable to the Church in this stage of deliberation, and the conclusions will be drawn from all the circumstances of each case, including the encouragements and facilities on one hand, and the difficulties on the other.

II. But so urgent is the unconscious cry which the heathen raise in the ears of the Church, that the time of action comes on long before the work of survey is over. And if in her deliberations the Church has felt her need of the Spirit of *wisdom* from above, she must feel her need of the Spirit of *power* when she cries aloud, "Whom shall I send? and who will go for us?" "Who are they that shall go?" In order to a speedy and effectual answer to these momentous questions, the Church must invite all her children to fervent prayer and supplication for this special object,—the adequate supply of men qualified to serve upon this arduous and honourable employment. This call will naturally proceed from "those who have public authority given them in the congregation, to *call* and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard," i.e., from the voice of her chief pastors. And the call ought to be accompanied by a form of prayer for constant use, if possible, throughout our congregations. With whatever special intention we may offer privately certain petitions in our Prayer-Book, it cannot be said that the Church has an express, authorized, collect or prayer for the supply of missionaries to the heathen; and this is surely much to be regretted.

But prayer and pains must go together. There needs to be a patient and persevering search for agents capable of being trained for this special work under duly authorized and accredited conditions; and then a systematic preparation of them, mostly in Colleges founded for the purpose, and some perhaps by persons specially gifted this way. The want of men should be more frequently made known, and with more particularity, in sermons, speeches, and publications; the conditions of service being clearly defined, and the encouragements as clearly put forward. There is very great room for improvement in the

discharge of this function by the Church ; for the difficulty of obtaining missionary candidates at all, the grievous insufficiency of their number, and the inferior qualifications of many who offer themselves, still continue a great discredit to the zeal of the Church of England.

But I will suppose the agents to have been procured and sent forth to the various posts among the heathen which have been assigned to them. They land, they study, they labour, they succeed, they make converts, they form congregations, and, as was to be expected, meet with difficulties, and questions of doctrine, speculative and practical, of discipline, of ritual, in the course of their progress. It was never designed, and it would be wholly unreasonable, to throw upon the poor unaided missionary the solution and settlement of all these things, in addition to his other arduous labours. Here, then, is fresh work created for the Church, through her suitable agencies : to lay down with sufficient elasticity, the law of ceremonies, the canons of congregational discipline and of inter-mission discipline ; to furnish out of her ancient storehouse, with the necessary adaptations, arguments and conclusions of doctrine ; to resolve disputed points of practice, to ascertain the laws and customs of foreign kingdoms and nations, adjusting where advisable the practice of the Church to them, or else seeking to elevate them to the practice of the Church ; to superintend and arrange services, liturgies, translations of the Bible, and vernacular Christian literature, according to the needs of the missions. In the execution of this branch of its duty to the heathen, the Church will invite and use freely the suggestions, the learning, or the practical skill, of individuals, consulting especially with the missionaries themselves ; and for the same purposes will set on foot and employ Missionary Conferences, Diocesan and Provincial Synods.

But it seems to me, that in order to the proper discharge of this arduous, complicated, vast, and delicate work, there is an urgent need that a new agency be called into permanent existence. There should be at least one person, with title of Missionographer of the Church, or Chancellor of Foreign Mission Churches, or Professor of Missions or Missionary Affairs, with his office sufficiently well endowed, and his home either at one of the Universities, or better, as I venture to think, at the Church's Missionary College at Canterbury, who would be required to devote his whole time to the collection of information, from all quarters, of the doings amongst the heathen of all bodies of missionaries, to sift and arrange the documentary stores which are accumulating on our hands from all sides ; to follow this up by papers, or a year-book of missions, or a digest of comparative mission-work, with comments theoretical and practical. Such an one, or rather another like him, would be engaged in the study of early precedents, canons, and liturgies ; and be ready with special and technical information, which an expert only can give, for the "Missions' Committee," or missionaries themselves, by whom he might be regarded as a common referee. A third and a fourth would be profitably employed in arranging materials on the ethnology, superstitions, and peculiar customs of heathen nations ; in constructing hand-books of Hindu, Moslem, or Buddhist controversy ; in preparing a missionary's Vade Mecum of oral discussion, preaching, management of schools, itinerations, work amongst females, and treatment of inquirers ; in drawing up a series of catechetical papers, a *Concionator*, or Preacher's Guide, devotions, and

devotional works for missionaries and missions; in editing magazines, contributing articles, and publishing tracts, or other literature, for the information of the Church. We have volunteers in many of these departments already, but what is wanted is a succession of able men, whose recognized duty and office it will be to supply these most important and growing needs. Why should not missionary bishops and clergy, *when compelled* to retire from active service, be retained by the Church for these purposes, with all their special gifts and personal experience, instead of their being absorbed in ordinary parochial ministrations?

In the course of her watchfulness and care for the heathen, the Church will often have to communicate with the Government, where rights sacred and secular are intermingled; to petition the Crown, or the supreme local legislature; to urge salutary measures; to protest against grievances and wrongs and unlawfully imposed restrictions; to watch over, and protect against encroachment, the rights of the spirituality; to aid by information and influence in the settlement on Scriptural principles of mixed questions concerning our heathen fellow-subjects, such as those of marriage; and, lastly, to see that due spiritual provision is made for our Christian fellow-subjects—soldiers, sailors, civilians, or others—who live amongst them. For at the very threshold of the Church's duty to the heathen, lies her duty to her own scattered, and alas! often debased, children.

III. It is time I should proceed to say something—it cannot be much—on the essential, and often anxious and absorbing, subject of funds. The Church's duty towards the heathen involves the necessity of raising and maintaining very large funds for the organization and conduct of the expensive work of missions. The machinery at home, the wide distances of the various fields of operation from England and from each other, sickness, the ravages of climate, death, the work of translations and missionary literature, the building of schools, churches, and mission-houses, and much more, unavoidably call for a *very large* sum of money, and one which needs continually to be replenished. The Societies and Associations existing for the collection and distribution of funds, including the Finance Committees which they have themselves organized, are excellently adapted, if well worked, to accomplish this important object. Doubtless there needs more system and harmonious co-operation, and adjustment of apparently, though only apparently, conflicting claims of general and special funds; but, beyond this, there needs more information on the real necessities of the case. To many, the incomes of our Societies seem very large, and the money unreasonably and extravagantly spent. For their satisfaction, and indeed for the satisfaction of the Church at large, there ought to be issued papers shewing how the expenses necessarily mount up to what they appear in the treasurer's sheet, condescending to go into details, and giving publicity to every item which is the object of suspicion. For the same general purpose, the reports of what is done by missionaries ought to be presented in the most attractive form, and that will be the most attractive which is most real and genuine, and represents with strictest accuracy the condition of the work. It must ever be borne in mind that, in order to secure the adequate liberality of the members of the Church, their attention must be arrested, their mind informed, their judgment convinced, their consciences awakened, their affections gained.

The Church must address herself far more vigorously than ever before to these ends, till such time as membership in her body shall be taken to imply, as a matter of course, support towards the work of incorporating those who are without. The Church will never have done its duty to the heathen, in this division of it, till she has taught every one of her members, rich and poor, young and old, to take a share in it, either through the offertory, or by mission boxes, or regular periodical contributions. At present the funds raised for missionary purposes bear a most miserable proportion either to the wealth, the opportunities, or the responsibilities, of the Church. Sermons, tracts, meetings, speeches, periodicals, missionary scenes and biographies, must all be brought more powerfully to bear upon Church members of all classes, for obtaining more abundant offerings for the missionary cause.

Of the distribution of these funds through the Church's agents—proverbially so difficult and delicate and liable to abuse—time absolutely forbids me to say anything.

Besides the direct work of evangelization, which is the proper duty of the Church towards the heathen, she is a debtor to them indirectly for whatever may conduce towards their amelioration. Under this head come medical missions, a most valuable enterprize, which should be more systematically and vigorously taken up by the Church than heretofore; and all schemes for the civilization and improvement of the heathen races, in which the influence of the Church can be exerted with a view to higher ends.

I have but traced the outlines, and that imperfectly, of a grand field of spiritual warfare. To fill them in with details and illustrations; to point out the evils of neglect, of delay, of divided counsels, of antagonistic action; to exhibit the rich fruits of zeal, and love, and patient perseverance, would require a treatise rather than a paper. My purpose, however, will be satisfied, if I have succeeded, in any practical form, to transfer to your minds the clear apprehension of the Church's duty towards the heathen, as it appears to my own; if you are convinced, as I am, that the method of fulfilling that duty which I have sketched out, would prevent waste of force, secure the maximum of work with the greatest economy of power, reduce to their minimum the evils of antagonism and partizanship, ensure every proposition from any quarter a fair hearing, and, lastly, would consolidate individual efforts, with an eye not to temporary excitement and revival, but to permanent results, and a steady growth of the Kingdom of God.

For let it be ever remembered, that what we want to secure is the due union of a general control with free scope for individual exertion. We must beware of adopting the theory and imitating the practice of the Papacy again in any form; we must guard against a system of meddling and assumption of responsibility in small matters, against imposition of uniformity of ceremonies and of missionary systems, against official obstructions to free action. The Church of England resembles the State and Realm of England. The government of England is not by an absolute, but a constitutional monarchy; the sovereign is "over all persons, and in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme," but rules and acts according to law, and through representatives duly and constitutionally appointed; through his ministers and legislators and judges and magistrates and all other officers of royal appointment. If the exigencies of the times require it, and the good of his empire

will be promoted, the temporal sovereign creates new offices, and fills them accordingly. Just so the Church of England lays no claim to infallibility, and practices no tyranny, but rules and acts through her representatives, employing division, and further division where needed, of spiritual labour, that it may be the more effectually done. She has work for all in the charge committed to her by the Lord of evangelizing the heathen world. Her agents and agencies are the Bishops and the other orders of the Ministry of the Divine Word and Sacraments, Convocation, Missionary Societies, Missionary Committees, the Lords and Members of Parliament, the organized body of Secretaries and Treasurers of Associations, Dioceses, Archdeaconries, Rural Deaneries, Parishes, Missionary Colleges, Missionary Bishops and Clergy, Catechists and Readers, men, women, and children in their personal capacity.

This is a grand array of forces, a splendid machine; but how will it work? Where is the inherent motive power? Indeed there is none. But pause a moment and behold. What is the "candlestick all of gold, with a bowl upon the top of it, and his seven lamps thereon, and seven pipes to the seven lamps, which are upon the top thereof; and two olive trees by it, one upon the right side of the bowl, and the other upon the left side thereof? Knowest thou not what these be? This is the word of the Lord, saying, *Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the LORD of hosts.*" \*

## THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS THE HEATHEN.

BY THE REV. W. KAY.

THE main object I have in view in addressing the section is to submit to it, and through it to the Congress, a very practical and, as it appears to me, a very important proposal. But first of all I would make a few brief remarks as to the duty of missionary exertion.

The general obligation is denied by none. It cannot be so, for it rests on our Lord's plain command. This is so far well, but it is not all. I do not see how it is possible for a person to have a clear perception of the nature of Redemption itself without feeling the obligation of sending missions to the heathen. Christ "gave Himself a ransom *for all*, to be testified of in due time." We confess this with our mouths; can we have a real apprehension of it, if we are not earnest in desiring that *all* should have the testimony sent to them? What indeed is the whole Bible but an exhibition of the way in which this great scheme of "blessing all nations" has been carried on? Every book of Scripture, from Genesis to the Apocalypse, becomes instinct with new light when regarded from the missionary point of view. Can we so much as pray the Lord's Prayer, if we do not seek to extend His kingdom? Or can we justly make use of

\* Zech. iv. 2—6.



any of those noble titles which are the Church's heritage? We claim the name of *Catholic*; but what reality is there in the claim if our sympathies are restricted, I do not say to our own island, but even to that north-western peninsula of the old continent which is called Europe; while Asia with its old populous empires lies before us on one side, and the dense dark mass of Africa on the other? We thankfully acknowledge God's goodness in preserving to us the *Apostolic* succession; but, since the characteristic function of the apostolate was to "Christianize all nations," must not a succession to apostolic privilege carry with it a proportionate share in this great duty? Or does the Church bear the glorious name, "*Evangelical*?" What, then, is the essence of this "evangel," but that the Church should obey the invitation,—“O thou that *bringest good tidings!* get thee up into the high mountains,”—do not sit down content with singing over thy gospel-news in the well-cultured plains, while all around are the high lands of heathenism, crested with idolatrous altars?

So much as regards the *general* duty. Our special duty as Englishmen, who can doubt? In every part of the world we are brought into contact with heathen races, while in India (solemn thought!) two hundred millions of Hindus and Mussulmans are our fellow-subjects. Those who have not seen the actual working of heathenism cannot understand how saddening is the sense of contrast produced in the mind of a missionary on his return to England—to this England on which God has bestowed such *affluence* of spiritual privilege. To attend one of our Cathedral services, and hear the loftiest aspirations of man's soul expressed in such wondrously beautiful music as we heard this morning, and then to be carried back in thought to temples such as I have seen in Benares, whose floors and walls are covered with obscene symbols, this is indeed painful. How, how is one to communicate to the Church at home a just sense of the great wants of India?

It is often said: "We are disheartened by the want of success in missionary enterprise."

On this I would make two observations.

I. First, the allegation is *not true*; at least as regards India. For (1) the actual number of converts has been larger than could have been expected, considering how small an amount of means has been employed, and at how recent a period missionary agents were allowed by the English government to enter North India; remembering, too, how deeply Hinduism has been ingrained into the habits, institutions, literature, and philosophy of the people during 3500 years; and how vast the mass is which has there to be operated upon;—for in the moral, as in the physical, world, the larger the mass the stronger is the mutual attraction that holds the component particles together. (2) The number of professed converts is far from representing the total result of missionary labour. A large amount of influence is *absorbed*; some of it accumulating inside the mass, latent for a time, but not lost; some of it producing important changes, like those which occurred in the first ages of Christianity; such as the reactionary revival of Paganism under Julian, and the attempt which was made by Plotinus and his followers, to combine certain parts of Christian teaching with pantheism.

II. Secondly: If the allegation were true, (1) the duty still remains. The Church must trust its Commander, and obey His orders, even when it does not understand the immediate bearing those orders have on the whole purpose of the campaign. How long did the occupation of Torres

Vedras appear to be wasted labour! (2) We are not to think of missionary work as if it were exempt from the *discipline of faith* to which the religious life in every form is subject. How long did it seem as if the promise to Abraham was frustrate! But in spite of all appearances to the contrary, Abraham "believed God," believed that God would give him a son in whom all the promises would be fulfilled, "and—it was counted to him for righteousness." So, now, the very fact that we are allowed to go on working with little visible success, may be the appointed test of our fidelity.

And now let me earnestly commend to your consideration the following suggestion: that every year in the period between Ascension-day and Whitsunday,—Ascension-day, so inseparably connected with our Lord's last injunction, "Go forth," and Whitsunday, on which in our most solemn office we thank God for having been ourselves "brought out of darkness and error, into the clear light and true knowledge of" the Father and His Son Jesus Christ,—there should be special services bearing on the work of evangelization; including supplications for the heathen, the native Churches, the missionaries, as well as prayers for the growth of genuine zeal for God's glory in the Church at home.

This one measure—binding the Church at home in organic unity with the evangelistic work abroad—would (can we doubt it?) bring down blessings such as we cannot foresee. God "would surprise us with blessings of goodness." May He incline our hearts so to seek Him!

THE CHAIRMAN here stated that the Rev. JOSEPH RIDGWAY, who was to have delivered the next address, was unable to attend the Congress in consequence of illness in his family.

## DISCUSSION.

EARL NELSON: Mr. Chairman, I have a very few words to address to you on this occasion. I want first to second very heartily the statement made by the Bishop of Grahamston in reference to our want of faith in our heathen converts. We were taught a great deal in this respect by the history of Madagascar, where teachers not of our communion ministered for some time. When they were sent away from Madagascar it was imagined that all Christianity must have disappeared, because European agency had ceased. But when the Bishop of Mauritius went there the other day he found, to his great delight, that by God's blessing the Holy Spirit had worked even on those imperfect means, and that native Christians had been able to maintain the Christian faith in the midst of all their persecutions. Then I think we should look narrowly into the proofs that we have of the lower sort of morality that exists amongst such people,—a morality lower certainly than that which obtains in our high state of civilization. We see this from many of the rebukes given to early Christians in St. Paul's Epistles. We are apt to judge heathen and other nations, especially eastern nations, who have this sort of lower morality among them, by the higher morality that we have come up to by our highest civilization. We forget the lesson which I think the Bible itself will teach us, that Christianity will work by degrees in bringing men up to a higher level. Men may become true Christians, however, without attaining to that level, and I believe may be trusted more than we think, though they have not quite the same appreciation of things as we have. This, however, is merely by the bye. The reason why I sent up my name when I first came into the room, was to state an opinion that I have

had for a long time in my own mind, and which has been of late very much strengthened, not only by what I have heard at this Congress in reference to Cathedral Chapters showing the way, reminding one again of the way in which we were first evangelized, but also by a statement which I have received from a missionary who has lately returned from India. He has worked in India for some years, and he is impressed thoroughly with the belief, that we are not working there on the best system. His idea is, that we have jumped into a sort of parochial system at once, instead of going upon the cathedral or collegiate system to begin with; and he is, I know, most anxious to impress this upon the Church generally before his return. Having felt the same thing myself, and being strengthened in that belief by the references to the early work that our Cathedral were meant to do, I am induced to refer to the subject on this occasion. His idea is, that if in India, instead of planting single missionaries in different localities, who are often not fully fitted to deal with all the difficulties they meet with in coming in contact with the intelligent heathen mind in India; if, instead of settling down as parish priests, four, or five, or six missionaries would live together in one place—a sort of College—and then go forth into districts, say for a month at a time; then return and confer together with earnest prayer, and cheer each other with a record of their labours, a much more effectual work could be done with the means already in our hands.

THE REV. HENRY ROWLEY: In speaking of the duty of the Church towards the heathen, I would preface the few remarks I have to make by saying, that I think it is the duty of the Church of England especially to work for the heathen, because the nation of England has beyond all other people on the face of the earth been brought into contact with the heathen. During the last two hundred years our commerce has taken our countrymen to all parts of the world, and has brought distant lands under our dominion; our arms in warfare have had a similar tendency to lay open regions that have been for ages closed against us, and so afford the Church of England almost an apostolic opportunity of conveying the Gospel to the heathen. Therefore I think it is unquestionable that the Church of England is, by the providence of God, called specially to the duty of working among the heathen in all parts of the world. Now, if we look at the various characteristics of the heathen with whom we have been brought in contact, we shall see a close resemblance in their condition to that of the heathen at the time that the Gospel was first preached. We have the very same elements to deal with. We have in China, for instance, a heathenism which is a political civilization, such as was found in Greece and Rome; we have in India a heathenism which is a religious civilization, such as was found in ancient Egypt; and we have in Africa and among the Indian tribes and Malay races a similar state of things to that which prevailed among the barbarians of ancient days; and the work we are called upon now to do is the same work that the early Church was called upon to do. The question is, Can we do it? Have we done it? If we have failed, we have failed not from want of power, because, though we have not miraculous gifts, though we have not divine eloquence, yet we have the grace of God, we have the Word of God, and if we worked as the Church in ancient times worked, with the same spirit and with the same method with which the apostles and holy men of old worked, with that grace and that work we should be able to accomplish similar results. I know the schisms which rend the Church are greatly to be lamented, and must be a hindrance, but that is no reason why each individual branch of the Church should not be capable of doing its own work. I firmly believe that if we realized our duty more than we have done, if each individual portion of the Church realized its duty as it should do towards the heathen, more would be done to bring about that much-to-be-desired union of Christendom than by any other means. I sent up my card, however, mainly that I might have an opportunity of stating that I believe that much of our failure in missionary operations has arisen from the way in which we have isolated the missionary. I believe that what we want in the conversion of the heathen abroad is just what we want in the conversion of our own heathen at home. We want men to live in community, men who will live in the very midst of the heathen, to be among them witnesses for Christ, not only by the purity of their lives, but by their organization, by their submission to one head. The heathen in all parts of the world, whether in India or China or Africa, have a distinct notion of patriarchal rule, and they find it difficult to understand the character of the missionaries when they see them isolated and not submitting to authority. And there is not only this to be considered, but we ought to take into consideration the natural characteristics of the heathen with whom we have to deal; for instance, what will be quite right for the Chinese may not be equally right for the Hindoo, and what would be right for either of these would not be at all applicable to the barbarian African. In all cases I think the Church, while maintaining uniformity of doctrine, should be left to adapt itself, in method and external action, to the idiosyncracies of the people with whom it

has to deal. For instance, we cannot conceive, considering the characteristics of the Hindoo, that a mere bald presentation of religion can be anything to his mind. For him, therefore, if it be possible, and I do not see why it should not be possible, let us have a gorgeous ritual. If you go to Africa you ought, I conceive, to establish yourself among the heathen there with a semblance of strength and authority. There you find no law, and you must be the fountain of law. There you should take with you not merely the man who will Christianize, but the man who will civilize. You should take with you the elements of civilization and Christianity, and establish missions, I will not say of five or six, but, if possible, of twenty or more missionaries. If such missions were established in various parts of Africa among the heathen, in a short time they would form centres of civilization and religion, round which the heathen would rally, to which the oppressed would run, and you would in each of those centres be laying the foundation of large Christian communities. I think our duty towards the heathen is not only a great but a hopeful duty. We have the power of carrying the Gospel to all lands, and we only need the disposition to do so, and sure I am that if we do that we shall not spend our strength in vain. I cannot conceive of any work more encouraging or hopeful than the work among the purely heathen. I know that we have a great deal to do at home, and that our first work is at home, and sad it is that with the abundant means we possess, so much still has to be done; but we cannot expect a blessing upon the efforts we make for our kindred at home unless we stretch forth the arms of our love towards the alien and the stranger. With the vast increase of our territory our duties have increased, and if we would keep those blessings which we as citizens and Christians possess above all other people on the face of the earth, rest assured of this, we must make greater efforts than we have made to impart the Gospel, the greatest of all our blessings, to those who have it not.

The Rev. J. Wise said: Sir, I have ventured to ask your permission to address this meeting very briefly on the subject before it, because it has been my lot to see some of our efforts abroad for the Christianization of the heathen. I believe the duty of our Church to the heathen to be a very plain one, and there are several important reasons why we should do our best to Christianize them. 1.—*It is good policy to do so.* Conquered nations are held more easily by benefits than by arms. It has ever been the policy of an intelligent, far-seeing nation to permeate the whole empire with its own civilization, to bind the conquered by evident benefits. We have something more than a mere civilization to offer to the distant parts of our empire, the nations with which we interchange commerce: we have a religion to give, which, once received, will morally raise the peoples, and shew us to be their best human benefactors. "Do not the recent outbreaks in New Zealand spoil this theory?" some may ask. I think not; they testify nothing more than that our Christianity has not been perfect to and amongst those people. We do not unchristianize European nations when they go to war. At such times white men may be guilty of as gross deeds as black ones, as a recent correspondence from America teaches us. But much as such men dishonour Christianity, we shall hardly venture to say they ought never to have been taught it. Black and white Christians must be judged by one rule. If we are to refrain from teaching Christianity abroad, because we do not make perfect Christians, we must also give up teaching at home. I believe it to be perfectly true, what has been often stated, that a small army of missionaries and the teaching of Christianity would have saved many costly wars. 2.—*The second ground on which I urge our duty to Christianize the heathen, is this, I believe the Church at home is benefitted by efforts to enlarge itself.* Experience will teach that in every attempt to do good a blessing returns to the Christian or to a Church. I have often heard, and once was inclined to think, our labour should rather be at home. But we should remember whilst the Apostles acted on the charge, Begin at Jerusalem, go into Judæa, Galilee, and Samaria; they did not stop there until all were good Christians, but went on and on to compass the known world; remembering the other charge, "Go ye into all the world." Even when the sharp contention of Paul and Barnabas seemed to break the unity of the Church, God brought good out of their human infirmity, and a larger field was compassed than if they had worked together. We have the example of the Apostles to urge us to send teachers to the heathen, even before all the baptized Christians at home are pure and perfect children of God. 3.—*Gratitude* should be another call to us to do this work. Apostles and holy men freely brought us the Gospel and Church of Christ; our feeling ought to be, independently of any command, freely we have received these gifts, freely we will hand them on. 4.—I will name but one reason more for this duty, a reason we ought always to keep in remembrance, viz., the *Great Head of the Church has laid the duty on us.* I trust, sir, I shall not be out of course, if I say one word on the various agencies we have at work for this object. Different agencies, and apparent divisions, mar the unity which Christ prayed might be in His Church, as was so

forcibly pointed out to us on Tuesday. But we must use things as they are, however we may wish and pray that they may be better. I have seen our different agencies at work amongst the heathen, and therefore I venture to speak of them. The venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, not neglecting its first principle of caring for our countrymen, has of late years more largely acted on another of its primary purposes, and with its other hand has fearlessly and faithfully, with good men and true, entered the strongholds of heathenism and been blessed in its deed. In order of time the great Church Missionary Society follows, and though, for many reasons, I love better the older society, yet of the *younger* I can speak in unqualified praise in one respect, that is, *in the care exercised in the choice of its men*. I believe them to be of the excellent ones of the earth, whose work will bear any fair amount of criticism and inspection, and will be found to be that of faithful men, often carried on through a long course of harassing years, in the greatest singleness of heart. I speak next, as of latest institution, of the Colonial Episcopate, and the special agencies they can bring to bear on the heathen. I humbly think, the sending out of Bishops to have been one of the wisest, truest courses we have adopted. If we believe Episcopacy to be ordained of God, surely we erred in not using His instruments from the first. We have been greatly blessed since we have done so. The Bishops only can call and ordain a native ministry. In their colleges and institutions they faithfully do this, and this work is especially worthy of our sympathy and prayers. I would say one word as to the success which has attended our efforts. This I think has been great. From the testimony of eye-witnesses, and Dr. Kay will doubtless support me in saying, that the 30,000 Christians of South India, in sincerity, in devotion, in moral conduct, will bear a fair comparison with 30,000 Christians chosen *en masse* anywhere else. I do not say they all are model Christians; we are not such here at home, with all our advantages. I can speak from observation in Ceylon: there the parable of the leaven seems to be realizing itself, the Gospel and Church of Christ are leavening the people. But if the result appear comparatively small, and our efforts thus far feeble and imperfect, I think they have been blessed, and will be, if we work on in faith and love.

THE REV. W. W. HERRINGHAM: I think it, sir, most desirable that from a meeting of this character we should carry away some practical suggestion. I will not therefore say a word on the general duty of supporting missionary efforts, in which I trust we are all agreed; but there is one view of the subject which seems to me most important. I believe that the difficulty in carrying out this great work is not so much a want of funds as a want of men,—of men, I mean, thoroughly qualified for the work before them. Now I speak in the presence of two gentlemen who seem to represent the idea I have in my mind, Mr. Beresford Hope and the Warden of S. Augustine's College. It seems to me, sir, that the Church's duty to the heathen is not only to give them the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but to offer it to them in the best possible way she can. And for this object I would insist upon the necessity of training our missionaries beforehand for their work; so that they should not only be, what we hope all are, men of faith and piety, but also men qualified by previous special training for the special field of labour to which they will be called. I may mention that in my own archdeaconry we maintain one missionary student at S. Augustine's College, and if this were done in every archdeaconry we should have a large body of young men constantly under training for the great work of spreading the Gospel throughout the world.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE said: I am called upon unexpectedly by the Chairman, and I really believe that I should be contumacious, if it were not that I am obliged to correct a phrase used by a recent speaker, and the more so because it refers to a point previous to the treatment of the heathen—namely, the treatment of those who are intended to be their teachers. He spoke of the "founder of S. Augustine's College." Now the founder of that College is one who I wish was here to-day, the Rev. Edward Coleridge. I had a part, and one which I thank God I was allowed to take, in setting that College on foot, but he was its founder, the man who originated the idea of a Missionary College: and I do not think the Church of England has ever shewn sufficient acknowledgment to him for that great conception. But there is the College, and in the hands of my friend the Warden, whom you have heard to-day, I can assure you it is doing a work of a very peculiar character. It has an eminently practical way of dealing with the young men. It makes them what we technically call "men" at college, not Seminarists, as you find in Continental colleges; nor yet men in another sense of the word, having plenty of money to fool away, as is the case with many of our young men at the old Universities, but God-fearing, earnest Christians, with all the manly qualities which belong to the Englishman. They are trained in sound theology, and in the pure worship of Almighty God; and also by our most active and excellent friend, the Sub-warden, in all those occupations of carpentering, printing,

and so on, that a missionary who goes to the rough English colonies, or the rougher heathendom beyond, must make himself acquainted with; because a man there has not only to go to bed in the evening thinking what he will do to-morrow, and what he will have for his breakfast and dinner, but he has to build his own house where he may go to bed, and kill what he eats at his breakfast and dinner. The Colonial and Missionary Church is, of course, now in a state of temporary secular discouragement, but considering how it has grown up in these twenty years of great political changes in the Colonies, such a crisis as the present was, I believe, sooner or later inevitable. I believe this crisis will, under God, be overruled for good. You see already that the Church of Canada has established herself as a truly National Church, with Synods recognised by the State, and the election of her own prelates. The Church in Australia is working on to that point, and other Colonial Churches, I believe, will attain to it sooner or later. You see what are not strictly Colonial Churches, but, what we are now more peculiarly discussing, missions to the heathen and the stranger, like those of Bishop Patteson and Bishop Staley, already planted beyond the bounds of the British crown, and recognized as constituents of the great Anglican Communion. You see our forty colonial bishops, whose names you may read in any Church Almanack, with churches rising to the right and left, and you see Christian missions working in a manner which fifty or a hundred years ago would have been thought impossible—in days when year after year, and decade after decade, the wailing cry of Virginia and our other colonies was despised and rejected by ministers at home. When we consider that, to be discouraged by the little difficulties we are now in, to say that the game is up, that the Colonial and Missionary Church will not flourish, or, worst of all, to say that the Colonial and Missionary Church is a sham and an imposture, is unworthy of an Englishman, unworthy of a man of common sense, common honour, and common truth.

REV. J. W. KNOTT: Seeing in this meeting one whom I knew in former days at Oxford, after many years of separation, I mean Dr. Kay, I feel desirous to say one word respecting missionary operations. In looking at the duty of the Church to the heathen and our failure in respect of that duty, it seems to me that one great need of ours at the present day is a want of the sympathy of Christ, a want of ability to enter into the state of mind of the heathen, and of men prepared and trained to enter into their feelings. Dr. Kay has described to us a most peculiar state of feeling in India, the feeling of educated men, men educated in a literature very ancient, in a philosophy very subtle, into which they have been indoctrinated, and which has moulded their minds from their youth. For this kind of work there is certainly a need—and it must be pressed upon the Church—of men of the most cultivated powers and of very peculiar powers, of men, above all, with the mind and spirit of Christ, to go amongst these men and meet their needs, able not only to argue, but to confer with them; for, as one lately said, "I can find plenty of men with whom to argue, but I can hardly find anyone with whom to confer." What is wanted is men with whom inquirers can confer as friends, and who will really meet their needs. And I think we may carry the same consideration to other departments of missionary work. There is a door open in India and in some measure in China at this moment for Christian ladies to work among the female population, to whom there is very little access for the missionary. Christian ladies can go and visit the Zenanas in India and the women among the village populations, and minister the truth to them in a simple and direct way quite impossible for the missionary. There is room for Christian ladies to devote themselves to the cause of Christ in this way. There is a society connected with our Church, the Indian Female Mission Society, established for this very purpose, that of sending out Christian ladies as Bible women and teachers to the Zenanas: it is worthy of your attention, and I desire to bring it before the members of the Church here present. I am sure, whatever we may say of the different agencies at work and the differences between them, all have our best sympathies. One speaker has declared that he sympathizes chiefly with the Propagation Society: I am as free to declare my sympathy with the Church Missionary Society; but I do believe that there is in a certain way a solution of our difficulties, and a healing of our divisions in the very engaging in missionary work. Missions to the heathen are, so to speak, a kind of sacred experiment to find out that which has real power to convert the soul, to bring men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, to turn the blasphemer into a humble worshipper of God, the unchaste man into a pure minded follower of Christ, the liar into a truthful man, and the cruel man into a merciful one. Thus there is a kind of experiment going on in the world as to what is the real truth of God, which will be shewn in the operations and in the success of Christian missions. We are all, I suppose, agreed upon this, that there is one common disease, sin, and that really and truly there is but one remedy, and that is Christ. We may differ in some of our views in respect of the manner of apply-

ing this remedy, and those differences are very material, but I believe there is a solution to be found for them in the work of Christian missions. I was most thankful to hear one speaker allude to the operations in Madagascar of a society of Non-conformists for the promotion of missions. When their missionaries were driven out by persecution, they left five hundred Christians in the country, and when they returned they found there ten thousand baptized Christians and the records of two hundred and thirty martyrs,—men and women who had laid down their lives rather than deny the name of Christ. My heart is with the Church of England and its organization, but I say there is evidence of the power of truth in that history, and much to be learned from it. One speaker has referred to the difficulty of preaching the Gospel to the heathen in the face of the divisions among Christians, but I say that in this ministry of the Gospel to the heathen there is a way out of these divisions, and I believe if different Christian Churches will apply themselves to this work they will do that which will most tend to the re-union of all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and so subordinately to the healing of divisions in our own branch of the Christian Church. We shall find that the fulfilment of this duty will carry with it a reflex blessing to us in England. But let me repeat, the one requisite is the spirit and mind of Christ, which will be a spirit of sympathy, leading to the use of all the means and powers of reaching those poor souls, going down and ministering to them in the way specially adapted to them, sometimes two or three or more missionaries living together, sometimes going separately, or in whatever manner prudence and experience may point out; going with the mind of Christ, and stooping to these poor souls in order to bring them to Him and to lift them up to Him.

The BISHOP OF LINCOLN then pronounced the benediction, and the Section closed.

## THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5th. EVENING MEETING.

IN ST. ANDREW'S HALL.

THE RIGHT REV. PRESIDENT IN THE CHAIR.

This was the last meeting of the Congress, and there was a very full attendance.

After prayer, the President requested the members of Congress to stand while the illustrations to Dr. Dykes' lecture were being given by the Cathedral choir. He said, by doing this they would be expressing their reverence for the name of Him to whom the words of the illustrations had reference.

## LECTURE ON CHURCH MUSIC.

BY THE REV. DR. DYKES.

[It is impossible not to feel embarrassment in undertaking a paper on so comprehensive a theme as Church Music. The difficulty is, how best to treat so large and important a subject in a short time. It shall be my aim to be rather practical than technical: and if I leave unsaid much which I ought to say, or, on the other hand, say much which to many of your audience is old and familiar, I must bespeak a kind indulgence.]

It is, I think, very encouraging to find, what an increasing attention

is being paid to Church Music by thoughtful and religious people in this country. It is no longer possible for a writer on the Choral Service to complain, with one only thirty years ago, that "the want of interest manifested towards devotional music is so glaring, that we might imagine all reasoning upon its properties based upon the assumption, that real godliness is in inverse proportion to the cultivation of sacred song," . . . . . and that "it is doubtful whether sacred music be more deserving of cultivation from its inherent good, or of destruction from its attendant evils."

Still I think it desirable that Christian people should be duly impressed with the remembrance, that in taking an interest in Church Music, and regarding it as a matter of real importance, they are only following the example set them by Almighty God. It is from Himself and from His holy Word that we first learn the value of music as an element in public Worship. [In fact, why did He first give us music? Merely for purposes of self-gratification? No: but that we might dedicate it to Him, and employ it in His service.]

On the numerous notices of sacred music in the Old Testament, it is needless to dwell. [They have been often enlarged upon of late.] We all know that God strictly enjoined its use, vocal and instrumental, in His worship. "So was the commandment of the Lord by His prophets." Independently of the more grand and solemn performances on festive occasions, we read of a *perpetual* Service of Praise, night and day, being offered to Him, according to His own will. And to provide for all this, we read of a company of no fewer than four thousand musicians, exclusive of two or three hundred *principal* singers, attendant on His Sanctuary.

The constant mention, moreover, of such instruments as cornets, harps, timbrels, psalteries, shawms, cymbals, trumpets, and the like, is a proof that no mere dull uninspiring music was looked for in God's Worship, but that He willed His people to render Him the best Service of Praise they had it in their power to offer. He did not wish to see His Sanctuary the most uninviting, but the most delightful and attractive (religiously *attractive*) of all places—He wished, as the Dean of Ely beautifully reminded us, to see His "dwellings" "*amiable*." He well knew that His creatures are, and *must* be, influenced by external objects, [how the mind and heart are affected through the bodily sensations.] And he made provision for this. Himself "a Spirit," He yet knew well that His worshippers are not unembodied spirit; and He willed to be worshipped with the *whole*, and not with a *part* only, of their complex being; to be glorified in their bodies as well as in their spirits. The Worship which he ordained would be denounced by many as sensuous. But, depend upon it, God knows better than we, "whereof we are made," and what we require. And hence, be it ever remembered, if our people love an attractive Service, if they love good music and affecting Ceremonial in their public Worship, *it is God Almighty Who first taught them to love it*. The instinct comes not from below, but from above. It is not earthly, but heavenly in its origin.

But it is urged by some that Christianity introduced a change in all these respects. It is argued that because our Lord did not, in His own Person, inaugurate a Service and Ritual of like outward dignity, because He and His Apostles did not adopt a stately Choral and Ceremonial Worship, these things therefore are no longer acceptable to God.



The objection is vain and shadowy. In the first place it must be remembered, that during the whole of the Gospel period, the ancient Worship of God was still in existence, and that our Blessed Lord and His Apostles were punctual in their attendance thereon. Even after the Ascension we read of the twelve "continuing daily with one accord in the *Temple*," for God's *public* Worship; while meeting together in their Oratory, or "Upper Room," for the *private* Celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Our Lord came, not to set up an ew Religion, but to transfigure the Old. For many years the New and the Old Systems ran on together—the public Ritual of the Old, the private Worship of the New. In Gospel times public Christian Worship was not exhibited; because God's public Worship was still committed to, and conducted by, the ministers of the Old Ritual. Even the *private* introductory Service of the New Dispensation did not take place till the very eve of our Blessed Lord's Death.

On this august Service in the "Upper Room"—the most august and important that the world has ever seen—I must add a passing word. In it we behold the affecting meeting of the two Dispensations; the Paschal close of the Old, the solemn Eucharistic inauguration of the New. Here we see the whole Christian Church representatively assembled together with its Divine Head. And in the mystic Ceremonial which ensued, we find every essential element of Christian Worship introduced and blessed by Incarnate God Himself.

The crown and centre of all, I need not say, is the blessed Eucharist itself. This is the special and peculiar Christian Service, the Holy Mystery around which everything else must revolve, to which all else is but ancillary. Attendant upon this we find "supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks;" we find "exhortation and doctrine;" and we find "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." "When they had sung an hymn (*ὑμνωδὴν*) they went out to the Mount of Olives." Doubt has been expressed as to the nature of the Hymn offered to God at this solemn time by the "glorious Company of the Apostles, and the honorable, true, and only Son." Whether it was, as commonly supposed, the usual Hallel Psalms sung at the Passover, or, as Archdeacon Freeman suggests, some other special Eucharistic song, we cannot tell. The great fact of Jesus singing, is all we need to know. This it is on which the Holy Ghost would fix our attention—the significant fact of God Incarnate employing music at the Church's first Communion Service; and with His own blessed lips inaugurating that system of Eucharistic psalmody and Choral Worship which He willed ever to continue, and whereof He spake before in the Psalter, "In the midst of the congregation will I praise Thee;" "O come before His Presence with a Song."

[It is most needful to bear in mind not only what this "Upper Room" Service is meant, but what it is *not* meant to teach us. We are not to see in it any discountenance of suitable ceremonial and magnificence in Christian worship.]

Not to dwell on the fact of this "large Upper Room" being, even before the Apostles entered, by God's secret Providence, (perchance by no human hands) "furnished and prepared;" words which may imply much; we must remember that the possible simplicity of the outward arrangements of the Feast was but in keeping with our Lord's mysterious self-concealment while on earth. He emptied Himself. He

suffered an Apostle at this very Solemnity to lie familiarly in His bosom. No argument, therefore, can be drawn from this scene to justify carelessness or irreverence before our Lord's *Sacramental Presence*, which would not justify a like familiarity of manner before His *visible* and *natural Presence*.

Our Divine Master is now highly exalted. The same Apostle who here leaned on His breast in the loving freedom of unrestrained intercourse, the next time he beheld Him, after His Exaltation, "fell at His feet as *dead*." The Holy Ghost is careful to tell us this, lest perchance we should deem that there *may* be, in our Communion with our Divine Lord, any continuance of that unawed tone and manner which the former posture of the beloved Apostle might seem to indicate.

And with regard to the great Act of Christian Worship, we learn that the Most High, very early in the history of the Christian Church, was compelled sternly to interfere, to impress upon her the practical *necessity* of fencing it round with suitable Ceremonial; by visiting with "grievous diseases and sundry kinds of death" those early communicants who—ere yet the Church had been able to put on her beautiful garments, and express in outward act the intense inner reverence due to so high a Mystery, and adapt to her own Services those general principles and features of Solemn Ritual which God had taught His ancient Church, and which still lingered round her departing form—presumed on this absence of visible splendour and awfulness, and approached the Holy Table of the Lord carelessly, unpreparedly, "not discerning the Lord's Body," and counting as a "common thing" the very "Blood of the Covenant."

Moreover, when the Church was poor and persecuted, she could not but worship in poverty, retirement, and simplicity. It was so in Jewish, it was so in Christian times. When she became rich, God claimed her riches and magnificence. He will not countenance ease and splendour in secular concerns; niggardliness and indifference in our public recognition of Himself. Outward ceremonial (as Mr. Beresford Hope reminded us) is found absolutely essential in duly impressing men's minds in the things of this life: it is no less needful (as the religious instincts of all nations have testified) in matters affecting the Life to come. It surely needs not the inspired injunction, that all things are to be done in the Church *ἐν ἑσχατοῖς*, to teach us this.]

But to return. The music of the Christian Church, we have thus seen, originated with our blessed Lord himself. His Eucharistic Anthem was the first welling forth of that full stream of choral harmony—of "Psalm, Hymn, and Spiritual Song"—which was to make glad the City of God; to which we find such constant reference, as well in the Apostolic Epistles as in the writings of the early Fathers.

But what was the *nature* of the early Church music? And first: do we know anything definitely as to the music of the Jews? I believe, nothing whatever. Judging from their instruments, so far as we can recognize them by their names, (and even here there is the greatest obscurity) it seems that their music, to us of the present day, would sound not a little uncouth and barbarous. That harmony and counterpoint were unknown to them seems certain. Their melodies, too, though affecting them with pleasure, would doubtless appear to us now wild and irregular, not being determined by any of the laws which regulate melody amongst ourselves.

[Probably the effect of their music may have depended more on the mere sound itself, on the beauty and flexibility of the Hebrew voices, the passion and declamatory energy of the reciter, the contrast and varied character of the several instruments, than on the precise nature of the tunes or melodies sung, or the strictly harmonious consonance of the instrumental accompaniments.]

I have spoken of their being unacquainted with the laws of harmony. And possibly there may be a sacred significance in the fact of the harmonic Triad, the root of all harmony, having been unknown to them; and their music, such as it was, unisonous. The mystery of the Blessed Trinity was not yet revealed. The *oneness* of the Deity was the great doctrinal verity then impressed on the mind of God's people. "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is One Lord." And hence there may have been some designed congruity between this and the corresponding state of their musical knowledge. We are emphatically told of the special manifestation of the Divine Presence "when the singers and trumpeters were as *one* in praising and blessing the Lord."

Harmony itself tells of the mystery of a Plurality in Unity, and specially of a Trinity in Unity. It is the daughter and handmaid of the Christian Dispensation. And to banish it, as many are seeking practically to do, from our Christian Worship in favour of bald unison, is simply irrational and intolerable.

Of the progress of Church Music till the time of S. Ambrose in the fourth century we know absolutely nothing: nor have we any clear information as to the precise nature of the musical reforms which resulted from his influence. The two great debts we owe him are the introduction of antiphonal chanting into the West, and the revision or settlement of the Church's musical scales. On both I must say a few words.

Till his time, antiphonal or responsive Psalm chanting was unknown in the West. Nay, it seems uncertain whether there was any systematic chanting of the Psalms at all. We have all heard of the occasion of the introduction into the West of the psalmody of the East. It was during the struggle of S. Ambrose with the heretical Empress Justina. The people were on the bishop's side. The Basilica in which he and his flock were met for worship was on one occasion surrounded by the imperial troops, and for several days the church was blockaded, and the people shut in with their bishop. It was in order to relieve his distressed flock that the good prelate providentially bethought him of the Eastern mode of singing the Psalms. Familiar with the ecclesiastical chants, he began at once to instruct his people. The result was most happy. Not only was his flock relieved and interested; but even the besieging soldiery caught some of the sacred enthusiasm, and were heard outside joining in the sweet songs of Sion. S. Augustine tells us how he himself, still an unbeliever, was touched. He relates also that "from that time it was first ordered that the Psalms should be sung" in the West "after the manner of the Eastern nations. . . . And from that period," he adds, "till the present, the system is retained at Milan, and imitated by almost all the congregations in the world."

But where had he learnt this mode of chanting himself? He had resided at some period of his life at Antioch, the capital of Syria. Now the Church in this city was one of great importance, and took a

pre-eminence in Christendom, next in point of time after that of Jerusalem. Here it was that, by the consecration of SS. Paul and Barnabas, the Gentile, as distinguished from the Jewish Apostolate, was established; and that the Gentile believers were first called Christians. Now at Antioch, which long retained a sort of dignity as the metropolis or mother Church of Gentile Christendom, great attention seems to have been paid to music. It was renowned at this period, the time of Constantine, for its choirs and Church psalmody. Here Gentile and Jewish influences had met and blended together, and the Jewish system of chanting had probably, little by little, allied itself with the Gentile systems of music. [I know that antiphonal chanting is often said to have been first introduced into the Church by the venerable martyr Bishop of Antioch, S. Ignatius, who learnt it in a dream from the Angels. But as it seems unquestionably to have been in use amongst the Jews, in some form or other, we cannot reasonably doubt that it was from them that the Christian Church derived it.]

With regard to the Church modes, or scales; that we learn them from God's ancient people is utterly inconceivable. I know it is confidently asserted by many, that our ancient (so called) Gregorian Psalm-chants were composed by David, were inspired, were the identical chants sung in the Temple; and that the ecclesiastical modes have the same sacred origin. It is scarcely needless to say, that there is not a vestige of authority for all this; and that there is nothing more sacred about the origin of the old ecclesiastical modes, than about the origin of our modern major and minor modes. As musical science has gradually advanced, and man has, little by little, discovered the mysterious laws of harmony which have their origin in God Himself, the Church has availed herself, and ever should reverently avail herself, of this increased knowledge. The multiplied modes and scales of the ancient Greeks, several of which remain to us in the Gregorian systems, are but a gradual and unsatisfied feeling after that which our modern division of the scale at once provides us.

The history of the ancient tones is involved in much obscurity; their number and names are so differently stated by different writers, as may be seen in the curious collection of tracts on ancient music edited by Marcus Meibomius.

The best authorities seem to fix the number of the old Greek scales at fifteen. Five *principal* ones, [the Lydian, Iastian, Æolian, Phrygian, Dorian]; each principal having two subordinate or relative scales: one ranging a fourth above, the other, a fourth below the principal scale. [Thus, attendant upon the Lydian would be the Hyper-Lydian and the Hypo-Lydian; upon the Dorian, the Hyper and the Hypo-Dorian; and so with the rest.] S. Ambrose is said to have limited the number used in the Church to four. S. Gregory the Great, two hundred years after, is said to have admitted four more. S. Ambrose's are modifications of four of the old *principal* scales; S. Gregory added to each, one of their *plagal* or collateral scales. [The four Ambrosian modes are simply the scales, of eight notes, of D. E. F. G., without accidentals. To each of these S. Gregory is said to have added one *plagal* scale, running, not from the keynote to its octave, but from the fourth below to its octave. S. Ambrose's first mode is called the Dorian; S. Gregory's superadded mode the Hypo-Dorian. The remaining Ambrosian modes are the Phrygian, Lydian, and Mixo-Lydian. The

superadded plagal, or Gregorian, modes having the same names, with the prefix of *hypo*, *iso*, or *under*.] But even here our traditional information is all uncertain. We still possess the melody to which S. Ambrose is said to have wedded the noble hymn "Te Deum." But it is obvious that most of the latter portion of it consists of the *fourth* tone. It is a repetition of the chant which is considered the *representative chant* of the fourth mode, or scale. But this is a plagal or Gregorian mode; *not an Ambrosian*. Hence, either the fourth tone does not belong exclusively to the fourth mode; or the fourth mode was freely used before the time of S. Gregory, and not introduced by him; or the "Te Deum" (words or music, or both) is of a date posterior to S. Ambrose.

As I have mentioned the very interesting old melody entitled the "Ambrosian Te Deum," I will ask the choir to be so good as to sing it. We find multitudes of versions of this old melody, in mediæval and modern times, and licences of every description taken with it. The version adapted to the English form of the "Te Deum" by Merbecke in 1549, which we are about to sing, appears to be taken directly from the Sarum Books; the melody merely undergoing such alterations as the change from the Latin to the English words necessitated, and being also in one or two places as (e. g.) the "Holy, Holy" rather simplified.

You will remember, of course, that the harmony or accompaniment is modern, as harmony was unknown in the days of S. Ambrose, and that the melody is in some places difficult to harmonise satisfactorily. [Many unsuccessful attempts have been made at it. The aim of the present attempt has been to keep the harmony simple, grave, and characteristic, without being too crude.]

(The "AMBROSIAN TE DEUM" was sung.)

Now if we examine this old melody, we find it not so much an original composition, as a compilation or adaptation of two or three old forms of chant. Especially do we discern in it, oft-recurring, the quaint old chant of the fourth mode, the most characteristic and, by its appearance, most ancient of all our Church tunes. I may just remark that this, the most ancient setting of the Te Deum in existence, may suggest to us of the present day a suitable and convenient musical treatment of that noble Hymn.

The next great name that meets us in the annals of Church Music is, of course, S. Gregory. What was the exact nature of his musical reforms we know very imperfectly. We are told that he diligently collected the musical fragments of the ancient Hymns and Psalms used in the Church from primitive times, selecting, methodising, and arranging them in the order long continued in Rome, and adopted throughout western Christendom. What was the "*Canto figurato*" which he banished, is not quite obvious. Probably the term is a general one, including all musical developments which he deemed unsuited to the music of the Church. He seems to have insisted upon the use of notes of one uniform length, in special opposition to the trochaic metre of the Greeks—our triple time. The melody therefore of the *Canto fermo* was very staid and simple.

But though he corrected excesses in rhythm and melody, he enlarged, as I have said, the number of the modes. Probably he found a greater

number in use than had been formally sanctioned by S. Ambrose, and he wisely submitted to necessity. The art could not be so trammelled. Thus, the recognised modes in his time were eight—or really seven: for the eighth, or Hypo-Mixo-Lydian mode, is but the repetition, an octave higher, of the first or Dorian mode, although with a different final note. And each of these seven scales simply corresponds, as to the position of its tones and semitones, with one or other of the scales of the several notes of our modern gamut, [A. B. C. D. E. F. G.; but without any accidentals: the order of the scales being as follows,—D, A. E, B. F, C. G.] Church song, moreover, was ordered to be strictly diatonic. Neither the chromatic nor enharmonic genera were allowed;\* the latter of which (strange to say), which moved by quarter-tones, was held most in esteem by the ancients.]

The only admitted accidental was the B flat. Thus there was little scope for modulation. These and other restrictions imposed by the Church authorities contributed to keep music long in a state of infancy. Nor was it till the lapse of several centuries, and by slow stages, that it fairly burst its trammels.

I have no time to specify these gradual improvements. I can do no more than mention the names of Guido, the celebrated Benedictine monk of Arezzo in Tuscany, to whom, shortly before the Norman conquest, we owe the Gamut, and the first practical advance in the systematic study of harmony; of whom Cardinal Bona writes, that “he so simplified the study of music, that a poor unlettered lad might learn in a few months what, before Guido’s time, it took a clever man almost a lifetime to master.”

Nor can I do more than simply refer to his great successor, Franco of Cologne, to whom we are indebted for the time table. Sufficient to say, that one discovery led to another, one improvement to another. Innovations and licences, moreover, some good, more very bad, found their way into the Church, till the old plain-chant was in danger of absolutely disappearing; being either discarded for more modern strains, or so disfigured by flourishes, or veiled by the superadded descendant or harmony, as to be scarcely recognisable.

The fact was, secular music was advancing. The music of the Church—its authorised music—meanwhile remaining stationary. The Church instead of wisely recognising, meeting, availing itself of, while gently controlling, the spread of musical knowledge, avowedly treated it with indifference. But while, on the one hand, professing a stiff, unyielding purism, she was, in actual practice, driven in sheer self-defence to resort to all manner of questionable expedients to render her service attractive. The Bull of John XXII. in the fourteenth century was yet in force, which, instead of regulating the use of harmony in Divine Service, had virtually condemned it; insisting on the strict observance of plain-song, and confining the use of concords to the great Festivals.

But people can never be satisfied with mere plain-song; they would have, and will have, *music*—if not good, they will have bad. Popes

\* It is very strange that, of these systems of scales, the *enharmonic*, which moved by quarter-tones, (like the scale of the Hindoos) was far the most esteemed by the ancient Greek musicians. But this was discarded from the Church because of its intricacy, as the chromatic genus was for its softness or effeminacy: and diatonic progression alone was permitted.

and synods might legislate; they could not stem the advancing tide of knowledge. The laws of music were beginning little by little to be understood, the hidden resources of the Divine art to disclose themselves; and it was manifest that, if the Church would retain her hold upon her people, and not suffer her music to become wholly contemptible, she must relax some of her stiff restrictions, and allow the time-honoured crudities of musical infancy to make way for something which could address the intelligence, and touch the sensibilities of her children.

It is singular and instructive to notice—as illustrating the inevitable certainty of the reaction which must ever take place against unwise authority—how utterly extravagant was the extent to which, at the time of the Council of Trent, the practical needs and instincts of the Church had defied her written authority. No musical abuses of modern times are comparable to those which existed three centuries ago. Every sort of excess was committed with the plain-song. Secular ditties were introduced. And, whereas this rule was, that all new Church Music should be at least based upon some of the old chants, it is a fact that there were at least one hundred masses in common use founded on the tune of a common ballad, "*The Armed Man*."

Interpolations of the most incongruous nature, entitled "*farsa*," or *stuffing*, were common in the Sacred Service.

The Council of Trent was compelled to take the matter seriously in hand. At first very stringent repressive rules on the subject of music were in contemplation; but, through the influence of the Spanish bishops, these were not carried, and the measures finally adopted were sensible and sound. The Council rather confined itself to general principles, than entered into details. Among other things, it insisted strongly (and I wish some of our priests would attend to that now-a-days) on the *clear and distinct enunciation* of the Sacred Words.

Two Commissioners were appointed (one of them the great Carlo Borromeo) to superintend the practical carrying out of the decisions of the Council. But there needed the mind of some master musician. And God raised one up to meet the emergency.

Giovanni Pier Luigi, called, from his birthplace, *Palestrina* (the ancient Præneste near Rome) was born in the year 1529, and at this time, still a young man, was choir-master at S. Mary Major. The Commissioners were directed to take counsel with him. He strongly discountenanced the idea of discarding harmonized and scientific music from the Church, and employing mere bald unisonous plain-song; and, with a view of furnishing a specimen of what he deemed to be legitimate Church Music, and also satisfying the Commissioners as to the sacred capabilities of the art, he composed in succession three Masses. The last of these was considered a great success. It was called, after his former and now deceased patron, Marcellus II., "*Missa Papæ Marcelli*," and gave the Commissioners such satisfaction, that they at once saw the folly of excommunicating an art which might prove so fitting a handmaid to the Divine Service. Thus music was saved, and the Church preserved from an egregious mistake.

Palestrina thus became the founder of a new and admirable school of Church Music, grave, learned, and pleasing. Many of his compositions have been adapted to English words by Dean Aldrich and others. I will ask the choir to have the goodness to sing a short and

pleasing adaptation from Palestrina, by Aldrich, from Dr. Boyce's Collection—

“O GIVE THANKS.”

But in another important branch of Choral Worship was Palestrina's influence felt. To him was committed the laborious task of examining, revising, and correcting the entire system of the Church's *plain-song*.

Thus Palestrina's history brings before us two, or rather, I may say, *three* questions of great practical interest, on which I am bound to offer some opinion.

I. First, the use of music, not Gregorian, in Divine Service.

II. Secondly, the employment of Gregorian music.

III. Thirdly, the limits and provinces of these two separate classes of Church song.

I. First, then, is the use of music, other than Gregorian, permissible and desirable in the Church? I am specifying no particular kind, whether the cathedral anthem, or the simple hymn tune. I am merely considering the abstract question. Because there are some who seem to look with grave suspicion on all music not Gregorian; who appear to think that the music of the Church should be all but confined to plain-song; who would have Preces, Psalms, Canticles, Credo, Kyries, Introids, Gloria, even Hymns, *Gregorian*.

Is there any ground for this? None whatever. Every such attempt in former times has proved a failure, and has resulted in some extravagant reaction. The people will have *music*. God has bestowed on us this divine gift, that it should be reverently employed in His Service. We have no business to reject it. To confine our songs of praise to rude melodies destitute of form or beauty, or any intrinsic recommendation whatever, is most objectionable.

Who does not sometimes feel that beautiful words, instead of having their beauty enhanced by their association with suitable music, are cruelly robbed of all their beauty and impressiveness, by the uncouth and incongruous musical alliance to which they are condemned?

Now, turning to the Council of Trent, and regarding Palestrina as the then living representative of modern and scientific music; we find the use and position of such music in the Divine Service distinctly recognised,—music as such, and not mere plain song. *Music* the best that could be devised (so that it was of a sacred character) was, as God Himself had taught of old, to find place in His Service, as an offering pleasing to Him, and edifying to His people.

The same general principle is recognised in our own rubric—“Here followeth the Anthem;” a rubric, which merely gave written authority to a long pre-existing practice, expressed in the well-known injunction of Queen Elizabeth: “For the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted that at the beginning or end of Common Prayer, there be sung a Hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best melody and music that can be devised,”—a practice, I may further add, illustrated by the following incidental record of the usage in the Queen's own Chapel.

“On the same day,” writes Strype, (he is recounting the Lent Preachers in the year 1560, and has reached the morning of Mid-Lent Sunday; and then proceeds—“On the same day”) “in the afternoon, Bishop Barlow, Bishop of Chichester, preached, in his habit, before the



Queen. His sermon ended at five of the clock : and presently after, her Chapel went to Evening Song—the Cross, as before, standing on the Altar, and two candlesticks, and two tapers burning in them. And, sermon concluded, a good Anthem was sung.”

In the time of Benedict XIV. [1740—1758.] the question of Church music came again under the notice of the authorities at Rome. The exclusive use of Gregorian Song had been urged by several bishops and others, as the only way to correct the growing secularity of Church Music. Benedict objects to this, and characterises such a restriction as a *novelty*, and a novelty sure to excite trouble and dissatisfaction. Some musical purists in his day, moreover, were for discarding the organ and other instruments from the Church. He will not hear of this. He advocates the use of instrumental music; prohibiting only instruments of a noisy or secular character. His lists of interdicted and permitted instruments are interesting. He also advocates the judicious use of music occasionally *without words*, organ voluntaries, or instrumental symphonies, “*ad levandos animos fidelium* ;” as well as for enhancing the solemnity of the Service.

In the recent Malines Congress the only recorded decision on the subject of plain-song was, *against its exclusive use*.

II. But this reminds me of the *second* question which Palestrina's history brings before us. Not only is he the great founder of the best school of high and dignified Church Music, but to him are we indirectly indebted for the transmission and revision of the great body of the ancient plain-song of the Western Church.

The plain-song had become thoroughly debased. The modern Service books therefore were to be diligently collated with more ancient Manuals, in order to the recovery, in its purest form, of the several portions of the Church's inheritance of Canto Fermo. Palestrina seems to have shrunk, as a musician, from the sheer mechanical labour which such an investigation would involve. He committed the execution of the task (himself exercising only a general supervision) to an industrious and competent friend, Guidetti, who describes his work as one “*nullius ingenii, sed multarum vigiliarum*.” He published the result of his labours in 1582.

But it is not a little interesting to bear in mind that, not Italy, but *England* was the country which took the initiative in the work of correcting the Church's plain-song. When the ancient Offices of the Church were revised in this country in the sixteenth century, translated into the vernacular, and compressed, partly with a view to simplification and adaptation to congregational instead of mere cloistral use, and partly for the clearing of them from modern corruption, in doctrine and practice, which had, little by little, infected and marred them—when the old Matins, Lauds, and Prime of the Sarum Breviary assumed the now familiar form of our “*Matins*” or “*Morning Prayer*,” and the Vespers and Compline, of our “*Evening Prayer*” or “*Evensong*”—the question of the *music* for these revised, remodelled and translated Offices, forced itself upon the attention of our Liturgical Reformers.

Archbishop Cranmer seems to have been the first to try his hand at this work of adaptation. We find him translating old Breviary Hymns, and putting the Gregorian music (or “Latin note,” as he calls it) to them, in order to see how “English would do to a song.” To him, it appears,

we owe the setting of the present beautiful old *Litany Chant* to our incomparable Litany. We find him, however, in one of his published letters, expressing the hope that some competent person, "cunning in music," should take this matter up; himself merely objecting to the modern ornate forms of the plain-song, and hoping that the song set to our revised Offices, should not be "full of notes," but having, as a general rule, only one note to each syllable.

The work thus referred to by Cranmer, was ultimately effected by John Merbecke, organist of Windsor, a competent musician, as well as zealous reformer, who hardly escaped martyrdom for his opinions. Under his musical editorship, the Book of Common Prayer, set to Ritual Song, came out within the year after the publication of the first Book of Edward VI. And a very important work it is, though small in compass; partly, as furnishing a useful pattern and precedent for the adaption of the old plain-song to our translated Offices; and partly, perhaps chiefly, as affording an unimpeachable contemporary witness as to the practical *meaning* of the rubrics which speak of the method of performing our Service; then shall be "sung, said, read." Merbecke's book incidentally confirms what is on other grounds abundantly clear, that there was no intention whatever on the part of our Reformers to interfere with the time-honoured and universal method of reciting the Divine Office. The idea entertained by some that the word "read," which occasionally occurs in the rubrical directions, conveys any order for the ordinary colloquial tone of voice, is utterly baseless. It is merely the translation of the word "*legere*," used in the unreformed rubrics to denote Recitation from a book, chorally or not, as the case might be. It is employed both in the old and reformed rubrics as identical with "say" and also with "sing;" the former word generally denoting the simpler, the latter the more ornate form of choral recitation. The utmost that can be gathered from the word "read" is this: that in churches where priest or choir cannot, from want of skill, employ the legitimate modes of saying the Divine Office, there the ordinary tone of voice may be used, as a permissible, but exceptional, alternative. The well-known injunction of Queen Elizabeth, to which I have referred, confirms this. For, while recommending the introduction of some Hymn or Anthem "in the best music that can be devised," before or after Service, it not the less enjoins that, during the whole of the Service itself, "modest and distinct song shall be employed;" [the old plain-song, in fact, though revised and simplified, still continued.]

The only parts of the Service on which doubts were reasonably entertained were the Scripture Lessons. The Capitula in the old Service Books had been generally very short, and were always sung after the accustomed method of choral recitation. And it was at first distinctly ordered that this old mode of reciting Scripture should be retained, and that the plain-song should extend to the lessons as well as to the rest of the Service; the rubric ordering (as you will remember) that "in such places where they do sing, there shall the *Lessons* be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading, and likewise the Epistle and Gospel." This rubric continued till the time of the Savoy Conference, before the last Revision in 1661, when the Puritans objected to it. The Commissioners in their published reply refused to give way, alleging that the objections against the old practice were

groundless. But ultimately, through what influence is not quite plain, they yielded: at least, the rubric was withdrawn. I think happily: because a long recitation of Scripture in monotone, except the reader has a very musical voice and good ear, is not pleasing. The "*Cantus Prophetarum*," or old musical mode of reading Scripture, was formerly relieved by occasional inflections. But the "*Cantus*" contemplated in our reformed rubric was plainly monotone, as I think the illustrative injunction given by Bucer incidentally shews: "*In his locis, in quibus musica figuralis cani solet, lectiones, etc., simpliciter uno tono, in modo perpetuæ dictionis, distincte legantur.*"

Merbecke's book then [the contents of which are now familiarized amongst us through Mr. Helmore's useful Manuals,] contains the "modest and distinct song" for all parts of the Service, except for the Litany, which had been published shortly before. It does not contain the Psalms for the day. Certain of the old Gregorian melodies are set to the Canticles as specimens of adaptation; a notice being appended that the Psalms are to be sung in like manner: a liberty of choice being thus left in selecting the Psalm-chants, and the book itself being kept in a moderate compass.

III. But having now enforced the two leading principles in Choral Worship; 1st, that there shall be real genuine *music* ("figured music" as it is technically called); and, secondly, that there shall be also "modest and distinct song;" in other words, "plain-song," or musical recitative: we come, thirdly, to the question of the limits and provinces of the two in Divine Service. We come to this question: In which part of our public Offices are we *confined* to the use of the ancient plain-song; and in which may we legitimately employ music of a more modern character?

I have spoken of plain-song as musical recitative; and this it is fundamentally. Monotonic recitative forms its basis; the monotone being relieved by certain periodic inflections, occurring generally in uniform order, and after certain recognized rules.

Now, the nature and frequency of these inflections vary according to the different parts of the Service. They are least in the recitation of Scripture; greater in the versicles and Psalm-chants; and greatest, perhaps, in the prose Hymns, such as the "*Gloria in excelsis*" and "*Ter Sanctus*;" with which I may also class the Nicene Creed and Offertory Sentences; during large portions of which, all idea of a dominant, or reciting note, practically disappears; the inflections recur in no fixed order, and a long melody, or tune, is the result.

Now, as in the case of the Prayers, Versicles, Litany, and the like, there has been no attempt, worth notice, to disturb the established system of plain-song, as traditionally handed down, and as employed in substantially the same form, though with local varieties, in all places where the Service is chorally rendered, I may pass them by. [There seems no desire to substitute for these, modern melodies or modern forms of recitation. Where simple monotone is not employed, these prevail almost universally amongst us, and, I trust, ever will prevail.]

I will only say, that it is very important that the people should become familiar with these simple inflections, and should be gradually accustomed to *sing* them in unison. It will tend to render the service much less of a weariness to them, and will give them a greater interest

in it. And, on this ground, I cannot but think it unfortunate that at all our Church gatherings, and on all Sundays and Festivals, even in many country churches, Tallis' elaborate harmonies (beautiful as they are) are sung. Here the plain-song is, throughout the greater part, assigned to the *tenor* voice; and, being thus veiled by the superadded harmonies, is neither recognized, nor learned, nor sung by the people.

The word *tenor*, I may remark in passing, properly denotes that part which *holds on to*, or sustains, the *plain-song*. When only one other voice sang the descant, or double song, or accompaniment, that voice was called the *contra-tenor*. When a third part was added, it was styled "*triplum*," whence our treble. The fundamental or lowest part was called "*basis*," or "*bass*." Now, provided the plain-song, or tenor, was sung out by a great body of voices in unison, and the accompaniment kept quite subordinate, so that the congregation could learn and join in their proper part, all would be well and good. Instead of this, we are condemned often to hear a whole congregation, men and women, trebles and basses, singing Tallis' treble part, which is simply an accompaniment, all in unison and octaves, as if this was their own part. And the effect is most objectionable.

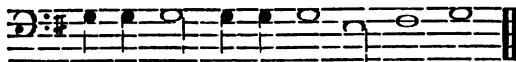
Take (e.g.) the Lesser Litany after the Apostles' Creed; or the verse "Because there is none other that fighteth for us," &c. In both these cases, the *people's part*, with the exception of the last two syllables, is *monotone* throughout. Instead of this, we hear them all struggling through a difficult melody, and straining their voices, in one place to reach a high E (or F sharp, when the service is chanted in A): and the result is most disagreeable.

Look again at the recurring response in the Litany, "We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord." Here the people's part is lost. This, again, according to Cranmer's plain-song, should be monotone, until the antepenultimate word "us." Instead of this, we hear them all singing a pretty tune, each syllable to a different note, in a tripping dactylic metre falsely accented.

Wē-ě bē | scēch thēe tō | hēar ūs, goōd | Lōrd.||

Now there can be no doubt, Tallis wrote his harmony to the Latin form of this, "Te rogamus, audi nos:" in which the accent will fall gravely and correctly: nor can there be any doubt that the treble part was originally but an accompaniment to a form of the old plain-song in the tenor. But the harmony of this response has been so modified, that the plain-song has entirely *disappeared* from the tenor, and there is nothing to connect the response with the *canto fermo* of the rest of the Litany. Before, then, it is thoroughly popularised among us, it should be subjected to two alterations. First, the harmony should be so changed as to allow of the restoration, to its proper place in the tenor, of the plain-song. And secondly, the words should be arranged to suit the English, not the Latin accent; removing the absurd emphasis from the initial "*we*," and lengthening the penultimate "*good*." \*

\* It is to be observed that the Plain-Song which Tallis adopted in his Version of the Litany, is not exactly the same as that employed by Cranmer. Cranmer, studying great simplicity, used the old tune of the introductory Invocation to much of the succeeding portion of the Litany. He, therefore, set the above Response as follows:—



We be-seech Thee to hear us, Good Lord.

Thus, then, as far as Preces, Versicles, Responses, Litany, and the like extend, all nearly will be agreed that wherever the service is chorally rendered, and not said in monotone, there should be no substantial interference with the ancient *plain-song*, as fairly represented in Merbecke, and as exhibited in many interesting forms in Dr. Jebb's most valuable work, entitled "Litanies and Responses of the Church of England." But how about the Credo, Gloria, Offertory sentences? Are we here equally bound to adopt the musical adaptations which Merbecke has given? Not by any means. These, although based on the old plain-song, and embodying considerable portions of it, have yet more of the character of original attempts, and must be judged by their own merits and intrinsic fitness. It seems imagined by many, that because Merbecke's "Credo" and "Gloria in excelsis" come to us originally in old square notes, and a four-line staff, there is a sort of religious necessity to employ them on all occasions. But this is by no means the case. Merbecke, as an adapter, or composer, possesses no higher authority than his great successor Tallis; nor he, again, than any more modern writer who has successfully attempted the same words.

Tallis, on the contrary, employed the ordinary Latin melody, as given in the Roman and Sarum Books:—



Retaining, then, this melody in the tenor, and harmonising in four parts, he would obtain the following result:—



This is the *harmony* attributed to Tallis in the MS. copy in S. Peter's College, Cambridge. The harmony given by Edward Lowe in his "Directions for the Performance of Cathedral Service," (1661) is as follows:—



Now it is evident that either Tallis himself, in subsequent editions of his work, or else musical editors who have taken upon them to improve upon his performance, with a view to enriching the *harmony* of this Response, have thoughtlessly interfered with the *Plain-Song* itself. In Dr. Boyce's edition it has entirely disappeared. The result is that, while every one knows the air of the treble part, no one knows *that which is the real people's part*.

The most happy of Merbecke's original compositions, or rather, adaptations or compilations, is his notation of the Nicene Creed. This has been revived of late years, and has become, I think, deservedly popular.

I do not say that I approve of all the modern settings and harmonised arrangements of this old melody—some are repulsively crude and bad: and I cannot for one moment see why harsh crudities should be adopted, without necessity.

I will ask the choir to be so good as to sing a simple version of this old Creed.

#### “MERBECKE'S CREED.”

All, I think, will admit that this old melody is far too full of character, and too easy to sing, to be cast aside. It is certainly more appropriate to the words than a great majority of our cathedral settings, with their little verses and canons and points of imitation. Still it has no claim to exclusive adoption: and on festive occasions, and at High Celebrations, where there are competent choirs, it would seem that music of a higher and more developed character might with propriety be adopted.

I come next to the subject of the Psalm-chants. Are we here bound to adhere to the old plain-song forms of Psalm recitation, or may we adopt chants of a more modern character?

Here I must speak carefully, for I am touching on a fiercely controverted point. So strong does the current of feeling run on this subject, that whereas we hear some of our brethren, in whom perhaps the musical element predominates over the ritualistic, speaking of Gregorian chants as barbaric, detestable, and the like: we hear others, in whom the ritualistic predominates over the musical, speaking of all chants but Gregorian with even greater contempt and reprobation; broadly stating (as I saw it affirmed in a recent letter in one of our Church papers) that the use of modern or Anglican chants was a sure and inevitable index of some latent heretical proclivity; that heresy and Anglican chants were indissoluble associates. Language like this cannot be too strongly denounced; it is far worse than foolish.

A word or two then on this subject.

And first, what is a chant? It is the form of musical recitation employed for the Psalms. Originally it seems to have been all monotone, with the exception of the last syllable of each verse, where the voice fell a minor third or perfect fifth. By and bye this simple ending assumed the form of a more decided musical cadence; then there came a corresponding cadence called a “mediation” in the middle of the verse; and lastly, the “intonation” at the beginning. Thus there was one uniform reciting note, called the “dominant;” relieved by inflections, at the close, at the middle, and, in certain cases, at the beginning, of each verse. In modern, or Anglican, chants the introductory intonation has been dispensed with, the chants all reduced to one uniform rhythm, the mediation and cadence released from the special melodic laws which had bound them, and the rule as to the *one* recitation note throughout both divisions of the chant, abolished. So that in a modern double chant, instead of *one*, you have commonly *four* notes of recitation; and the chant seems almost to lose its character as a chant or recitation, and to become a pretty rhythmical tune. Without absolutely deprecating the occasional employment of double chants, I am glad to find that their use is becoming less frequent. Besides their general unchant-like character, they are unsuited for an

intelligent musical recitation of the Psalter. They have been at times employed, not unsuccessfully, for long metrical hymns; but, interfering as they do with the parallelism of the Hebrew poetry of the Psalter, making the verses to run, as the verses rarely ever do, in stiff uniform couplets, they should be very sparingly used, if at all, for the Psalms.

But, passing from them, Where are we to find our best models for Psalm chants? Unquestionably in the simple ferial forms of those old Gregorian melodies which have been associated with the Psalter for so many centuries, and have been sung through the length and breadth of the Catholic Church. I say the simple ferial forms; for florid and worthless as are many of our modern double Anglican chants, the very worst of them are not so extravagantly flimsy, grotesque, and worthless as are certain of the ornate festal forms of the Gregorian chants. The melody, instead of being broad and dignified, is utterly emasculate and feeble. All the oddest vocal flourishes and ornaments in use amongst old-fashioned dissenters in their metrical psalm-singing, we find here freely introduced.

When I speak, then, of the Gregorian tones furnishing us with our best models for Psalm-chants, I refer to them only in their simple ferial forms. We know that when Guidetti, under the auspices of the great Palestrina, revised the plain-song for the Western Church in the sixteenth century, he admitted twenty-three only of the chants which from time to time have been in use, as ancient and legitimate: five forms of the 1st tone; one of the 2nd; four of the 3rd; three of the 4th; one of the 5th; one of the 6th; five of the 7th; two of the 8th; and the beautiful irregular or Peregrine tone. Can any Psalm chants be more grave, vigorous, and pleasing than most of these? Surely the mere interest attaching to them, independently of their intrinsic excellence, should make us loth to part with them. But are we to use them exclusively? "Of course you are," say many. "You cannot serve God and mammon. All compromises are bad; a compromise between Anglicans and Gregorians, intolerable." Those who so speak know little of the practical difficulties with which the subject is beset. I will mention a few.

And first: if you adhere to the pure recognized forms of the Gregorian tones, you have at most twenty-three chants for the whole Psalter: but several of these are simply varieties of the same chant, and so like one to another, that it is confusing to your people to teach them *both*. So you have only some *dozen fresh forms* of melody for the whole Book of Psalms: and the result is, that you become so weary with the iteration, that you are *driven* to some method for enriching your stock. Two methods have been adopted—the Mediæval and the Anglican. We must determine for ourselves which is the more sensible. The Mediæval method, already referred to, was to *restrict* the Psalm-chants to these nine tones alone: not to construct new and original melodies, according to the laws of the several ecclesiastical modes, but to keep to this limited number of melodies—one representative tune for each mode, or scale. And yet, while *professedly* doing this, while *professedly* adhering to the nine old orthodox chants, and them alone; *practically* to increase their number almost indefinitely, by submitting each individual chant to every conceivable kind of usage,—putting here a new beginning, here a new middle, here a new end; inserting a few notes here, omitting a few notes there, till one chant became twenty, or fifty, as the case might be.

The method adopted by the Anglican Church for supplying itself with suitable chants according to its needs, was, not to ring any fresh changes

on the old tones, or torture them into any new forms; but to fix on some simple *type* or *pattern*, leaving it to her musicians to construct chants according to that type, embodying the spirit of the old Church melodies, and based upon the Gregorian system, but adapted to the accent and genius of the English language, and susceptible of legitimate harmony.

I am not speaking a word in disparagement of the old Gregorian chants. Their varying rhythms and quaint cadences I dearly love. To hear them well and intelligently sung and accompanied, is to myself a great treat. But it is mere blind idolatry which refuses to see the practical value of the other system of chanting. 1st, Anglican chants give us, what we really want, a greater and more *legitimate* variety than Gregorians. 2nd, they present fewer difficulties: (1) less difficulty in pointing, and (2) less difficulty in accompanying. 1. Less difficulty in pointing. The rhythms and metres of the Gregorian chants are so different, that a Psalm pointed to suit one chant will not suit another. These changes of rhythm are very pleasing, but create great practical difficulties. For you cannot have your Psalter pointed once for all, and then select your chants,—you must have each Psalm pointed for its own chant. This cripples one very much. 2. But the difficulty in accompanying is also great. The structure of most of the chants is really inconsistent with such a tonal system as the laws of harmony demand. And, therefore, how best to clothe them with organ harmonies is a great problem. Take, for instance, the 4th tone. Who really knows how to harmonize this? And to hear an unskilled organist labour through it, with harmonies utterly crude and irrational, is no small penance to musical ears.

I have occasionally heard the Gregorian chants very finely accompanied: but, generally, the practical difficulties which attend their successful rendering are so imperfectly overcome, that the Psalms, which should form one of the most delightful parts of the service, become a very "pain and grief." The choir and congregation may bawl out at the top of their voices; still one too often feels that the music is not such as the words of the sweet Psalmist merit, or such as is fit for an offering to God.

Now the Anglican system obviates both the difficulties I have mentioned. Instead of twenty different rhythms or metres, it has, with practical good sense, fixed on *one*, the most common, and perhaps most satisfactory, of all the ancient ones, and the best adapted to the general requirements of our language; a rhythm (as those who take interest in mystic numbers will be pleased to observe) having a sevenfold division; the former half of the chant containing three, the latter four members. So that you have your Psalter pointed once for all; and *any* chant will suit *any* Psalm. And thus, provided you can obtain a collection of good chants, (which, with a little pains, you may easily do) you may go far towards securing a very satisfactory musical rendering of the daily Psalms. For we ought not, I think, to keep one Psalm rigidly to one chant (except *perhaps* the 114th to the beautiful Peregrine tone): for the Psalter is so prolific in meaning, each Psalm has so many faces, that even our music should not seem to teach that it has only one. Circumstances may occur, particular Festivals come round, which may render it desirable to bring out one or other aspect of a Psalm into prominence: a judicious change of chant will often aid you in this. And our best Anglican single chants are so very simple and straightforward, that a congregation will catch one almost directly.

I may mention, that although the Gregorian chants, as a rule, suffer by being adapted to our Anglican mode of pointing, requiring a somewhat



freer treatment; still many of the best of them, and certain forms of all of them, may be sung to our common Anglican division of the words.

In connection with harmony, I must not omit to notice another advantage which our English chants possess. Being written in modes which invite harmony, they are *naturally* susceptible of it. Now harmonized music is (as I have before said) essentially Christian. It is of an intrinsically higher order than unisonous; and, surely, pure vocal harmony is the most appropriate music for the Sanctuary, and the most perfect and fitting offering to Him from whom all harmony proceeds. Why the Psalms, which should form the most delightful part of our ordinary morning and evening Offices, should be always condemned to be sung (sometimes, I should say, *howled*) in unison, I cannot tell. My idea is this—that our English chants should be so constructed (as numbers of them are) as, first, to be independent of any organ accompaniment; and second, to bear unisonous as well as harmonized singing; so that their effect shall be not impaired, but rather enhanced, by the congregation singing the melody in unison and octaves. By this means, those who prefer it, may sing the air; and those whose ears or voices prompt them to contribute to the harmony, may join in one of the vocal parts. This is an important consideration. Unisonous singing is very painful to some voices. Alto voices especially dislike it. They are constantly compelled to sing out of their proper register. And this, I doubt not, is one of the secret personal reasons for the objections entertained by my valued friend, the Oxford Professor, against Gregorian music. He feels himself excluded from participating in an important part of the Office. Moreover, it is ruinous to a choir always to sing in unison. The singing soon becomes coarse and harsh, and degenerates into mere shouting. The trebles lose the power of singing in tune when unsustained by others. The tenors lose their higher, the basses their lower notes; the altos their voices altogether: everything becomes dependent on the organ. If you have a clever organist, the mischief will be veiled. The incompetence of the choir will not be very apparent; and the Service will probably be considered a very good one. For a clever organist has much in his power; but if you lose him, woe betide your choir. My belief is, that our choirs throughout the country have sensibly deteriorated since the revival of so much unisonous singing. And they will deteriorate. It saves trouble; it prevents the necessity of any man or boy knowing how to sing; but it results in offering to God a maimed and imperfect offering.

Now, I do not wish to be misunderstood. I am not speaking against the Gregorian chants. I love to hear them well done, and to join in them. But the universal adoption of them, advocated by many, is beset with difficulties so serious, which I have not by any means exhausted—difficulties which our simple Anglican system, with practical good sense, evades—that I cannot think it right to pass them over without notice, as they are by no means sufficiently recognized.

There is a kind of weak sentimental dread of everything Anglican among some of our brethren, which warps their judgment. Call a chant “Parisian,” and be it never so poor and modern, it will be eagerly appropriated. Call it English, and be it never so good, it will be held in contempt. [“*Debased*” is the epithet we usually see applied to Anglican chants, in certain of our Church newspapers, and by certain of our advanced writers. Such language is mere nonsense.] I am not about to offer any private theory of my own with respect to chanting. We must go on making trials, and gathering experience. My feeling is, that we should, if possible,

appropriate and utilize both classes of chants; either incorporating the best of the ancient ones into our modern system, or employing both systems according to our need. The Church, like a wise householder, brings forth from her exhaustless treasury "things new and old." The question of Psalm-chanting is one of great and growing interest to us. No Church in Christendom makes such congregational use of the Psalter as our own. And this use, please God, will increase. The Psalter and Offices are recited privately and cloistrally elsewhere, but not "in the great Congregation." We are bound therefore to look for music which will suit congregational worship; music, simple, broad, and susceptible of harmony.

It is because so much of the mediæval plain-song, with its long vocal flourishes, and wearisome multiplication of notes to one syllable, is so unsuited for congregational use, that I regret to see the attempts made to introduce so much of it into our Service, especially into the Communion Office. A single Priest, or small choir of men singing in unison, accompanied, as we often hear them abroad, with an ophicleide, may perform such music well enough, and not without effect. But to attempt to force music of this character on a congregation of English worshippers is, I am convinced, a great and serious mistake. I know nothing more wearying, more utterly painful to musical ears, than to hear some of these modern and most ill-judged adaptations. I forbear to specify instances. So again, there is something fascinating in singing a hymn-tune with a pretty Latin title, and written in square notes; and I freely own that a few of these revived Latin tunes are well worthy of adoption; susceptible of pure harmony, simple, vigorous, and pleasing; and that most of them possess an interest for the antiquarian and musician; but I must express my candid opinion, with regard to many of them, that to inflict them on a congregation is sheer, downright cruelty.

From the earliest ages, the Hymns of the Church have been regarded as, in some sort, a permitted outlet for Christian feeling and enthusiasm, and have claimed for themselves music of a somewhat more free and popular character than the Psalms. In the Psalms, Christian truths are in a measure veiled, and indirectly expressed; in the Church Hymns, they are *directly* announced "in all their gracious and heart-stirring fulness." Now to wed these Hymns to archaic strains, uncouth, unrhythmical, unharmonious, devoid of all power to move the peoples' hearts, is a grave error. Our Hymns and Anthems, while devout and ecclesiastical in character, should be at least pleasing and soberly expressive; so that they may really be a help, not a hindrance, to the words with which they are associated.

I regret that I have found it quite impossible in the compass of one short paper, to attempt any systematic course of illustrations. Still, as it would be unpardonable to pass over our long and illustrious line of English Church musicians wholly without mention, I must ask the choir to be so good as to give, in conclusion, two short specimens; the former from one of our earliest, the latter from one of our latest writers: the one from a composer who lived during the eventful crisis of our English Reformation; the other from a composer of the present day.

The little anthem from Thomas Tallis first appears in a great choral work published by John Day in 1560, entitled "Certain Notes set forth in four and five parts, to be sung at the Morning, Communion, and Evening Prayer; very necessary for the Church of Christ to be frequented and used. And unto them be added divers godly Prayers and Psalms in the like form, to the honour and praise of God."

"IF YE LOVE ME."—*Tallis.*

The other specimen is by Dr. Wesley. It is what he would consider one of his lesser compositions. It is written in a free style; still it is so thoroughly religious and expressive, and, like every thing which comes from his pen, bears so plainly the mark of the thoughtful and accomplished musician, that it cannot but commend itself to all true lovers of the sacred Art. I may be pardoned for adding that the lesson of *unity* which its sacred words inculcate, "Love one another with a pure heart fervently," is not unfitting the close of this Church Congress, as reminding us of a way in which all may individually contribute in bringing about that glorious Consummation (when "all shall be *one*," ) at which the Archbishop, at the opening of the Congress, directed our wistful gaze; a Consummation, the ultimate realization of which is, as the Anthem also reminds us, infallibly *certain*: resting on the promise of the everlasting Word—"For the grass withereth, the flower thereof fadeth away, but the Word of the Lord endureth for ever."

"BLESSED BE THE GOD AND FATHER."—*Wesley.*

I must apologise for the length and yet great incompleteness of this paper. I have aimed at bringing before you a few of the principles of Choral Worship, rather than at dealing much with details. Our aim should be to keep our music simple and congregational, and yet of such a character as shall be consistent with the increased musical knowledge, with which God has blessed us above our ancestors. There is a great Revival going on in the Church of England, musical, ritual, devotional: I believe it to be of God, *and that no power on earth can arrest it*. If the Church is to win back her masses, she must not refuse to avail herself of any legitimate means, of which God may have signified His approval, for rendering her Service soberly attractive. May God give us all wisdom, in our several departments of study and spheres of influence, to contribute towards this Revival, in such a way as shall best promote the edification of His people, and His own Honour and Glory!

I have nothing more to say than to thank the choir for their kind and most efficient aid; and, with your Lordship's permission, make a final request, that, in order that we may not go away without a single specimen of a hymn tune, they will be so good as to sing four verses of the Evening Hymn to the old canon tune by Thomas Tallis.

"GLORY TO THEE, MY GOD, THIS NIGHT."—*Tallis.*

## CONCLUSION.

The PRESIDENT said: We have now arrived at an hour at which, although there are some members of Congress who have expressed a desire to speak to us in reference to the subject on which we have had so interesting and instructive a lecture, I think it will be the general feeling of the Congress that, as large bodies move slowly, we should begin that part of our work which, although in some respects a happy one, is yet not unmingled with regret; and that is to say our parting words. The first business we have to transact before we break up is a very important one. I have no doubt that a very general feeling pervades those who have had the privilege of attending the several meetings of the Congress during the last few days that, whether annually or not, at all events these meetings should be continued. Our practical business, then, must be in the first place to decide where the next meeting shall be. We have had two invitations addressed to us, both from important places in England. One has already been announced to you, as having been sent by the Dean of York and his Chapter, with the full and entire consent and approval of his Grace the Archbishop of York, the invitation being supported by another from the Lord Mayor of York and the Corporation. That was the first invitation we received. Another has also been sent to us by a gentleman who takes a great interest in Congress, and who lives in the neighbourhood of Brighton; but that invitation has not come to us up to the present moment accompanied by the consent of the Bishop of the Diocese, or by any application or invitation from the public authorities of Brighton. Now, it is for you at this meeting to decide at which place, God permitting, the Congress shall assemble in the ensuing year.

The EARL OF HARROWBY: My task is a very easy and simple one, for it is merely to ask you to embody in a resolution the opinion and wish you have already expressed. I think no one can doubt that you have decided in favour of accepting the invitation from York. If there be any one place to which, more than another, your sympathies might be supposed to be attracted, it is that ancient and noble city, which possesses the noblest minster in this kingdom, and is connected with the oldest associations, historical and ecclesiastical, and to that city you have been invited by the authority of the Lord Archbishop, the Honourable and Very Reverend the Dean, and by the Lord Mayor and Corporation. I am quite sure with such an invitation as that, and with the attractions which that noble city presents, you can have no difficulty in acceding to the resolution which I have had the honour of having placed in my hands, and in accepting that very gracious invitation. Will you, my Lord, allow me, in making this motion, to join also in the expression which your Lordship has given utterance to as to the gratification that has been experienced, I am quite sure, by all those who have been present, at the results of the present meeting? We are all fully aware that there may be differences of opinion among us on minor objects, and some of these may have presented themselves during the earlier days of our meeting; but when we come to the great and essential objects which occupied our attention on the present day, not a shade of difference of opinion could be discovered, but we were all united in the bonds of interest in favour of our common Christianity. With these observations, will you allow me to make the motion which I have already stated to you?—

“That this Congress willingly and gratefully accepts the invitation of His Grace the Lord Archbishop of York, the Honourable and Very Reverend the Dean, the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the city of York, to hold the meeting of Congress next year in that city.”

The BISHOP OF OXFORD said: My Lord Bishop, you have kindly allotted to me the task of seconding the resolution which has just been moved by Lord Harrowby, and I do so with great satisfaction. You must allow me upon this occasion rather to lose the personality of a mere dry seconder of a resolution, and, as a Yorkshire man, to invite you to the north. My Lord, you have heard in this beautiful cathedral of yours how a northern primate can preach; you have heard to-night how a great northern musical authority can discourse to you upon the music of the Church. Well, my Lord, then I ask you on behalf of your cousins—for are not you in this county also North-folk men?—to come a little further northward among us and try our northern hospitalities. I will not say that they can exceed yours,—it would be much to boast that they could equal them, for I have myself been the happy guest of your honoured Bishop, and I have to-day, also, shared the hospitality of Mr. Harvey: but this I will say for our

Yorkshire people, they will do their best. And I think I should remind you for your encouragement, in making trial of us, that hospitality has always been esteemed a barbarous virtue, if perchance you may deem us rather a barbarous people. The notion evidently arises from the fact that habitual insecurity abroad requires double safety at home—and I will answer for it that every Yorkshireman, from the Archbishop downward, who shall be the host of any of you now present, will give you security at home, and such a welcome as you will not soon forget. We have been talking about strict science. Now, my friends, for a long time science itself rather favoured the notion that comets were the feeders of the sun—that they made their gyrations through space in order that, when they had accomplished their vocation, they might one by one pitch themselves into the great burning furnace of the universe and keep alive his exhausting flames. Let us go back for the moment to the old belief. The sun of the north, you know, is short-lived in its reign and somewhat cold in its rays, and we want the comet of the Congress to come with its mighty Church fervour and cast itself into our hyperboreal luminary, and to make it as warm as all of you are. And certainly Norwich during these few days,—whether owing to the comets, or to the sun, or to the eclipse of the moon, or to the Congress, or to its own natural heat, I cannot say,—has been extraordinarily warm. My friends, to put joking aside, I believe that one of the great blessings of such meetings as these is this—that they do make men who are thoroughly united in one great object, and it may be are divided by the most insignificant differences, better understand one another. It makes them feel that to have inherited the great tradition of Christ's holy Catholic Church, reformed from its mediæval abuses in this free and blessed land, and to have to uphold its doctrine in its perfectness, its ritual in its completeness, and its Bible in its perfect clearness and in the vernacular tongue of its ancient English, is an inheritance which it is impossible for man to overrate. And then, I cannot look round this platform without the recollection being forced upon me, that this Church of England lives not for itself alone, but for that world into which God has projected it; and when I see my beloved brother of Grahamston sitting on this platform beside your own Bishop, I remember that whatever strengthens and quickens the action of the heart of England, will be felt not only in southern Africa but in every part of the civilized world. My Lord, indeed I believe we may thank God for the result of these days spent here together in prayer in your beautiful cathedral, in discourse upon matters of the greatest interest in this grand hall, in brotherly intercourse, and in strengthening the chains of Christian charity. Of this I for one am certain, that we have but to understand one another. In a certain sense we profess to represent the united Church of England and Ireland, and I claim my right honourable friend (Mr. Joseph Napier) as the representative of Ireland, as the Bishop of Grahamston is the representative of another portion of the body: and so doing, we have but to understand one another, and not selfishly and lightly to cast stumblingblocks and reproaches in one another's way; but, holding the one truth of God as this Church has received it in its purity and embodied it in its ritual, to act upon those Holy Scriptures of the Lord, in the truth of which, without reserve and without equivocation, we at least believe, and God shall give, through the agency of this His own instrument, endless times of refreshing to this benefitted nation. I beg, my Lord, to second this resolution.

The resolution was put and unanimously agreed to.

The PRESIDENT: Our friends will remember that on the first day of our meeting in this hall, I stated that, in compliance with the request of the Committee of the last Congress, the General Committee of this Congress had appointed a certain number of their body to draw up rules for the future conduct of the Congress; I read those rules on that occasion, and stated that they would this night be considered and formally put for adoption. I learn from one or two who are interested in the Congress, that they consider there are points in those rules that require reconsideration. I am quite sure that you will all feel that this is not the hour, even if it would be the occasion, to enter into a discussion upon a code of rules, and therefore I think that the wisest and most sensible course will be simply to forward these rules as our contribution and suggestion to the Executive Committee of the next Congress, the advantage of which course will be that that Committee will be left wholly unfettered as to their own course of action, only they will be governed, as English bodies are accustomed to be, by the precedents that have already been given. Therefore I think I may take it for granted, from the expressions given by this meeting, that our best course will be, as I have suggested, merely to pass these rules on for the consideration of the Executive Committee of the next Congress. The Right Worshipful the Mayor of Norwich will now move a resolution.

"The MAYOR OF NORWICH: My Lord, since I came on the platform this evening, I have been requested to move the resolution I hold in my hand, and which, with your leave, I will read to the meeting. It is—

"That the Executive Committee, in behalf of the Members of the Congress, desire to express their grateful thanks to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of York for his able and valuable sermon, and to the Writers and Speakers who have so kindly and efficiently undertaken the subjects committed to them."

The only regret I feel in complying with the request to move this resolution is, because of my utter inability to do justice to a subject so vast. It has been said—

"As when a well-graced actor leaves the stage,  
Men's eyes are idly bent on him who enters next."

So, ladies and gentlemen, would it be with *your ears* if I were to attempt to address you at any length after the eloquent address you have just heard from the Bishop of Oxford. I will, therefore, without further comment, recommend to your adoption the resolution I have just read.

The REV. CANON HEAVISIDE: My Lord, I am here to second a resolution and not to make a speech. It would be the very worst taste in me if, after the three days of brilliant eloquence and instruction you have heard in this hall, and if, following so soon after one of the greatest orators in this country, I were to attempt to waste your time by the expression on my part of any feeling that would extend to any length, but, as Chairman of the Executive Committee, I have very great pleasure in seconding the resolution of thanks, not only to the Archbishop of York for undertaking to preach the sermon that inaugurated the Congress, but also to all those brilliant writers and speakers who have attended here to aid us by their knowledge and ability. I have been, as I have said, Chairman of the Executive Committee, under whose management the Congress which has been developed into the meetings we have held in this city, and I believe, even by those who might at one time have entertained a feeling of hostility against the Congress, it has been felt that the Congress of Norwich is not only a great fact but a great success. I can assure you that the debt of gratitude which we owe to those able gentlemen who have come from distant parts of the country to enlighten us can hardly be exaggerated. We who have been behind the scenes and who have known all the particulars of our preparations, understand well enough what difficulty there has been on the part of those most favourable to the Congress, from the engagements that they had formed, from the duties to which they were bound, in coming to Norwich at a particular time of year; and I know that a great many of those writers and speakers who have appeared among us have come, at a great sacrifice of their leisure and ordinary pursuits. I believe, my Lord, that the success of this Congress has been due in a very great measure to what I may express as the large-heartedness of the Executive Committee, who have recognized the great fact that there are various opinions in the Church to which we belong. I will not designate those opinions by the adjectives which are generally applied to them, indicating height and depth and breadth, but you all sufficiently know to what I allude. I believe that our programme of writers and speakers shows conclusively that we have not ignored any of the special opinions that are agitating the Church, whether on one side or on the other. I sincerely hope that when the Congress assembles at York, as I do not doubt it will, that the same attention will be paid to this impartiality, and in that case I am sure that the Congress at York will be as great a success as it has been at Norwich. The Bishop of Oxford, with that eloquence, fluency, and imaginative rhetoric that so eminently distinguish him, has likened the appearance of the Congress in a great city to that of a comet. We know that with a comet, in the ordinary belief, there is always associated the notion that on the appearance of one of these luminaries there is an unusual amount of physical heat. I am not aware of any comet that is, at all events at the present moment, visible to the naked eye; but this I will say, that if the Congress is in any way to be likened to a comet, I see a resemblance in this respect, that in coming to Norwich it has warmed up all those feelings of hospitality for which this city is universally acknowledged to be distinguished. And not only has it warmed our hearts but it has enlightened our understandings. I beg leave to second the resolution.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

EARL NELSON: The resolution that has been put into my hands is:—

"That the best thanks of this Congress be accorded to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of the Diocese as President; the Right Worshipful the Mayor, for the use of this hall and for his support to the Congress; to the Chairmen of the various Sections, and to the various Committees who have carried out the necessary arrangements in this city with so much efficiency."

The way in which you have received the announcement of the resolution which I have to move, assures me that it will be perfectly unnecessary for me to make any speech at all. This, however, I will say, and I may say it without being considered to be making any invidious comparison, as it is the first Congress I have had the pleasure of attending, that I am perfectly certain no Congress could have been more successful than the Congress at Norwich, and we must remember that a great deal of that success is due to those whom I now call upon you to thank by passing the resolution I have read to you. The Bishop of Norwich as your chairman has thrown himself so thoroughly into the spirit of the Congress, has attended it with such untiring energy, and has conducted all the general meetings over which he has presided with such judiciousness, such courtesy, and such impartiality, that I am sure I need say nothing further in reference to him. I have been much struck in this the first Congress I have attended, by the great opportunity offered for bringing the laity and the clergy very much together. This has been made clearly apparent to you by the way in which the Mayor has attended all the general meetings. He has given you the use of this hall, as his official gift; but by his personal attendance here he has won even a higher claim to your thanks than he is entitled to for permitting the Congress the use of the hall, for he has not only attended all the general meetings of the Congress, but he has himself come under the denomination of a Chairman of Sections, and has, I believe, taken the chair on two occasions at sectional meetings. And in further exemplification of the fact to which I have alluded, I have the great satisfaction of telling you that the two gentlemen who were Chairmen of the other Sections, and who so courteously and fairly conducted those sections, were also laymen of this county of Norfolk. I cannot go on to specify the Committee, but we know that the Committee, and those whose names very often do not appear, have also laboured most earnestly, and done a large amount of that work which has caused you all to be so satisfied with the results of this Congress.

THE VEN. ARCHDEACON DENISON: My Lord Bishop, if it were as easy a thing to express one's gratitude as it is delightful to feel it, my task to-night would not be difficult; but when I remember what it is that I must try to express, not only on my own part, but on the part of all those in whose behalf I have the honour to speak, I am obliged to confine myself to a very few words, and to ask all those who so kindly listen to me to believe that these very few words are the expression of a truly overflowing heart. I have had the honour to attend all the Congresses that have been held in this country, and I am glad to say, that though, of course, I do not wish to make any invidious comparison, I am only stating a fact, which is one of the most natural things in the world to happen, when I say that as good things go on they get better, and this Congress which has been taught by those which have gone before, has, I believe, in all essentials done its part, not only as well as any that have gone before it, but, if I may be allowed to say so, taking all things into account, I think it has done its part better. Now, our thankfulness is due to all those who have had the charge of this Congress, beginning with the Right Reverend Prelate who has so worthily and so excellently occupied this chair, going on to the Mayor and Corporation of this ancient city, whom we have been delighted to welcome among us, or who, indeed, may rather be said to have welcomed us amongst them, and then going on to all those who have conducted the details of this Congress, without whose care,—and I believe it is impossible to overrate the anxious pains and trouble which have been taken to bring all things to a successful issue—the Congress might not have been so successful. When I remember that for all these things we have had to express our gratitude, I have only to say, that words are indeed but very poor things. I beg, therefore, my Lord, to second the resolution of thanks you have just heard read. For myself, and I believe I may speak for all the rest who have come from different parts of the kingdom into this diocese of Norwich, I may say that we came here with an anxious desire to do all we might to promote brotherly union and concord among the people of the Church of England—that we came with loving hearts and with an earnest desire to do everything we might to press forward upon the consideration of this great assembly, in a fitting and true manner, the subjects proposed to us for discussion, and I know this, that it will not be the fault of this diocese and people of Norwich, if we do not carry away with us a more loving spirit and a more anxious care and such recollections as must abide with us in all the pleasantness of their own nature so long as we live. I beg, my Lord, to second the resolution.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD: The Bishop of Norwich, as you know, cannot put to you the proposition that you should thank him, and it devolves on me to have the extraordinary pleasure of asking whether you will return your thanks to the Lord Bishop of Norwich, to the Right Worshipful the Mayor, and to the others mentioned in the resolution for the great things they have done for us on this occasion.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

**THE PRESIDENT:** My Christian brethren, from my heart I thank you for the way in which the resolution has been expressed and received. I thank you heartily as the Bishop of this diocese for this expression of your respect for my office, and for the kind terms in which you have spoken of myself in the discharge of the duties I have fulfilled, or endeavoured to fulfil, as your president. I will not attempt to conceal that I viewed with considerable anxiety, as every thoughtful mind must have done, the assembling here of a large body of persons from all parts of the country, (notwithstanding their bond of brotherhood and fellowship as members of one Church) to discuss together subjects of so deep and holy a character,—subjects which are not only matters of deep interest to our minds, but of everlasting moment to our souls,—I say I could not regard the assembling here of this vast meeting for such purposes without deep anxiety. I truly believe that this anxiety has been cast, I would hope by all, but I am sure by a vast number, where it ought to be; and that whatever measure of success has attended the efforts of those who have been engaged in preparing and arranging for this Congress, and whatever measure of good we are personally conscious of having received in the several discussions, we may humbly, but undoubtedly, recognise as an answer to prayer. It is not for me to speak in the name of my Right Worshipful friend the Mayor, on my right, or on behalf of the Committee, and especially the Secretaries, to whom we are so greatly indebted for the immense trouble and pains they have taken in making all the arrangements for these proceedings, and upon whom naturally has fallen the great burden of the preparations. I can only say for myself that I can wish nothing better for any future President of the Church Congress, than that he should have an Executive Committee whom he may so thoroughly trust as I have been enabled to trust the Executive Committee of this Congress, who by their wise and considerate course have hardly ever made it necessary for me to exercise any authority except in sanctioning their proceedings. I will not attempt to say more to you, except again, from my heart, to assure you that, little as I am able to express it, I do deeply feel grateful to you for all the consideration you have shown to so inexperienced a chairman, and for the readiness with which you have received any suggestions I have felt it my duty to make.

**THE MAYOR OF NORWICH:** My friends, could I have supposed that the mixing up of my name with that of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese in a vote of thanks this evening would have necessitated my again addressing a few words to you, I think I should have shrunk from attending here this evening, for I do not feel myself competent to respond in a fitting manner to the kindness you have evinced in such a proceeding. I think that the names of the Secretaries should rather have been joined with that of the President than that of myself, whose labour has been so small, but whose gratification has been extremely large. However, I thank you, not only in my own name, but in the name of the Corporation of this ancient city, for the compliment you have paid them, and for the confidence you have shown in them by your kindness to me. If, either in my private or my official character, I have done anything to promote or forward in any way the views of the Congress, or the success of the Congress, I shall always look back upon this as one of the happiest weeks of my life, and as one which I shall ever be proud of. I thank you again sincerely for your kindness in passing this vote of thanks, and I hope the next Congress may pass off as satisfactorily as this appears to have done to all present.

**THE RIGHT HON. JOSEPH NAPIER:** The resolution which I have been requested to propose is this:—

“That this Congress beg to express their hearty thanks to Robert John Harvey Harvey, Esq., M.P., and to Lady Henrietta Harvey, for their liberal and splendid hospitality shown to the members of the Congress.”

I can move this, I may say, soberly and with impartiality, as I was not able to partake of the privilege which was offered to me through the medium of their invitation. I differ from my right reverend friend the Lord Bishop of Oxford who suggested that hospitality was a barbarous virtue. I have thought that it was a virtue that peculiarly graced the office of a Bishop, even although he may have come from the barbarous region of Yorkshire; and I think that the hospitalities we have all been receiving in this town have been consummated and crowned by that to which this resolution calls your attention. These hospitalities have, in my humble opinion, a happy and, I would say, a sanctifying influence, promoting kindness of feeling, bringing us together in social intercourse as the servants of God, “who has given us all things richly to enjoy;” and, believe me, there is nothing of the intercourse of life which brings us in these happy meetings together, and tells us that we have all of us one human heart, that is not subsidiary to the promotion of that unity for which we all yearn as members of the Church. I respond to the appeal that my right reverend friend made to me as the humble lay



representative of the Irish branch of the United Church. I have attended more than one of these Congresses, and it is my heart's desire to bring the two branches of the Church into a more intimate union, and a more happy closeness and harmony. My belief is that the Catholic Church of Christ in each part of the world has been designed for all the world. Wherever it is planted it aims at universality with ecclesiastical independence, and I believe that all these subsidiary and tributary streams of kindness, courtesy, and hospitality are favourable to the promotion of unity between the churches. I am reminded that the stars of heaven differ in magnitude and glory; they cluster in those lustrous masses of light that brighten the earth beneath and beautify the vault above, and it is my heart's desire that these meetings, one after another, may go on urging forward that happier period when there shall be larger and greater unity among the members and the churches of the Lord Jesus Christ. There are occasions at these meetings when we find intimations—

“Glimpses of glory ne'er forgot,  
That tell like the light on a sunset sea,  
What once hath been, what now is not,  
But what again shall brightly be.”

**THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF ELY:** My Lord, last year at Bristol, when it was mooted that we might possibly meet this year at Norwich, I ventured to say, as a Norfolk man, that my native county would not be behind Bristol in its hospitalities. The Bishop of Oxford has spoken in a glowing manner of what his county will do. I speak with perfect satisfaction of what mine has done, and I trust that next year, if it please God that we should live to see the Congress at York, the Bishop of Oxford may, when the Congress is over, be as satisfied with his county as I am with mine. My Lord, the seconder of a resolution always comes forward under a disadvantage. The mover can keep his resolution, like a sort of jack in the box, backward as long as he pleases; he can entertain his audience with a number of amusing matters, and then he can suddenly pop out his resolution upon them. Now, my secret is discovered. Mr. Napier has already told you the gratifying resolution which it is my duty and my pleasure to second. But I have this little advantage over him: he told you that he was not able to enjoy that splendid hospitality for which nevertheless he was, in the most self-denying manner, content and willing to return thanks. I have the advantage over Mr. Napier in this single particular, that I have had the privilege of enjoying that hospitality. My Lord, I need not tell you, for your Lordship was present, the glorious spectacle that was to be seen inside that new and noble building which is in the neighbourhood of the castle. In olden times, (and perhaps as this is a musical evening I may be allowed to allude to it) one used to know a song about a “bank whereon the wild thyme grows.” We, my Lord, in this nineteenth century, have a bank which despises the wild thyme of the mediæval days, and grows—what shall I say?—grapes, melons, pines, game pies, champagne, and every luxury under the sun. I do not believe that there ever was, and as a Norfolk man I do not believe it is possible that in any other county there ever can be, such a bank as that which we have opened to-day. As I looked upon the company assembled in that noble room, and in all the adjoining rooms, I could not help thinking that it ought to be called “The Norwich Banking Company (unlimited).” Well, my Lord, these remarks, as you will perceive, and as I am sure the whole company will perceive, naturally bring me to the subject of the resolution which it is my business to second. I am sure it is with a very hearty feeling of gratitude that we all of us join in our thanks to Robert John Harvey Harvey, Esq., M. P. and Lady Henrietta Harvey, for their liberal and splendid hospitality shown to the members of the Congress. I am quite certain, however, that the noble donors of that hospitality would feel ashamed if we were to estimate it merely by its splendour, and by the liberality which it manifests. I think that they, and I am sure that we, feel that it is valuable to us, not so much on account of its splendour and its liberality, as because it is the type of that feeling which I am convinced exists to a deeper extent than many of us are aware—that feeling of liberality on the part of rich and distinguished laymen towards the Church. I venture to mention this, my Lord, because I feel, and I am sure I am right in feeling, that the fact that we have the entrées of these banks, that we can get to the pockets of the wealthy men of the nation, does throw upon the Church of England a mighty responsibility, while it gives her a mighty power. I think that this day has brought to a close, in a most satisfactory manner, this grand meeting in which we have all been engaged. The Archbishop of York, in that glorious sermon which he preached to us in the cathedral, spoke of the manner in which, notwithstanding the unity which it was intended the Church should have, and for which the Lord of the Church prayed, that unity had been broken up—broken in a way that was sufficient to distract our minds and sometimes to tend to make us despair. Now, although we know that a

great breach of unity does exist outside our Church, although we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there are many and great breaches of unity throughout the Christendom of the world, still we might have hoped that within the limits of our own Church of England that unity might not have been broken; and it is a painful thing to think and to feel that whenever Christians meet together—Christians of the Church of England—it is hardly possible for them to do otherwise than lament the divisions, which unfortunately have taken place, and which have taken place too within her own pale. Now, if this Church Congress has one tendency more than another, if there be one reason more than another why we should give these congresses our support, why we should pray for their success, and why we should rejoice in the success that has already been accorded to them, it is that they do tend, and I know as a matter of fact that they do tend in a remarkable manner, to heal the breaches and the misunderstandings which exist among Christians of our own Church. I am quite certain that it has been the result of this Congress to demonstrate, that although there may be and must be in the nature of things differences of opinion among us, still there is great vital substantial unity among us too, that we all do love and serve the same Master, that we are all called by the same name, and that there is no reason why we should be called by any other name than that which belongs to us as members of one common Church. My Lord, I feel that in speaking on this occasion I have been somewhat carried away from the resolution I have in my hand; but I think that every one will say it is almost impossible to say a few parting words on an occasion of this kind, without running away from a motion like that which I have been asked to second to something of a deeper and more spiritual kind. I pray God that the success which has attended this meeting may be continued for many Congresses to come; and I trust that all that blessing of peace which has belonged to this Congress, in which I feel so deep an interest as a Norfolk man, may belong to that future Congress in which we trust next year to meet again.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

**THE PRESIDENT:** We have been speaking much in terms of thankfulness one to another, as those who have endeavoured in our different callings, and as brethren, to be helpers one of another in the work in which we have been engaged. We have also at the commencement of our several meetings united as brethren in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in imploring the guidance, direction, and blessing of God upon those meetings. Let then our last act be one of earnest, hearty praise to Him to whom alone every blessing and good that we have here enjoyed is due, and to whom also is due the putting away of all the evils we have escaped. I will ask you, therefore, to rise that we may join together in the Doxology.

The Doxology was then sung, and, after the President had pronounced the blessing, the proceedings of the Congress were brought to a close.

## APPENDIX A.

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### *Proposed Rules for regulating Arrangements for the holding of future Congresses.*

1. That the Executive Committee for organizing any Congress shall appoint a Board of Reference, consisting of six Members (three Clergymen and three Laymen) with a Clerical and Lay Secretary to be approved of by the Bishop, who shall receive communications from any gentleman or committee, acting on the part of any city or town where it is proposed Congress shall next assemble.
2. That all communications in matters relating to a proposed Congress be made to such Board of Reference.
3. That invitations, being first approved by the Bishop of the diocese in which such city or town is situated, be transmitted to the Secretaries of such Board of Reference before the assembling of the Congress about to meet.
4. That the Board of Reference expire on the formation of an Executive Committee in the place where it is decided the next Congress is to be held.
5. That for the present year invitations be received by the Board of Reference, during the sittings of Congress, addressed to the Rev. Hinds Howell, or T. W. Hansell, Esq., Secretaries to the Reference Board.

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## APPENDIX B.

The Committee recommend that the following rules acted on at preceding Congresses be accepted as standing orders at future meetings.

1. That the Bishop of the diocese where each future Congress is held be President.
2. That no question arising out of any subject on which appointed papers have been read be put to the vote.
3. That the proceedings of Congress be opened by Divine Service, with a Sermon and Holy Communion, and that arrangements be made for daily Service.

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## APPENDIX C.

### *Rules to be observed at all Meetings.*

Members of the Church of England and Ireland alone will be permitted to address the Congress, and no person will be allowed to speak twice on the same subject.

All questions of order of proceedings will be in the discretion of the President or presiding Chairman, whose decision will be final.

Any Member desirous of addressing the Congress on the subject before the meeting shall give his card to the Secretary in attendance

before the conclusion of the written addresses, and await the call of the Chairman.

Every speaker shall address the Chair only, and is expected to confine himself strictly to the subject under discussion.

No question arising out of any paper or subject treated at any meeting is to be put to the vote.

## APPENDIX D.

Draycot, Wells, Somerset,  
18th May, 1865.

SIR,

A short absence from home has somewhat delayed my reply to your last letter. In reference to that letter I have to say that I regard the adoption of either of the clauses which you have brought under my notice in the trust deed of the school as so serious a step, that at the risk of appearing troublesome I must beg to be allowed to ask two questions as to the effect of them, which I had hoped might be answered in your letter already referred to.

1. Is the Apostles' Creed one of the "Formularies" which a parent, under the proposed clause, may require his child not to be taught? (I take for granted that no such exception can be taken to the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, because they are contained *verbatim* in the Bible; but if in this I am mistaken, I should be glad to be set right.)

2. Does the clause aforesaid allow the promoters of the school to make the daily reading of the Bible by every child that can read, an absolute rule of the school?

As I wish to act with perfect fairness in every engagement by which their Lordships desire to bind me, I should be glad, before entering into the matters mentioned in your reply, to have a distinct answer to the above inquiries.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

W. B. CAPERN.

To the Secretary,  
Education Department, P.C. Office.

Education Department, P.C. Office,  
31st May, 1865.

REV. SIR,

Before replying to the inquiries contained in your letter of the 18th inst., I am directed to state that the object of the Conscience Clause proposed to the National Society for consideration is twofold:—

1. To guard the religious instruction of Church of England Schools in its entirety from all interference.

2. To provide for the instruction of the children of Dissenting parents in such schools, being the only schools within reach, consistently with the rights of conscience.

In answer to your first question,

"Whether the Apostles' Creed is one of the Formularies which a

parent, under the proposed Clause, might require his child not to be taught: ”

I am directed to state that the Apostles' Creed, being a Formulary of the Church of England, might be required not to be taught to a child by its parent who belonged to a Communion wherein that Creed was not used.

In answer to your second question,

“Whether the clause aforesaid allows the promoters of the School to make the daily reading of the Bible by every child that can read, an absolute rule of the School: ”

I am directed to state that the clause allows the Managers to do so, as long as the text of the Bible is not employed to enforce doctrine, which (*ex hypothesi*) is that of the Church of England, but is not also that of the parent.

It must always be borne in mind that the Conscience Clause does not touch the religious instruction; it concerns only those Dissenting parents who may wish to withdraw their children from such instruction, when it is contrary to their own belief.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

R. R. W. LINGEN.

The Rev. W. B. Caparn.

## APPENDIX E.

(Note ††, page 186.)

“It is possible by some hypothesis of the annual waste of the surface of land, or the annual deposition of sediments, as now observed in the sea, at the mouths of rivers, or in lakes, to transform the units of geological time above suggested into an equivalent term of years; but the numbers which result for the age of any given rock, like those which represent the circumference of a circle in terms of its diameter, are usually so large as to elude the grasp of memory or imagination. As an example, let the Wealden group of Sussex be taken, with its thousand feet of deposits of sand, clay, &c., formed by the action of an ancient river flowing through forests of a tropical aspect, and nourishing reptiles of a corresponding character. Let the river be assumed as equal to the Ganges in its power of transporting sediments and its extent of drainage. The sediments, left by such a river at its mouth, might amount to a thickness of one inch in a year on a surface of 3000 miles, and therefore one thousand feet of Wealden beds might thus be deposited in 12,000 years.

“Again, the weald of Sussex has been denuded by watery action, and its arch of marine and fluviatile strata cut down on an average about 1100 feet. Supposing the denudation to have been by atmospheric and river action, and at the same rate as the waste of surface in the Gangetic area, we shall find it necessary to give  $12000 \times 111 = 1,332,000$  years for the effect. But Mr. Darwin (on an additional assumption, viz., that the drift being 500 feet high, the waste was only an inch in a century) augments the term of this operation to the inconceivable number of 306,662,400 years. To show how little these computations are relied on, it is enough to say that Sir R. I. Murchison does not admit the basis of either, denying the denudation to have been by ordinary atmospheric or ordinary oceanic agencies.

“Do not geologists sometimes speak with heedless freedom of the ages which have gone? Such expressions as, that ‘time costs nature nothing,’ appear to me no better than the phrase which ascribes to nature ‘the horror of a vacuum.’ Are we to regard as information of value the assertion, that millions on millions of ages have passed since the epoch of life in some of the earlier strata? Is not, &c.”—Phillips’ Address to the Geological Society, 1860. p. li, lii. Comp. Forbes, *Antiquity of Man*, p. 437. “The period of observation, affording any key to the rate of emergence of the land, is so infinitesimally small, compared to the vast lapse of geological time, to which it is attempted to apply the proportionate scale, that it is matter for surprise that it should have been so strenuously insisted on as a basis of calculation.”

## APPENDIX F.

The following draft resolutions were agreed upon by previous secretaries, at a Meeting held at Oxford in 1864.

## I. THE OBJECT OF THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

To bring members of the Church of England together for free deliberation, and for the exchange of opinion and experience on subjects which affect the practical efficiency of the Church, the removal of abuse and defect, and the means of defence and extension; also for the encouragement of general interest in these and kindred topics amongst the clergy and laity in different parts of the country.

## II. STANDING RULES.

1. That the discussion of points of theological doctrine and speculation be strictly excluded.
2. That no question arising out of any papers read, or subject treated at any general or sectional meeting, be put to the vote.
3. That the discussion of each question be introduced by papers, or prepared speeches, limited in length at the discretion of the Local Committee, but that ample time (ordinarily not less than two-thirds) be reserved in each session for free and open debate.
4. That the Congress meet for three days or more, at such time as shall be arranged by concert between the Standing and Local Committees; the next place of meeting being in each case decided by the Congress itself.
5. The proceedings shall be opened by Divine Service with a sermon, the arrangements for which, as well as for Daily Service (including Holy Communion), at such times and places as shall be convenient for those attending the Congress, shall be made by the Local Committee.

## III. MANAGEMENT.

1. The Chairman of Committee and the Honorary Secretaries of the three Congresses last preceding, together with the Chairman and Honorary Secretaries of the Committee of the next coming Congress, shall form a Committee for reference and consultation with the Local Committee.
2. As soon as possible after the next place of meeting is decided, a Local Committee shall be formed, to which the entire arrangement of the Congress, subject to the above standing rules, shall be entrusted.
3. In all Executive Committees, wherever practicable, the number of lay members and secretaries shall be at least equal to that of the clerical members and secretaries.

Signed on behalf of the meeting by

P. GOLDSMITH MEDD.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE

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 Goulburn, Rev. E. M., Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W., 170.  
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 Hanly, Mr. J. Laffan, Lincoln, 181.  
 Harrowby, The Earl of, Grosvenor Square, W., 97, 209, 267, 311.  
 Heaviside, Rev. Canon, the Close, Norwich, 96, 313.  
 Herringham, Rev. W. W., Rector of Hawksworth, Notts, 288.  
 Hervey, Ven. Lord Arthur, Rector of Ickworth, Bury St. Edmund's, 87.  
 Hervey, Rev. Lord Charles A., Rector of Chesterford, Essex, 140.  
 Hessey, Rev. F., St. Barnabas, Kensington, 161.  
 Hoare, Rev. E., Incumbent of Trinity Church, Tunbridge Wells, 225.  
 Hope, Mr. A. J. B. Beresford, M.P., Arklow House, Hyde Park, London, 70, 92, 179, 262, 288.  
 Howes, Mr. Edward, M.P., Morningthorpe Hall, Norfolk, 151.  
 Howson, Rev. J. S., Collegiate Institution, Liverpool, 143, 206.  
 Jones, Sir Willoughby, Bart., Cranmer Hall, Norfolk, 58.  
 Jones, Rev. J. S., Incumbent of Christ Church, Liverpool, 121, 265.  
 Kay, Rev. W., Lincoln College, Oxford, 203, 283.

- Knott, Mr. J. M., Roxeth, Harrow-on-the-Hill, 119.  
 Knott, Rev. J. W., " " 289.  
 Lincoln, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, Riseholm, Lincoln, 177.  
 Lee, Rev. F. G., D.C.L., F.S.A., Coleahill Street, Eaton Square, London, 145.  
 Mackenzie, Rev. H., Rector of Tydd St. Mary, Lincolnshire, 40, 149.  
 May, Rev. F. S., Christ Church, Paddington, 133.  
 Mc Caul, Rev. J. B., Percy Circus, London, 105.  
 Meyrick, Rev. F., Palace Plain, Norwich, 147.  
 Monsell, Rev. J. S. B., Vicar of Egham, Surrey, 234.  
 Moore, Rev. Daniel, Camberwell, London, 217.  
 Moseley, Rev. Canon, Vicar of Olveston, Bristol, 20.  
 Norwich, The Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, Palace, Norwich, 9, 311, 312, 315, 317.  
 Napier, Right Hon. J., Merrion Square, Dublin, 71, 248, 315.  
 Nelson, The Earl, Trafalgar House, Salisbury, 151, 285, 313.  
 Norris, Rev. Canon, Hatchford, Cobham, Surrey, 30.  
 Norwich, The Right Worshipful the Mayor of, 99, 313, 315.  
 Oxford, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, Cuddesdon Palace, Oxford, 209, 311, 314.  
 O'Malley, Mr. P. F., Lowndes Street, Belgrave Square, W., 73, 145.  
 Phillimore, Sir R. J., Arlington Street, London, 60, 74.  
 Powell, Mr. F. S., M.P., 1, Cambridge Square, Hyde Park, London, 13, 175.  
 Pusey, Rev. E. B., Christ Church, Oxford, 181.  
 Randall, Venerable Archdeacon, Binfield, Berks, 41.  
 Rowley, Rev. Henry, 79, Pall Mall, S. W., 286.  
 Ryle, Rev. J. C., Vicar of Stradbroke, Suffolk, 236.  
 St. Andrews, Right Rev. the Bishop of, Fen House, Perth, 123, 146.  
 Salmon, Rev. G., Trinity College, Dublin, 260.  
 Sandford, Ven. Archdeacon, Rector of Alvechurch, Bromsgrove, 198.  
 Seymour, Rev. R., Rector of Kinwarton, Alcester, 81.  
 Thompson, Rev. Sir Henry, Bart., Frant, Tunbridge Wells, 38.  
 Wallace, Rev. W., Mile End Road, London, 237.  
 Wise, Ven. Archdeacon, Stanford, Norfolk, 287.  
 Woodgate, Rev. H. A., Rector of Belbroughton, Stourbridge, 33, 180.  
 Wratislaw, Rev. H. A., Bury St. Edmund's, 151.  
 York, The Most Rev. the Lord Archbishop of, Bishopthorpe Palace, York, 1.

*The following attended as Representatives of various Associations.*

- |                                                                  |                       |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Clabon, Mr. J. M., (Chairman)                                    | } Church Institution. |
| Hope, Mr. A. J. B. B., M.P.                                      |                       |
| Holgate, Mr. W., (Secretary)                                     |                       |
| Nelson, The Earl                                                 |                       |
| Powell, Mr. F. S., M.P.                                          |                       |
| Carter, Rev. Eccles, Bristol Church Union.                       |                       |
| Lee, Rev. F. G., Association for Promoting Unity of Christendom. |                       |
| Knott, Mr. J. M., Committee of Laymen.                           |                       |
| Herford, Mr. E., Society for Promoting Freedom of Worship.       |                       |
| Jenner, Rev. H. L., The Provincial Choral Union of Canterbury.   |                       |



# A REGISTERED LIST OF Members of the Church Congress held at Norwich,

OCTOBER 3RD, 4TH & 5TH, 1865.

This list has been made as accurate as circumstances would allow, but the Editor does not pledge himself to perfect correctness.

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| <p>Abbot, Rev. Bradley, Clapham, Surrey<br/>         Abdy, Rev. A. C., Tottenham, Middlesex<br/>         Abraham, Rev. T. E., Risby, Suffolk<br/>         Absalom, Miss, Southsea, Hants<br/>         Acworth, Rev. W. P., Thorpe, Norwich<br/>         Acton, Rev. W., Wicklewood, Norfolk<br/>         Acton, Mrs. W. ditto<br/>         Addison, Miss, Chelsea<br/>         Ady, Ven. Archd., Baddow, Chelmsford<br/>         Alcock, Miss, Skipton, Yorkshire<br/>         Alderson, Rev. R. J. C., Wetherden, Suff.<br/>         Alexander, Rev. J., Norwich<br/>         Allen, Mrs. John, Shrewsbury<br/>         Allen, Rev. E., Trinity Church, Salford<br/>         Allen, Mr. Joseph, Norwich<br/>         Allen, Mrs. Joseph, ditto<br/>         Allen, Mr. T. B. ditto<br/>         Allen, Mr. John, Manchester<br/>         Allen, Mrs. ditto<br/>         Allen, Miss ditto<br/>         Allen, Mr. G., Norwich<br/>         Allen, Mr. T. Buxton, Norfolk<br/>         Allfree, Rev. W. E., Narburgh, Norfolk<br/>         Allfree, Mrs. ditto<br/>         Allsopp, Rev. G. L., Ilkethall S. Margaret, Suffolk<br/>         Allsopp, Miss, Bungay<br/>         Alston, Rev. E. C., Dennington, Suffolk<br/>         Alston, Mrs. ditto<br/>         Ambrose, Mr. J. T., Mistley, Essex<br/>         Anderson, Rev. J. B., Barningham Town, Norfolk<br/>         Anderson, Mrs. ditto<br/>         Anderson, Miss, Holt, Norfolk<br/>         Anderson, Mr. C. H., 25, Elgin Road, London<br/>         Anderson, Rev. M. J., Hockering, Norfolk<br/>         Andrew, Rev. W. W., Hethersett, Norfolk<br/>         Andrew, Mr. A., Hethersett<br/>         Andrews, Rev. W. H., Carlton Colville, Suffolk<br/>         Andrews, Mrs. ditto<br/>         Arkwright, Miss, Sprowston, Norfolk<br/>         Armstrong, Rev. B. J., East Dereham</p> | <p>Armstrong, Rev. Skeffington, Riddlesworth, Norfolk<br/>         Arthy, Rev. J., Caistor next Norwich<br/>         Ashby, Rev. S., Saxthorpe, Norfolk<br/>         Ashby, Mrs. ditto<br/>         Ashton, Mrs., Lower Close, Norwich<br/>         Astley, Hon. and Rev. Delaval L., East Barsham, Norfolk<br/>         Astley, Hon. Mrs., ditto<br/>         Atkins, Miss, Norwich<br/>         Atkinson, Rev. M. A., Fakenham, Norfolk<br/>         Atkinson, Mrs. ditto<br/>         Atkinson, Rev. F. H., East Dereham<br/>         Atkinson, Mrs., Norwich<br/>         Atkinson, Miss ditto<br/>         Atlay, Rev. Canon, Leeds<br/>         Atlay, Rev. B. T., Gazeley, Suffolk<br/>         Austin, Mrs., Norwich<br/>         Ayscough, Mr. A., Islington</p> <p>Bangor, The Lord Bishop of<br/>         Back, Mr. H., Hethersett Hall, Norfolk<br/>         Back, Mr. J. A., Hethersett<br/>         Back, Miss Lucy, Tunstead, Norfolk<br/>         Back, Mr. George, Norwich<br/>         Back, Mr. P., Eaton, Norwich<br/>         Back, Mrs. P. ditto<br/>         Backhouse, Mrs., Norwich<br/>         Bacon, Rev. F., Spilsby, Lincolnshire<br/>         Bacon, Miss, Thorpe next Norwich<br/>         Bacon, Mr. R. N., Norwich<br/>         Bacon, Miss M. A. ditto<br/>         Bagge, Rev. P. S., Walpole S. Peter, Norfolk<br/>         Bailey, Rev. A. W., Panton, Lincolnshire<br/>         Bailey, Rev. John, Stoke Holy Cross, Norfolk<br/>         Bailey, Rev. G., Weston, Suffolk<br/>         Bailey, Mr. E. C., Norwich<br/>         Bailey, Miss ditto<br/>         Baker, Mr. Charles, Holt, Norfolk<br/>         Baker, Mrs. Charles ditto<br/>         Baker, Miss, Norwich<br/>         Baldwin, Rev. C., Norwich<br/>         Ballance, Rev. J. D., Horsford, Norfolk<br/>         Ballance, Mrs. ditto</p> |
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- Bannatyne, Rev. C., Aldham, Essex  
 Bannatyne, Mrs. C. ditto  
 Barcham, Miss, Norwich  
 Barclay, Rev. Dr., Christ Church, Jerusalem  
 Barker, Rev. R. W., Norwich  
 Barker, Mrs. ditto  
 Barkley, Mrs. Edward, ditto  
 Barkley, Miss, Little Melton, Norfolk  
 Barkley, Miss Louisa ditto  
 Barkway, Rev. F., Bungay, Suffolk  
 Barkway, Mrs. ditto  
 Barlow, Rev. W., Toftrees, Norfolk  
 Barlow, Rev. H. M., Burgh, Suffolk  
 Barnard, Rev. W. H., Clewer, Berks  
 Barnard, Miss, Stoke Holy Cross, Norfolk  
 Barnes, Mr. O., Beeston S. Andrew, Norfolk  
 Barnham, Mr. J. C., Norwich  
 Baron, Rev. J., Upton Scudamore, Wilts  
 Barrett, Rev. H. A., Chedgrave, Norfolk  
 Barrington, Hon. and Rev. L. J., Watton, Herts  
 Barry, Rev. R., North Tuddenham, Norfolk  
 Barry, Mrs. ditto  
 Barry, Mr. R., Fylingdales, York  
 Bartlett, Rev. F. A., York  
 Barton, Mr. Gerrard, Fundenhall, Norfolk  
 Basevi, Mrs., The Grove, Highgate  
 Batchelor, Rev. J., Great Yarmouth  
 Bateman, Rev. J. F., South Lopham, Norfolk  
 Bateman, Mr. J. G. J., Norwich  
 Bateman, Dr. ditto  
 Bateman, Mrs. F. ditto  
 Bates, Rev. Dr., Burnham Westgate, Norfolk  
 Bates, Rev. J., Kirstead, Norfolk  
 Bates, Mr. S., Oakenham, Lancashire  
 Bates, Rev. A. N., Blaxhall, Suffolk  
 Baxter, Mr. H., East Dereham  
 Baxter, Miss, Norwich  
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 Bayning, Right Hon. and Rev. Lord, Honingham Hall, Norfolk  
 Beale, Rev. Dr., Brooke, Norfolk  
 Beale, Rev. S. G. ditto  
 Beales, Rev. J. D., Newton, Suffolk  
 Beamont, Rev. W. J., Trin. Coll., Camb.  
 Beard, Rev. W. Day, Norwich  
 Beare, Mr. A. P., Thorpe Hamlet, Norfolk  
 Beauchamp, Sir Thomas P., Bart., Langley Park, Norfolk  
 Beauchamp, Lady ditto  
 Beauchamp, Mrs. George, Thetford  
 Beaumont, Rev. T. G., Chelmondiston, Suffolk  
 Beck, Rev. A., Lavenham, Suffolk  
 Beck, Mrs. ditto  
 Beck, Miss A., Norwich  
 Beddingfield, Rev. J., Beddingfield, Suffolk  
 Beavor, Mr. Thomas, Hingham, Norfolk  
 Bell, Edwin, Chislehurst, Kent  
 Bell, Rev. E. J., Dalham, Suffolk  
 Bell, Mrs. ditto  
 Bell, Rev. John, Fordham, Cambridge  
 Bellman, Rev. A. F., Moulton, Norfolk  
 Bellman, Mrs., Norfolk  
 Bensly, Mr. W. T., Norwich  
 Bensly, Mrs. ditto  
 Bentley, Mr. T. H., 26, Inverness Road, Bayswater  
 Best, Rev. W. E., Hellesdon, Norfolk  
 Betts, Mr. J., Norwich  
 Betts, Mrs. ditto  
 Betts, Miss, Metton, Norfolk  
 Bevan, Mr. G., Godmanchester, Huntingdon  
 Beverley, Dr., Norwich  
 Bevington, Miss H., Bermondsey  
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 Bickersteth, Miss ditto  
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 Bignold, Miss ditto  
 Bignold, Miss L. ditto  
 Bignold, Miss E. ditto  
 Bignold, Mr. E. S. ditto  
 Bignold, Mr. C. E. ditto  
 Bignold, Mrs. C. E. ditto  
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 Bingley, Mrs. ditto  
 Birch, Rev. Joseph, Teignmouth, Devon  
 Bird, Rev. G. J., Illington, Norfolk  
 Bird, Mrs. ditto  
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 Birkbeck, Mr. W., Thorpe next Norwich  
 Birkbeck, Mrs. ditto  
 Bishop, Mr., Norwich  
 Bishop, Rev. W., Heigham, Norwich  
 Black, Colonel, Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich  
 Black, Mrs. ditto  
 Black, Mr. C. ditto  
 Blackall, Rev. Samuel, Ixworth, Suffolk  
 Blake, Mr. F. J., Norwich  
 Blake, Miss F. ditto  
 Blake, Mrs., The Close, Norwich  
 Blake, Miss A. E. ditto  
 Blake, Miss E. M. ditto  
 Blake, Rev. Edmund, Bramerton, Norfolk  
 Blake, Mr. H., Norwich  
 Blake, Mrs. ditto  
 Blake, Rev. J. S., Heigham, Norwich  
 Blake, Lieut. C. A., Bramerton, Norfolk  
 Blake, Mr. E. E. ditto  
 Blake, Mr. E. F. ditto  
 Blakelock, Rev. R., Gymingham, Norfolk  
 Blakelock, Mrs. ditto  
 Bland, Rev. E. D., Kippax, Yorkshire  
 Bleakley, Mrs., Catton, Norwich  
 Bleakley, Miss ditto  
 Blencowe, Rev. E. E., West Walton, Norfolk  
 Blofeld, Rev. T. J., Hoveton House, Norfolk  
 Blofeld, Mrs. ditto  
 Blofeld, Rev. R. S., Ormesby, Norfolk  
 Blofeld, Mr. T. C., Harcourt Buildings, Temple  
 Blois, Miss, Intwood, Norfolk  
 Blomfield, Mr. J., Warham S. Mary, Norfolk  
 Blomfield, Miss Mary ditto  
 Blomfield, Miss Alice ditto  
 Blomfield, Miss, Norwich

- Blore, Rev. W., Lakenham, Norwich  
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 Blyth, Rev. E. K., Burnham Deepdale, Norfolk  
 Blyth, Mr.  
 Blythe, Rev. A. T., Staveley, Derby  
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 Boileau, Mrs. ditto  
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 Bolingbroke, Mrs. ditto  
 Bolling, Rev. E. J., Lit. Cressingham, Norf.  
 Bond, Rev. George, Sutton, Norfolk  
 Bond, Rev. Richard, Pulham S. Mary the Virgin, Norfolk  
 Borrow, Rev. W., Higham Green, Suff.  
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 Boulton, Mr. W. S., Norwich  
 Boulton, Mrs. W. S. ditto  
 Bourke, Rev. C.  
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 Bouverie, Hon. Mrs. Arundell ditto  
 Bowen, Rev. J., Walton Lewes, Norf.  
 Bowman, Rev. Isaac, Burneside, Kendal  
 Bradshaw, Rev. J., Christ Church, West Bromwich  
 Bradshaw, Mr. J., Bracondale, Norwich  
 Bradshaw, Mrs. J. ditto  
 Bradshaw, Miss ditto  
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 Bramston, Mrs. J. ditto  
 Bramston, Miss ditto  
 Bramston, Miss A. R. ditto  
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 Brew, Rev. R., Caistor near Gt. Yarmouth  
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 Brereton, Mrs. R. B. ditto  
 Brereton, Rev. C. D., Bixley, Norfolk  
 Brereton, Mrs. ditto  
 Brereton, Miss ditto  
 Brereton, Miss A. ditto  
 Breton, Miss, Marchwood Pk., Southampton  
 Brett, Rev. Philip, Mount Bures, Essex  
 Brett, Mr. Robert, Stoke Newington  
 Brettingham, Miss, Lowestoft  
 Brewer, Dr. William, 21, George Street, Hanover Square  
 Brewer, Mrs. ditto  
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 Bridgman, Mrs. ditto  
 Brightwell, Mr. T., Surrey St., Norwich  
 Brightwell, Mrs. T. ditto  
 Brightwell, Mr. T., jun. ditto  
 Brightwen, Mr. T., Great Yarmouth  
 Brighten, Mrs., Norwich  
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 Brown, Mr. Fred., Bracondale, Norwich  
 Brown Mrs. Fred. ditto  
 Brown, Miss ditto  
 Brown, Miss A. ditto  
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 Browne, Mr. W. J. Utten, Norwich  
 Browne, Mrs. W. J. Utten ditto  
 Browne, Miss Utten ditto  
 Browne, Mr. H. ditto  
 Browne, Miss C. ditto  
 Browne, Miss ditto  
 Browne, Mr. J. H. Amyot, Diss, Norfolk  
 Browne, Mr. G. F. ditto  
 Brownjohn, Rev. J., S. Helen's, Ipswich  
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 Brumell, Rev. Edward, Holt, Norfolk  
 Brumell, Mrs. ditto  
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 Buck, Mr. H. ditto  
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 Bullinger, Rev. E. W., Tittleshall, Norf.  
 Bulmer, Rev. E., The Close, Norwich  
 Bulstrode, Rev. G., Ely  
 Bulwer, Mr. W. E. L., Heydon Hall, Norf.  
 Bulwer, Rev. H. E., Hethersett, Norfolk  
 Bulwer, Mrs. E. ditto  
 Bulwer, Miss R. ditto  
 Bunbury, Miss, Norwich  
 Bunn, Mr. S., Drayton near Norwich  
 Bunnnett, Mr. E., The Close, Norwich  
 Bunting, Miss, Sturston, Norfolk  
 Burls, Miss A., Ivory Grove, London  
 Burney, Rev. C., Wickham Bishops, Essex  
 Burroughes, Mr. W., Coltishall Hall, Norf.  
 Burroughes, Miss, Thorpe Hamlet, Norw.  
 Burroughes, Miss C. ditto  
 Burroughes, Miss S. ditto  
 Burt, Rev. J. T., Seething, Norfolk  
 Burton, Rev. R. C., Taverham, Norfolk  
 Burton, Mrs. ditto  
 Burton, Miss ditto  
 Buscarlet, Rev. A. F., Thickethorne near Norwich  
 Bussell, Miss, Finborough Hall, Suffolk  
 Butcher, Mr. H. F., Norwich  
 Butcher, Miss ditto  
 Butcher, Mr. E. ditto  
 Butcher, Mrs. R. ditto  
 Butcher, Miss ditto  
 Button, Rev. J. V., Blofield, Norfolk  
 Buxton, Mr. Charles, M.P., 7, Grosvenor Crescent, London  
 Buxton, Mrs. Charles ditto  
 Buxton, Mr. T. F., Leytonstone, Essex  
 Buxton, Mrs. ditto  
 Buxton, Mr. Joseph, Norwich  
 Chichester, the Lord Bishop of  
 Cadge, Mr. W., Norwich  
 Cadge, Mrs. ditto  
 Caldwell, Rev. Chas., Norwich  
 Caldwell, Mrs. ditto  
 Caley, Rev. G. A., Bildeston, Suffolk  
 Caley, Mrs. Albert, Norwich  
 Caley, Mr. N. H., Norwich  
 Caley, Mrs. N. H. ditto  
 Calthrop, Rev. Henry, Gt. Braxted, Essex

Calthrop, Mrs., Great Braxted, Essex  
 Calthrop, Miss, Witham, Essex  
 Calthrop, Miss A. ditto  
 Calvert, Rev. C., Thetford, Norfolk  
 Campbell, Rev. A. D., S. John's, Battersea  
 Campbell, Rev. S. C., Cockley Cley, Norf.  
 Campbell, Rev. C., Weasenham, Norfolk  
 Campbell, Mr. J. W., Palgrave, Norfolk  
 Campling, Mrs., Norwich  
 Cardew, Rev. G., Helmingham, Suffolk  
 Carr, Rev. T. W., Loddington, Northants  
 Carr, Rev. J. H., 4, Abbey Road West, Kilburn, London  
 Carson, Rev. T., Scarning, Norfolk  
 Carson, Mrs. ditto  
 Carter, Rev. A. R., Farington Gurney, Somerset  
 Carter, Rev. H. T., Littleport near Ely  
 Carthew, Major-Gen., Bradenham Hall, Norfolk  
 Carthew, Mr. G. A., Milfield, E. Dereham  
 Cartwright, Rev. F., Aynhoe, Berks  
 Casson, Rev. H. C., Thetford, Isle of Ely  
 Cather, Rev. Dr., Manchester  
 Cator, Mr. P., Beckingham, Kent  
 Cavell, Rev. F., Swardston, Norfolk  
 Cavendish, Lord Richard, Holkar Hall  
 Cawley, Rev. Thos., Maida Hill, London  
 Chad, Mr. J. S. Scott, Thursford Hall, Norf.  
 Chad, Mrs. J. S. Scott ditto  
 Chadwick, Miss C., Leeds  
 Chadwick, Miss L. ditto  
 Challis, Mr. A. W., Earham, Norwich  
 Challis, Mrs. A. W. ditto  
 Chamberlin, Mr. R., Catton, Norwich  
 Chambers, Rev. G. L., Hook Hall, Howden, Yorkshire  
 Chambers, Mrs. ditto  
 Chapman, Rev. J., Newport, Essex  
 Chapman, Rev. W. H., Southwold, Suff.  
 Chase, Mrs., Norwich  
 Chenery, Mrs., Norwich  
 Cholmeley, Rev. J., Carleton Rode, Norf.  
 Christie, Mr. G. H., Framingham Pigot, Norwich  
 Christie, Mrs. ditto  
 Christie, Miss ditto  
 Christie, Miss Brenda ditto  
 Churchill, Miss Spencer, Scottow, Norfolk  
 Chute, Miss, Norwich  
 Clabburn, Mr. W. H., Thorpe, Norwich  
 Clark, Rev. F. S., Norwich  
 Clarke, Rev. Sir C., Bart., Worling Hall, Suffolk  
 Clarke, Rev. J. Erskine, Derby  
 Clarke, Miss Emma ditto  
 Clarke, Rev. J. W., Leamington  
 Clarke, Rev. W., Wingham, Sandwich  
 Clarke, Rev. W. W., North Wootton, Norf.  
 Clarke, Mr. Chas., Secretary to Bristol Church Congress  
 Clarke, Mr. H., Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich  
 Clarke, Mr. J., Norwich  
 Clarkson, Rev. T. L., South Elmham S. James, Suffolk

Clemmence, Mr., Norwich  
 Clitheroe, Colonel J. Stracey, Sprowston Lodge, Norwich  
 Clitheroe, Mrs. J. Stracey ditto  
 Cobb, Rev. R., Ellingham, Bungay  
 Cobbold, Rev. R., Wortham, Suffolk  
 Cockburn, Mrs., Bracondale, Norwich  
 Cockell, Miss, Ingham, Norfolk  
 Cockerill, Mr., Manchester  
 Cockshott, Rev. J. W., Burwell, Cambs.  
 Cockshott Mrs. ditto  
 Colbeck, Rev. W. R., Fressingfield, Suff.  
 Colborne, Rev. P., Norwich  
 Cole, Rev. E., Great Plumstead, Norfolk  
 Cole, Miss A. F. ditto  
 Cole, Mrs., Norwich  
 Coleman, Rev. H. J., Sloley, Norfolk  
 Collett, Rev. W. R., Hethersett, Norfolk  
 Collett, Mrs. W. R. ditto  
 Collett, Miss, Dover  
 Collyer, Rev. R., Warham, Norfolk  
 Collyer, Miss M., Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich  
 Colquhoun, Mr. J. C., Chartwell, West-terham  
 Colvin, Rev. J. W., Great Yarmouth  
 Comyn Rev. H. N. W., Brunstead, Norf.  
 Comyn, Mrs. H. N. W. ditto  
 Compton, Hon. Mrs. Braiseworth  
 Cooke, Rev. W. H., Norwich  
 Cooke, Rev. G. H. ditto  
 Cooke, Mrs. G. H. ditto  
 Cooke, Mr. S. C., Horstead, Norfolk  
 Cooke, Mrs. S. C. ditto  
 Cooke, Miss ditto  
 Cooke, Mr. H., Catton, near Norwich  
 Cookson, Rev. E., Edingthorpe, Norfolk  
 Coombe, Rev. J. A., Alburgh, Norfolk  
 Cooper, Rev. C. B., Morley, Norfolk  
 Cooper, Mrs. F. M. ditto  
 Cooper, Rev. J. E., Fornett S. Mary, Norf.  
 Cooper, Mrs. J. E. ditto  
 Cooper, Rev. T. J., Thornham, Norfolk  
 Cooper, Rev. R. Jermyn, Fylingdales, Yorkshire  
 Cooper, Rev. E., Clifton, Bristol  
 Cooper, Mrs., Norwich  
 Cooper, Miss, C. ditto  
 Cooper, Miss J. C. ditto  
 Copeman, Rev. A. C., Norwich  
 Copeman, Dr. ditto  
 Copeman, Mrs. ditto  
 Copeman, Miss ditto  
 Copeman, Mr. T. H., Hemsby, Norfolk  
 Copeman, Mr. G. R. ditto  
 Copeman, Mr. T., Aylham, Norfolk  
 Copeman, Mr. G., Dunham Lodge, Norfolk  
 Copeman, Mrs. G. ditto  
 Cornford, Rev. A., S. John's, Lowestoft  
 Corrance, Rev. C. T., Parham, Suffolk  
 Cory, Miss E., Kingston-on-Thames  
 Coulcher, Mrs., Ipswich  
 Cowburn, Rev. R., Barrowford, Lancashire  
 Cox, Rev. J. E., 24, Talbot Terrace, Westbourne Park  
 Cox, Rev. J. B., Shepperton, Surrey

- Crask, Mr. H., Liverpool  
 Crawley, Rev. R. T., Cressing, Essex  
 Creed, Rev. H. K., Saxham Hall, Suffolk  
 Cremer, Miss, Beeston, near Cromer  
 Croker, Miss, Lavenham, Suffolk  
 Crompton, Rev. J., Norwich  
 Crook, Mr. J., Norwich  
 Crosse, Rev. A. B., Kessingland, Suffolk  
 Crosse, Mrs. ditto  
 Crosse, Rev. Dr., Hastings  
 Crosse, Mr. T. W., Norwich  
 Crosse, Mrs. ditto  
 Crowfoot, Rev. S. R., Wangford, Suffolk  
 Crowfoot, Mrs. W. E., Beccles  
 Crowther, Mrs., Norwich  
 Cubitt, Mr. W. T., Catton, Norwich  
 Cubitt, Mr. Charles, Norwich  
 Cubitt, Mrs. ditto  
 Cumberland, Miss, Witton House, Norfolk  
 Cumberland, Miss E., ditto  
 Cumming, Rev. J. G., Mellis, Suffolk  
 Cundall, Mr. B., Norwich  
 Cundall, Miss M. ditto  
 Cundall, Mr. L. D. ditto  
 Curne, Rev. F. B.  
 Curteis, Rev. J., Shelton, Norfolk  
 Curteis, Miss ditto  
 Custance, Rev. C. W. N., Bampton, Norf.  
 Custance, Miss, Weston House, Norfolk  
 Cutting, Rev. W. A., Trimmingham, Norf.  
  
 Derry, The Lord Bishop of  
 Dallas, Rev. J., Laxfield, Suffolk  
 Dalrymple, Dr., Thorpe Lodge, Norwich  
 Dalrymple, Mrs. Donald ditto  
 Darling, Rev. T., S. Michael Royal, London  
 Dashwood, Mrs., Caistor next Norwich  
 Dashwood, Mrs., Norwich  
 Dashwood, Miss ditto  
 Daveney, Rev. Henry, Colton, Norfolk  
 Daveney, Maj. Gen., Heigham Grove, Norw.  
 Daveney, Mrs. Burton ditto  
 David, Miss, Norwich  
 Davidson, Rev. A. A., Bawtry, Notts.  
 Davie, Rev. W. C., Intwood, Norfolk  
 Davie, Miss ditto  
 Davie, Rev. C. R. F., Yelverton, Norfolk  
 Davies, Rev. A., Norwich  
 Davies, Rev. J., Walsoken, Norfolk  
 Day, Rev. J., Bedford, Suffolk  
 Day, Rev. Edward, Kirby Bedon, Norfolk  
 Day, Miss ditto  
 Day, Mr. Gerard, Horsford House, Norfolk  
 Day, Mrs. G. ditto  
 Day, Mr. J., Framingham Cottage, Norf.  
 Day, Mrs. J. ditto  
 Day, Mrs. Alfred, Norwich  
 Day, Mrs., Trowse, Norwich  
 Day, Miss ditto  
 Day, Miss E. ditto  
 Deacle, Rev. Hicks, Bawburgh, Norfolk  
 De Chair, Rev. F. B., Morley, Norfolk  
 De Hoghton, Miss, Framingham Earl, Norf.  
 Delafosse, Rev. A. N., Aylsham, Norfolk  
 Delane, Mr. William, Hellesdon, Norwich  
  
 Denny, Rev. R. C., Bergh Apton, Norfolk  
 Denny, Mrs. ditto  
 Denny, Miss H. ditto  
 De Veat, Miss, Norwich  
 Dewing, Mr. R., Carbrooke Hall, Norfolk  
 Dewing, Mrs., Norwich  
 Dewing, Miss ditto  
 Dickinson, Rev. W. W., Wolferton, Norf.  
 Digby, Hon. & Rev. K. H., Tittleshall, Norf.  
 Digby, Hon. Mrs. K. H. ditto  
 Digby, Miss Lucy ditto  
 Dix, Miss, Ipswich  
 Dix, Miss F., Norwich  
 Dodd, Rev. E., Magdalen Coll., Cambridge  
 Dolphin, Rev. J., Antingham, Norfolk  
 Donne, Miss, The Close, Norwich  
 Donne, Miss Valentia ditto  
 Doughty, Rev. E., Martlesham, Suffolk  
 Douglas, Hon. & Rev. H., Hanbury near  
 Broomsgrove  
 Douglas, Rev. W. W., Salwarpe, Worcester  
 Douglas, Rev. F., Newborough, Lincolnsh.  
 Douglas, Capt., Thorpe next Norwich  
 Douglas, Mrs., ditto  
 Dowell, Rev. E. W., Dunton, Norfolk  
 Dowell, Mrs. ditto  
 Downes, Mrs., Norwich  
 Doyle, Rev. W., Whalley Range, Secre-  
 tary to Manchester Church Congress  
 Drake, Rev. W. T. Tyrwhitt, Lawshall,  
 Suffolk  
 Driver, Mr. Rolles, Crabwood, Southampton  
 Driver, Mrs. ditto  
 Driver, Mr. S. Rolles ditto  
 Dromore, Very Rev. the Dean of  
 Duff, Miss E., Yaxham, Norfolk  
 Duff, Miss M. ditto  
 Dugmore, Mr. John, Swaffham, Norfolk  
 Dun, Mr. A. Campbell, Hampstead  
 Dunn, Rev. T., Cringleford, Norwich  
 Dunn, Miss ditto  
 Dundas, Rev. R. J., Norwich  
 Duport, Rev. J. M., Mattishall, Norfolk  
 Duport, Miss ditto  
 Durdin, Rev. A. W., Norwich  
 Durnford, Capt., Southsea  
 Durnford, Mrs. ditto  
 Durst, Rev. John, Norwich  
 Dyball, Mr., Bracondale, Norwich  
 Dyball, Mrs. ditto  
 Dyer, Mr. Norwich  
  
 Ely, The Lord Bishop of  
 Eade, Dr., Norwich  
 Eade, Miss ditto  
 Eade, Miss M. ditto  
 Eade, Miss M. A. ditto  
 Eagles, Mr. T. H., Cambridge  
 Eaton, Mr. T. D., Norwich  
 Eaton, Mrs. ditto  
 Eaton, Rev. W., Longham, Norfolk  
 Eaton, Mr. George, Norwich  
 Eaton, Miss, Spixworth, Norwich  
 Ebbetta, Miss, Thorpe next Norwich  
 Ebdon, Rev. J. C., King's Ripton, Hunts

- Eden, Rev. R., Wymondham, Norfolk  
 Eden, Miss ditto  
 Eden, Miss A. ditto  
 Edgell, Rev. W. C., Uggheshall, Suffolk  
 Edgell, Mrs. ditto  
 Edgell, Miss ditto  
 Edwards, Rev. B., Ashill, Norfolk  
 Edwards, Rev. W. B., Norwich  
 Edwards, Rev. J., jun., Prestbury, Gloucestershire  
 Eller, Rev. George, West Winch, Norfolk  
 Ellis, Rev. D. H.  
 Ellis, Miss, East Dereham  
 Elmer, Mr., Norwich  
 Emery, Ven. Archdeacon, Cambridge  
 Emery, Mrs., Cambridge  
 Enfield, Mr. R. J., Norwich  
 Enfield, Miss ditto  
 Enraght, Rev. R. W., Sheffield  
 Etheridge, Mr. C., Starston, Norfolk  
 Evans, Rev. C. J., Watton, Norfolk  
 Evans, Mrs. C. J. ditto  
 Evans, Rev. J. W., Cossey, near Norwich  
 Evans, Mrs. J. W. ditto  
 Evans, Rev. — Hinderclay, Suffolk  
 Evans, Mr. Chancellor, Norwich  
 Evans, Mrs. Charles ditto  
 Evans, Miss ditto  
 Evans, Miss Charlotte ditto  
 Evans, Dr., Streatley, Berks  
 Everard, Rev. S., Swaffham, Norfolk  
 Everard, Rev. George, Framsden, Suff.  
 Everett, Miss, North Creak, Norfolk  
 Everett, Miss A. ditto  
 Everson, Mr. E. J., Harleston, Norfolk  
 Ewing, Rev. W., North Pickenham, Norf.  
 Ewing, Miss, Norwich  
 Exton, Rev. F., Filby, Norfolk  
 Eyre, Mr. H., Thorn House, Berks  
 Eyre, Mrs. ditto  
 Eyres, Rev. C., Great Melton, Norfolk  
 Eyres, Mrs. ditto
- Fanahawe, Rev. A. A., Bubbenhall, Warwickshire  
 Fanahawe, Mrs. A. A. ditto  
 Fardell, Rev. J. G., Banham, Norfolk  
 Fawdington, Miss  
 Feilden, Rev. J. R., Baconsthorpe, Norf.  
 Fellowes, Rev. Charles, Shottesham, Norf.  
 Fellowes, Rev. T. Lyon, Beighton, Norf.  
 Fellowes, Mrs. T. L. ditto  
 Fellowes, Miss M. ditto  
 Fenwick, Rev. J., Thurning, Norfolk  
 Fenwick, Mrs. ditto  
 Fernie, Rev. J., King's Lynn  
 Ffolkes, Rev. H. E. B., Hillington, Norf.  
 Ffoulkes, Ven. Archdeacon, Llandyssall, Montgomery
- Field, Mr. Edward, Norwich  
 Field, Miss A. C. ditto  
 Firmin, Rev. R., Yoxford, Suffolk  
 Firth, Mr. G. W. W., Norwich  
 Firth, Mrs. ditto  
 Firth, Mr. W. ditto
- Firth, Miss, Norwich  
 Firth, Miss L. ditto  
 Fish, Rev. T. L., Christ Church, Westminster  
 Fisher, Rev. F., Downham  
 Fisher, Mrs. F., Ely  
 Fisher, Miss C., The Close, Norwich  
 Fisher, Miss A. ditto  
 Fiske, Mr. F. R., Norwich  
 Fiske, Mrs., The Chantry, Norwich  
 Fiske, Miss ditto  
 Fitch, Rev. F., Cromer, Norfolk  
 Fitch, Mr. B., Norwich  
 Fitch, Mrs. R. ditto  
 Fitch, Miss ditto  
 Fitzgerald, Rev. F., Weybread, Suffolk  
 Fitzgerald, Mr. J. P., Boulge Hall, Suff.  
 Fitzroy, Col., Stratton Strawless, Norfolk  
 Fitzroy, Mrs. ditto  
 Fitzroy, Mr. E. A. ditto  
 Flavell, Rev. J. W., Ridlington, Norfolk  
 Flavell, Mrs. ditto  
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 Fleming, Miss Willis ditto  
 Fletcher, Mr. J., Norwich  
 Forster, Rev. H. B., Coln Rogers, Northleach  
 Forster, Mr. W., Blickling Lodge, Norfolk  
 Fosbery, Rev. T. V., Reading  
 Foster, Mr. C., Thorpe next Norwich  
 Foster, Miss, Norwich  
 Fowle, Rev. W. C., Ewyas Harold, Hereford  
 Fowle, Mrs. ditto  
 Fowler, Rev. C. A., Bartonfields, Canterbury  
 Fowler, Mrs. C. A. ditto  
 Fowler, Mrs., Falconhurst, Kent  
 Fox, Mr. J., Norwich  
 Fox, Mrs. J., ditto  
 Fox, Mrs. F., ditto  
 Fox, Miss, ditto  
 Francis, Mr. W. B., Norwich  
 Francis, Mrs. W. B. ditto  
 Franey, Rev. J., Burlingham, Norfolk  
 Franey, Mrs. ditto  
 Frazer, Rev. Duncan, Halstead, Essex  
 Frazer, Mr. F. E., Norwich  
 Frazer, Mrs. ditto  
 Frazer, Mr. A. ditto  
 Frazer, Miss ditto  
 Freeman, Rev. J., Ashwicken, Norfolk  
 Freeman, Mrs. ditto  
 Freeman, Rev. W. H., Saxted, Suffolk  
 Freeman, Mrs. ditto  
 French, Rev. F., Worlingworth, Suffolk  
 Frere, Rev. C., Finningham, Suffolk  
 Frere, Rev. E. H., Horham, Suffolk  
 Frere, Rev. H. T., Burston, Norfolk  
 Frere, Miss E. Temple, Barnham Broom, Norfolk  
 Frost, Rev. W., Thorpe next Norwich
- Gandy, Mr. W. W., The Close, Norwich  
 Garfit, Mrs., Richmond  
 Garland, Rev. G. V., Langton, Dorset  
 Garnham, Mr., Lakenham, Norwich  
 Garnham, Miss ditto

- Garrod, Miss, The Grove, Beccles  
 Garrould, Rev. W. T., Halesworth, Suff.  
 Garry, Rev. N. T., S. Mark's, Norwich  
 Garry, Mrs. ditto  
 Gatenby, Rev. A., Winston, Suffolk  
 Gatenby, Mrs. A. ditto  
 Gathercole, Rev. E. W. A., Witton, Norf.  
 Gathercole, Rev. M. A., Chatteria, Cambs.  
 Gathercole, Miss ditto  
 Gatty, Dr.  
 Gayford, Mr. Kitton, Brancaster  
 Geldart, Rev. J. W., Kirk Deighton,  
     Yorkshire  
 Geldart, Mr. R., Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich  
 Geldart, Mrs. ditto  
 Gellibrand, Mr. W. C., Albyns, Essex  
 George, Rev. P. E., Combe Hay, Somerset  
 Gibbons, Rev. B., Mitton, Worcester  
 Gibson, Mr. R. E., Norwich  
 Gibson, Mr. C. M. ditto  
 Gibson, Miss ditto  
 Gilbert, Rev. C., Strumpshaw Hall, Norf.  
 Gilbert, Rev. Arthur, Mutford, Suffolk  
 Gilbert, Mrs. Arthur ditto  
 Gilbert, Rev. J. B., Cantley, Norfolk  
 Gilbert, Mrs. J. ditto  
 Gilbert, Rev. J. D., Chedgrave, Norfolk  
 Gilbert, Miss, Brundall, Norwich  
 Gilbert, Miss, Cantley, Norwich  
 Gillett, Rev. E., Runham, Norfolk  
 Gillett, Mr. C., Postwick Hall, Norwich  
 Gillett, Mr. T., Thorpe, Norwich  
 Gillett, Mr. R., Halvergate, Norwich  
 Girling, Rev. J. C., Great Hantbois, Norf.  
 Girling, Rev. W., The Heath, E. Dereham  
 Girling, Rev. G., Norwich  
 Girling, Mr. C. A., Norwich  
 Girling, Mrs. ditto  
 Glasspoole, Miss ditto  
 Glasspoole, Miss J. E., ditto  
 Glover, Rev. W. H., Thorndon, Suffolk  
 Glover, Rev. F.  
 Glover, Rev. J., Brading, Isle of Wight  
 Glover, Mrs. J.  
 Glynne, Sir S., Bart., Hawarden, Chester  
 Glynne, Rev. H. ditto  
 Godfrey, Rev. D. R., Stow Bedon, Norf.  
 Golding, Rev. H., Stratford S. Mary, Suff.  
 Golding, Mrs. ditto  
 Golding, Rev. J. E., Griston, Norfolk  
 Goodall, Miss C., Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich  
 Goodday, Rev. S., Ipswich  
 Goodlake, Rev. T. W., Swindon, Glouc.  
 Goodwin, Rev. F. G., Thurlton, Norfolk  
 Goodwin, Mrs. F. G. ditto  
 Goodwin, Rev. J., Lambourne, Essex  
 Goodwin, Mrs. J. ditto  
 Goodwin, Rev. H. A., Westhall, Suffolk  
 Goodwin, Rev. G., Hardley, Norfolk  
 Goodwin, Mr. C., Norwich  
 Goodwin, Miss ditto  
 Goodwin, Miss S. G., Norwich  
 Goodwin, Mrs. Harvey, the Deanery, Ely  
 Goodwin, Miss ditto  
 Goose, Mr. Agas, Norwich  
 Goose, Mr. A. H. ditto  
 Goose, Mrs. W. H., ditto  
 Gordon, Rev. E., Kildale, Yorkshire  
 Gorell, Mr. R. A., Norwich  
 Gorell, Miss S. J. ditto  
 Gorham, Rev. G. M., Walkeringham, Notts  
 Gott Read, J., Loughton, Essex  
 Goulburn, Mrs. E. M., Hyde Park, London  
 Gould, Rev. G., Norwich  
 Govett, Rev. T. R., Alby, Norfolk  
 Govett, Mrs. ditto  
 Graham, Rev. H., Thorpe Hamlet, Norw.  
 Graham, Mrs. ditto  
 Graham, Miss ditto  
 Grant, Rev. A. R., Hitcham, Suffolk  
 Gratwicke, Rev. Canon Archdall, D.D.,  
     Emmanuel Coll., Cambridge  
 Gray, Rev. G., Inkberrow, Worcestershire  
 Green, Rev. J. S., Witton, Norwich  
 Green, Mrs. J. S. ditto  
 Green, Mr. J., Lowestoft, Suffolk  
 Greene, Rev. T., Fulmodeston, Thetford  
 Greene, Mrs. ditto  
 Greene, Rev. H. H., Rogate, Sussex  
 Grey, Mr. C., Houghton-le-Spring, Durham  
 Griffith, Rev. H. T., Sustead, Norfolk  
 Grigson, Rev. W., Whinburgh, Norfolk  
 Grigson, Mr. W. S., Christ's Coll., Camb.  
 Grindle, Rev. H. A. L., Devises  
 Grogan, Rev. G. W. Clenchwarton, Norf.  
 Grogan, Mrs. ditto  
 Gurdon, Mr. Brampton, Letton, Norfolk  
 Gurdon, Rev. E., Barnham Broom, Norf.  
 Gurdon, Mrs. E. ditto  
 Gurney, Rev. F., Torquay  
 Gurney Rev. W. H., N. Runceton, Norf.  
 Gurney, Mr. F. Hay, Thorpe, Norwich  
 Gurney, Mrs. F. Hay ditto  
 Gurney, Mr. C. H., Eaton, Norwich  
 Gurney, Mrs. C. H. ditto  
 Gurney, Miss, Earham Hall, Norwich  
 Gwyn, Rev. R. H., Southrepps, Norfolk  
 Gwyn, Rev. P. P., Little Brandon, Norf.  
 Gwyn, Mrs. ditto  
 Gwyn, Miss ditto  
 Habberton, Mrs., Norwich  
 Habberton, Miss ditto  
 Haggard, Mr. W. R., Bradenham, Norfolk  
 Haggard, Mrs. ditto  
 Haggard, Miss ditto  
 Haigh, Rev. Daniel, Buckden, Hunts  
 Hall, Rev. E., Norwich  
 Hallward, Rev. T. W., Snareston, Leicester  
 Hamond, Miss S., Sherringham, Norfolk  
 Hamilton, Rev. J. M., Chalgrave, Beds.  
 Hamilton, Rev. J., London  
 Hanford, Rev. G. J., Shereford, Norfolk  
 Hankinson, Ven. Archdn., North Creake,  
     Norfolk  
 Hankinson, Rev. E. F. E., King's Lynn  
 Hansell, Mr. H., The Close, Norwich  
 Hansell, Miss ditto  
 Hansell, Mr. T. W. ditto  
 Hansell, Mr. P. E., Thorpe next Norwich

- Hansell, Mr. Joseph, Norwich  
 Harbord, Hon. & Rev. J., Gunton, Norfolk  
 Harding, Rev. J. R., Hingham, Norfolk  
 Harden, Rev. H., Hemsby, Norfolk  
 Harden, Mrs. ditto  
 Hardy, Mr. G., M.P., Hempstead, Kent  
 Hardy, Mrs. ditto  
 Hardy, Miss ditto  
 Hare, Mr. J. H., Docking Hall, Norfolk  
 Hare, Mrs. ditto  
 Hare, Mrs., The Close, Norwich  
 Hare, Miss C. ditto  
 Hare, Rev. E. M., Little Dunham, Norf.  
 Hare, Mrs. E. M. ditto  
 Hare, Rev. Hugh, Docking, Norfolk  
 Hare, Mrs. Hugh ditto  
 Harris, Rev. E., Swanton Abbot, Norfolk  
 Harris, Rev. S. B., Norwich  
 Harris, Rev. W. H., North Pickenham, Norfolk  
 Harris, Rev. G. H., Tunstead, Norfolk  
 Harrison, Rev. T., Rackheath, Norfolk  
 Harrison, Mrs. ditto  
 Harrison, Rev. W. T., Great Yarmouth  
 Harrison, Mr. J. W., Belaise Park, Hampstead  
 Harston, Rev. Edward, Sherborne, Dorset  
 Hart, Rev. R., Catton, Norfolk  
 Hart, Miss J. M. ditto  
 Hart, Miss A. M. ditto  
 Hart, Rev. R., Guestringthorpe, Essex  
 Hart, Mr. Charles, Norwich  
 Harvey, Mr. R. J. H., M.P., Brundall House, Norfolk  
 Harvey, Lady H. ditto  
 Harvey, Miss ditto  
 Harvey, Miss L. ditto  
 Harvey, Mr. E. K., Thorpe Hamlet House, Norwich  
 Harwin, Miss C. M., Heigham, Norwich  
 Haslam, Rev. W., Buckenham, Norfolk  
 Hasted, Rev. H. J., Sproughton, Suffolk  
 Hastings, Miss, Longham, Norfolk  
 Haughton, Rev. W., South Wootton, Norf.  
 Hayley, Rev. Burrell, Catsfield, Sussex  
 Hayley, Mrs. ditto  
 Hayter, Rev. G. G., Burnham Sutton, Norf.  
 Hayward, Mrs., Norwich  
 Heastey, Capt., Chatham  
 Heath, Miss, Old Catton, Norwich  
 Heaver, Mr., Norwich  
 Heaviside, Mrs., The Close, Norwich  
 Heaviside, Mr. John ditto  
 Hebert, Rev. C., Lowestoft, Suffolk  
 Hebert, Rev. H. V., Worthing, Norfolk  
 Hemsworth, Rev. A. B., Bacton, Suffolk  
 Henderson, Rev. J. H., The College, Ely  
 Hemalow, Rev. Leonard, Pulham, Norfolk  
 Herring, Rev. A. S., S. James', Clerkenwell  
 Herring, Mrs. W., Thorpe next Norwich  
 Herring, Miss ditto  
 Herring, Miss Clara, Cromer  
 Hetheringham, Rev. H., Witheringsett, Suffolk  
 Hildyard, Rev. F., Swannington, Norfolk  
 Hildyard, Mrs., Swannington, Norfolk  
 Hildyard, Miss ditto  
 Hill, Rev. E., Sheering, Essex  
 Hill, Rev., E. J., Pandlefield, Essex  
 Hill, Rev. H. T., Felton, Hereford  
 Hill, Mrs. ditto  
 Hill, Miss ditto  
 Hill, Mrs., Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich  
 Hill, Mrs. S. S. ditto  
 Hill, Miss, Warwick  
 Hill, Miss B. ditto  
 Hill, Mr. Thomas, London  
 Hill, Mrs. T. ditto  
 Hilliard, Rev. J. A. S., Little Wittenham, Berks  
 Hills, Dr., Thorpe Asylum, Norwich  
 Hills, Mrs. ditto  
 Hillyard, Rev. E. A., Norwich  
 Hillyard, Mrs. E. A. ditto  
 Hilton, Rev. A. G., Kempford, Fairford  
 Hinde, Mr. F. P., Norwich  
 Hinde, Miss ditto  
 Hinxman, Rev. C., Barford S. Martin, Wilts  
 Hoare, Mr. J. Gurney, Hampstead  
 Hoare, Mrs. J. Gurney ditto  
 Hoare, Mr. Joseph ditto  
 Hoare, Rev. Henry, Worth, Sussex  
 Hoare, Rev. E. V., Stibbard, Norfolk  
 Hoare, Mrs. E. V. ditto  
 Hodges, Rev. F. P., Lyme Regis, Dorset  
 Hodges, Rev. J., Onibury, near Ludlow  
 Hodgson, Rev. J., Hoxne, Suffolk  
 Hodgson, Mr. R. ditto  
 Hodgson, Rev. W. C., Sweptstone, Leicestershire  
 Holding, Miss, Aston Hall  
 Holesgrove, Rev. W., Woodbridge, Suffolk  
 Holland, Rev. W., Huntingfield, Suffolk  
 Holland, Dr., Norwich  
 Holland, Mrs. ditto  
 Holland, Miss ditto  
 Holme, Rev. A. P., Great Yarmouth  
 Holme, Miss, Fornett S. Peter, Norfolk  
 Holmes, Rev. F. G., Denham, Suffolk  
 Holmes, Miss, Norwich  
 Hook, Rev. W., Chichester  
 Hooper, Rev. J. H., Thurgarton, Norfolk  
 Hopkins, Rev. F., Claxton, Cambridge  
 Hopkins, Rev. F. L., Trinity Hall, Camb.  
 Hopkins, Rev. W. B., Wisbech  
 Hopkins, Mrs. W. B. ditto  
 Hopkins, Mr. R., London  
 Hopper, Rev. A. M., Starston, Norfolk  
 Horton, Rev. G. L. W., Garboldisham, Norf.  
 Horton, Rev. G. W., Yellow, Somerset  
 Hoste, Rev. G. C., Boyton, Suffolk  
 Hoste, Mrs. ditto  
 Hoste, Miss ditto  
 Hoste, Miss E. R. ditto  
 Hoste, Miss, Norwich  
 Hotblack, Mrs. ditto  
 Hotblack, Miss ditto  
 Hotblack, Mr. ditto  
 Hotson, Mr. W. C., ditto



- Hotson, Mr. J., Long Stratton, Norfolk  
 Houchen, Rev. B., Swaffham, Norfolk  
 How, Rev. A. G., Bromley, Middlesex  
 Howard, Rev. W., Witchingham, Norfolk  
 Howard, Miss ditto  
 Howard, Miss C. ditto  
 Howell, Rev. Hinda, Drayton, Norfolk  
 Howell, Miss ditto  
 Howell, Miss M. A. ditto  
 Howell, Miss Agnes ditto  
 Howell, Miss F. M. ditto  
 Howes, Rev. Henry, Spixworth, Norfolk  
 Howes, Rev. T. G. F., Belton, Suffolk  
 Howes, Mrs. ditto  
 Howes, Rev. Charles, The Close, Norwich  
 Howes, Mr. R. P. ditto  
 Howes, Miss Mary, Belton, Suffolk  
 Howlett, Mr. John, Marsham, Norfolk  
 Howlett, Mr. W., Thorpe next Norwich  
 Howorth, Rev. W., Whittington, Suffolk  
 Huleatt, Rev. Hugh, Heston near Houlallow  
 Hull, Mrs., Norwich  
 Hull, Mr. W. B., Pembroke Coll., Oxford  
 Hull, Miss, Norwich  
 Hull, Miss, M. A., ditto  
 Humfrey, Mr. R. Blake, Wroxham House, Norfolk  
 Humfrey, Mrs. R. Blake ditto  
 Humfrey, Mr. R. Harvey Blake, ditto  
 Humphrey, Rev. F., Winfarthing, Norf.  
 Hunter, Ven. Archdeacon, Rupert's Land  
 Hurnard, Rev. W. B., Hingham, Norfolk  
 Hurnard, Mrs. ditto  
 Hurst, Rev. S. S., Great Yarmouth  
 Hurst, Mrs. ditto  
 Hussey, Rev. W. L., Ringstead, Norfolk  
 Hutchison, Rev. Aeneas B., Devonport  
 Hutchison, Mr. G. S., Norwich  
 Hutchison, Miss ditto  
 Hutton, Rev. E. F., Aylmerton, Norfolk  
 Hutton, Miss ditto  
 Huxtable, Ven. Archdn., Sutton Waldron, Dorset  
  
 Imrie, Rev. J., Saxmundham, Suffolk  
 Inge, Mrs., Worlingworth Hall  
 Inglis, Rev. A., Lakenham, Norwich  
 Inglis, Mrs. ditto  
 Ingram, Rev. R., Chatburn, Lancashire  
 Irby, Rev. T. W., Rushmere, Suffolk  
 Irby, Rev. G. P. ditto  
 Irby, Mr. F. W., Boyland Hall, Norfolk  
  
 Jackman, Rev. W., Falkenham, Suffolk  
 Jackson, Rev. E., S. James', Leeds  
 Jackson, Rev. J. S., 5, Dacre Park Terrace, Lee  
 Jackson, Rev. J., Little Blakenham  
 Jackson, Rev. J., Southport, Lancashire  
 Jackson, Mrs. J., ditto  
 Jackson, Mrs., Bracondale, Norwich  
 Jackson, Miss C. ditto  
 Jackson, Miss A. ditto  
 Jackson, Mr. William, Norwich  
 Jackson, Mrs. William ditto  
  
 James, Rev. Moorhouse, Bedford Leigh near Manchester  
 James, Rev. J. J., Avington, Berks  
 Jarrold, Mr. Thos., Thorpe next Norwich  
 Jary, Mr. W. H., Burlingham House, Norf.  
 Jary, Mrs. W. H. ditto  
 Jary, Miss ditto  
 Jarvis, Miss, Norwich  
 Jeckell, Rev. J. J., Norwich  
 Jecks, Mr. Charles, Thorpe next Norwich  
 Jeffcock, Rev. J. T., 5, De Beauvoir Road, London  
 Jeffreys, Rev. H. A., Hawkhurst, Kent  
 Jeffrys, Miss, Devonshire Place, London  
 Jenner, Rev. H. L., Preston, Kent  
 Jenner, Mr. H., Norwich  
 Jenner, Miss ditto  
 Jennings, Miss, 74, Westbourne Park Road, London  
 Jerrard, Rev. F. W. H., L. Stratton, Norf.  
 Jessep, Rev. J. G., Norton Subcourse, Norf.  
 Jessopp, Rev. A., the Close, Norwich  
 Jessopp, Mrs. A. ditto  
 Jex-Blake, Rev. C., Gayton, Norfolk  
 Jex-Blake, Rev. W. F., St. Dunham, Norf.  
 Jickling, Rev. Francis, Beeston S. Lawrence, Norfolk  
 Jodrell, Rev. C. P. P., Wrampingham, Norf.  
 Johnson, Rev. F. H., Carlton Rookery, Suff.  
 Johnson, Rev. H. F., High Wych, Herts  
 Johnson, Mrs. H. F. ditto  
 Johnson, Rev. J. Barham, Welborne, Norf.  
 Johnson, Mrs. J. Barham ditto  
 Johnson, Rev. J. E., Moorfields, Sheffield  
 Johnson, Rev. J. L., Saxlingham, Norfolk  
 Johnson, Mr. W. L. ditto  
 Johnson, Rev. W. Cowper, Yaxham, Norf.  
 Johnson, Mrs. W. Cowper ditto  
 Johnson, Mr. W. Cowper, jun., ditto  
 Johnson, Rev. Paul, Overstrand, Norfolk  
 Johnson, Mr. J. G., Norwich  
 Johnson, Miss E., Friston Villas, Richmond  
 Johnson, Miss, Town Close, Norwich  
 Johnston, Mr. A. R., Yoxford, Suffolk  
 Johnstone, Sir John, Bart., Hackness Hall, Yorkshire  
 Johnstone, Lady ditto  
 Jollye, Rev. H., Wingfield, Suffolk  
 Jones, Rev. C. W., Pakenham, Suffolk  
 Jones, Rev. H. W., Sculthorpe, Norfolk  
 Jowitt, Rev. J. H., Trav. Sec. A. C. S.  
 Joyce, Rev. Conway, Welborne, Norfolk  
 Jubb, Rev. Henry, Dunham, Notts  
  
 Kilmore, The Lord Bishop of  
 Kaye, Mrs., Norwich  
 Keene, Rev. B. R., Erwarton, Suffolk  
 Keith, Mr. Fred., Bracondale, Norwich  
 Keith, Mrs. Fred. ditto  
 Kempe, Rev. J. E., S. James', Piccadilly  
 Kennion, Rev. R. W., Acle, Norfolk  
 Kenny, Rev. H. T., Banningham, Norfolk  
 Kenny, Mrs. ditto  
 Keppel, Hon. & Rev. E. S., Quidenham, Norfolk

Ketton, Mr. J., Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk  
 Ketton, Mrs. ditto  
 Ketton, Miss ditto  
 Keymer, Miss, Norwich  
 Kidd, Rev. R. H., Norwich  
 King, Rev. G., Worstead, Norfolk  
 King, Mrs. G. ditto  
 King, Rev. R. H., Little Glemham, Suff.  
 King, Rev. S. W., Saxlingham, Norfolk  
 Kirby, Rev. R. R., Hadlow Down, Sussex  
 Kitching, Rev. W. W., Gt. Finborough, Suff.  
 Kitson, Mr. John, Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich  
 Kitson, Mrs. ditto  
 Kitton, Miss, Norwich  
 Knapton, Rev. J., Hapton, Norfolk  
 Knatchbull, Rev. H. E., N. Elmham, Norf.  
 Knatchbull, Mrs. ditto

Ladyman, Mr. J. H., Norwich  
 Ladyman, Mrs. J. H. ditto  
 Lamb, Rev. J., Cambridge  
 Lamb, Mrs. ditto  
 Lambert, Mr. A. W., Alburgh, Suffolk  
 Laing, Rev. Wm., Colchester  
 Lanchester, Rev. C. F., Norwich  
 Lanchester, Mrs. ditto  
 Land, Mr. Wm., Norwich  
 Larpent, Rev. G. R. de H., Thorpe Morieux,  
 Suffolk

Lascelles, Hon. G., Plumstead, Norwich  
 Laurence, Rev. G., Howe, Norfolk  
 Laurence, Rev. J. A., Bergh Apton, Norf.  
 Law, Rev. P. C., North Repps, Norfolk  
 Layard, Rev. J. T., Swafield, Norfolk  
 Leach, Rev. J., Norwich  
 Leathes, Rev. C. H., Limpdenhoe, Norfolk  
 Lees, Rev. Wm., Sidlow Bridge, Surrey  
 Lee-Warner, Rev. J., Thorpland, Norfolk  
 Le Geyt, Rev. C. J., Stoke Newington  
 Le Large, Miss, Sprowston, Norwich  
 Le Mesurier, Rev. John, Bembridge, Isle  
 of Wight  
 Le Mesurier, Miss M. O. ditto  
 Le Mottee, Rev. W., Helion Bumpstead,  
 Essex

Lester, Rev. J. W., D.D., LL.D., Lower  
 Norwood, Surrey  
 Lewis, Rev. H., Stowmarket, Suffolk  
 Ley, Rev. John, Waldron, Sussex  
 Ley, Mrs. ditto  
 Lichtenstein, Rev. J., Ingham, Norfolk  
 Lichtenstein, Mrs. ditto  
 Lincolnshire, The Sheriff of, Thorpe Hall  
 near Louth  
 Lindley, Miss, Lowestoft  
 Lindsay, Rev. H., Kettering, Northants.  
 Ling, Mr. H., Willow Lane, Norwich  
 Ling, Mrs. H. ditto  
 Ling, Mr. Henry, Unthank's Road, Norw.  
 Ling, Mrs. H. ditto  
 Ling, Miss, Upper King Street, Norwich  
 Lingwood, Mr. J., Norwich  
 Little, Rev. J. K., Hellfield, Yorkshire  
 Litton, Rev. E. A., Naunton, Gloucestersh.  
 Lockwood, Rev. E. J., Belstead, Suffolk

Lodge, Mr. R. J., The Grove, Highgate  
 Lodge, Mrs. ditto  
 Lohr, Rev. C., Bedingham, Norfolk  
 Lombe, Rev. Evans, Melton Hall, Norfolk  
 Lombe, Mrs. Evans ditto  
 Long, Mr. R. K., Dunston Hall, Norfolk  
 Long, Mr. F. ditto  
 Long, Mr. C. ditto  
 Long, Miss, Norwich  
 Longe, Rev. J., Ipswich  
 Longe, Rev. R., Coddensham, Suffolk  
 Longe, Mr. J., Spixworth Hall, Norfolk  
 Lott, Rev. W. B., Barton Mills, Suffolk  
 Luard, Rev. B. G., Hatfield Peverell, Essex  
 Luard, Miss, The Close, Norwich  
 Luard, Miss Florence, ditto  
 Luard, Miss M. A., Ipswich  
 Lubbock, Mrs. John, Sprowston, Norwich  
 Lubbock, Miss ditto  
 Lucas, Rev. R. G., Mulbarton, Norfolk  
 Ludlow, Rev. J. T., Sec. of Church Con-  
 gress, Bristol  
 Luke, Rev. W. H. C., Elmswell, Suffolk  
 Lumby, Rev. J. R., Gorton, Cambs.  
 Lumby, Mrs. ditto  
 Luscombe, Rev. E., Lakenham, Norwich  
 Luscombe, Mrs. ditto

Manchester, The Lord Bishop of  
 Mac Cutcheon, Mrs. G., London  
 Mackarness, Rev. G. R., Ilam, Staffordshire  
 MacLagan, Rev. W. D., Sec. of London  
 Diocesan Church Building Society  
 Macpherson, Mr., Norwich  
 Macrorie, Rev. W. K., Wapping, Middlesex  
 Madge, Mr. Travers, Norwich  
 Magnay, Mr. F. A., Drayton, Norwich  
 Magnay, Mr. F. W. ditto  
 Magnay, Miss ditto  
 Margetts, Rev. F. T., Aldburgh, Yorksh.  
 Marsh, Rev. T. H., Cawston, Norfolk  
 Marsh, Mrs., T. H. ditto  
 Marsh, Miss, Norwich  
 Marsh, Miss, Kensington  
 Marshall, Rev. A. E., Rendlesham, Suff.  
 Marshall, Rev. R. M., Hedenham, Norf.  
 Marshman, Rev. T., Saxlingham, Norf.  
 Mason, Col., Necton Hall, Norfolk  
 Mason, Mr. R. H., Old Bond Street, London  
 Mason, Miss E. E., Warham, Norfolk  
 Martelli, Miss F., London  
 Martin, Rev. J., Cambridge  
 Martin, Mrs., Bixley Hall, Norfolk  
 Martin, Mr. G. ditto  
 Martin, Miss ditto  
 Martin, Miss L. ditto  
 Martyn, Rev. C., Palgrave, Norfolk  
 Martyn, Mrs. ditto  
 Matchett, Rev. J. C., Norwich  
 Matchett, Miss ditto  
 Matchett, Miss M. ditto  
 Matchett, Rev. A., Halesworth, Suffolk  
 Matthews, Mr., Norwich  
 Maude, Rev. F. H., Holy Trinity, Ipswich  
 Maule, Rev. G., Amptill, Bedfordshire

- Maude, Rev. W., Eynesbury, Hunts  
Mauder, Rev. C., Walton, Suffolk  
Maynard, Rev. F., Kirk Bramwith, Yorksh.  
Mayor, Rev. R. B., Frating, Essex  
Mayor, Miss ditto  
Mayor, Miss H.A., Kenilworth, Warwicksh.  
Mc Anally, Rev. D., Penge, Surrey  
Meare, Miss J., Norwich  
Medd, Rev. P. J., Sec. to Church Congress, Oxford  
Medley, Rev. J., Fredericton, N. Brunswick  
Meller, Rev. T. W., Woodbridge, Suffolk  
Mendham, Mrs. W. L., Norwich  
Menet, Rev. J., Hockerill, Herts  
Metcalfe, Rev. G., Upwell, Cambs.  
Metcalfe, Mr. F. M., Wisbech  
Meynell, Rev. H., Fauls, Shrewsbury  
Meyrick, Mrs. F., Norwich  
Micklethwaite, Rev. J., Taverham, Norf.  
Micklethwaite, Mrs. J., ditto  
Micklethwaite, Capt., Bracondale, Norwich  
Mildmay, Rev. A. S. J., Long Marston, Yorkshire  
Millard, Rev. J. W., Shimpling, Norfolk  
Millard, Rev. C. S., Costock, Notts.  
Millard, Mrs. C. S. ditto  
Millard, Mrs. C., the Close, Norwich  
Millard, Miss B., Catton ditto  
Miller, Mr. S., Norwich  
Mills, Rev. T., Stutton, Suffolk  
Mills, Mr. Jacob M., Norwich  
Mills, Mrs. Jacob M. ditto  
Milne, Miss, Chalgrove, Essex  
Milton, Rev. W., the Park, Nottingham  
Mooney, Rev. J. W., Rosedale Abbey, Yorkshire  
Moore, Rev. L. E. C., Sheringham, Norf.  
Moore, Rev. W. T., Norwich  
Moorsom, Col., Brighton  
Morant, Rev. H. J., Knapton, Norfolk  
Morgan, Rev. C. J., Reymerstone, Norf.  
Morgan, Mr. A. M. F., Norwich  
Morgan, Mrs. A. M. F. ditto  
Morgan, Mr. J. B. ditto  
Morgan, Mrs. J. B. ditto  
Morgan, Mr. H., Bracondale, Norwich  
Morrell, Rev. G. K., Moulsoford, Berks  
Morris, Miss, Drayton, Norwich  
Morris, Mr. R., Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich  
Morris, Miss ditto  
Morse, Rev. A. S., Bracondale, Norwich  
Morse, Mrs. A. S. ditto  
Morse, Rev. C., Norwich  
Morse, Mrs. C. ditto  
Morse, Rev. F., S. Mary's, Nottingham  
Morse, Mrs., Catton, Norwich  
Morse, Miss, Foulsham, Norfolk  
Morton, Rev. E. H., Tatterford, Norfolk  
Mott, Mr. J. T., Barningham Hall, Norf.  
Mott, Mrs. J. T. ditto  
Mottram, Mr. A., Norwich  
Moxon, Rev. C. S. Denys, Hempton, Norf.  
Mules, Rev. F., Bittadon, Devon  
Mules, Miss ditto  
Mules, Miss E. ditto
- Mules, Miss B., Bittadon, Devon  
Muller, Rev. J., Norwich  
Muriel, Mr. C., Norwich  
Muriel, Mrs. ditto  
Murray, Rev. J., North Walsham, Norf.  
Murray, Mrs. J. ditto  
Musgrove, Miss, Norwich  
Muskett, Miss, Unthank's Road, Norwich  
Muskett, Miss J. ditto
- Napier, Rev. A., Holkham, Norfolk  
Napier, Mrs. ditto  
Napier, Hon. Mrs., Dublin  
Napier, Miss ditto  
Napier, Rev. C. W. A., Wiston, Steyning  
Naah, Rev. G., Louth, Lincolnshire  
Neale, Rev. E. P., Horsey, Norfolk  
Neale, Rev. R., Brompton, Suffolk  
Nelson, Hon. and Rev. J. H., Scottow, Norfolk  
Nelson, Hon. Mrs. ditto  
Nevill, Rev. R. H., Great Yarmouth  
Neville, Mr. C. J., Long Stratton  
Newman, Rev. F. B., Burton Latimer, Northants  
Newnham, Miss, Clifton, Bristol  
Nichols, Mr. W. P., Norwich  
Nichols, Mrs. ditto  
Nichols, Miss ditto  
Noble, Rev. W., Pitchcott, Bucks  
Noel, Rev. A. W., Stanhoe, Norfolk  
Norgate, Rev. E., Rollesby, Norfolk  
Norgate, Mr. J., Sprowston Hall, Norwich  
Norgate, Mrs. J. H. ditto  
Norris, Mrs. J. P., College Green, Bristol  
Norris, Rev. Charles, Briston, Norfolk  
Norris, Rev. G., Wood Dalling, Norfolk  
Norris, Mrs. G. ditto  
Norris, Mr., Town Close, Norwich  
Norris, Mr. C., Norwich  
Norris, Miss ditto  
Norris, Miss — ditto  
Norton, Mr. E. B., Longsight, Manchester  
Norwich, Hon. & Very Rev. the Dean of  
Nugee, Rev. G., Wymering, Hants
- Oakley, Miss, Norwich  
O'Brien, Rev., James, D.D., Brighton  
Ogle, Rev. J. A., Sedgeford, Norfolk  
Ogle, Mrs. J. A. ditto  
Ogle, Rev. W. R., Bishopsteinton, Devon  
Oldfield, Colonel, Emsworth, Hants  
Oldfield, Mrs. ditto  
Oldham, Rev. J. R., Dulwich Coll., Surrey  
Olivier, Rev. Dacres, Wilton, Wilts  
Olivier, Mrs. Dacres ditto  
O'Malley, Mrs., Lowndes Street, London  
Onslow, Rev. W. L., H.M.S. "Raccoon"  
Orde, Major J. H., Great Yarmouth  
Orfeur, Mr. J., Lower Close, Norwich  
Orfeur, Mr. F. W. ditto  
Ormerod, Ven. Archdn., Redenhall, Norf.  
Ormerod, Mr. G. F. B. ditto  
Ormerod, Rev. A. S., Halvergate, Norfolk  
Ormsby, Rev. W. A., Smallburgh, Norf.

Osborn, Rev. M. F. F., Kibworth-Beauchamp, Leicestershire  
 Osborne, Rev. J. F., Norwich  
 Osborne, Mr. J. ditto  
 Oswald, Rev. H. M., Witham, Essex  
 Oury, Mr. J., Norwich  
 Ouseley, Rev. G. J. R., Norwich  
 Outram, Rev. G. S., Norwich  
 Owen, Rev. J. S. ditto  
 Owen, Rev. J. M. D., Hindringham, Norf.

Pace, Miss, Norwich  
 Paddon, Mrs., Mattishall, Norfolk  
 Paddon, Miss ditto  
 Page, Mr. A., King's Lynn  
 Page, Mr. C., Norwich  
 Palairot, Rev. R., Norton, S. Philip, Bath  
 Palairot, Mrs. ditto  
 Palmer, Rev. C. S., Ouston, Leicestershire  
 Palmer, Rev. J., Weeton, Yorkshire  
 Palmer, Mr. C. J., Gt. Yarmouth  
 Palmer, Mr. H. N., Harleston  
 Palmer, Mrs., Norwich  
 Palmer, Miss, the Close, Norwich  
 Pares, Mrs., Aylsham, Norfolk  
 Park, Mrs., Norwich  
 Park, Miss ditto  
 Parker, Rev. R., Wickham, Hants  
 Parker, Rev. W. H., Saham Toney, Norf.  
 Parker, Rev. E., Oxenden Magna, Northants  
 Parker, Mrs. E. ditto  
 Parker, Miss ditto  
 Parker, Miss S. ditto  
 Parmeter, Mr. R. W., Aylsham, Norfolk  
 Parnell, Rev. C., Liverpool  
 Parr, Miss, Norwich  
 Parrott, Rev. R., Great Amwell, Herts  
 Partridge, Rev. W. J., Caston, Norfolk  
 Partridge, Mr. A. W., Thorpe, Norwich  
 Partridge, Miss ditto  
 Partridge, Miss F. E. ditto  
 Partridge, Miss B. ditto  
 Paske, Rev. E., Creeting, Suffolk  
 Paske, Rev. T. J. ditto  
 Patch, Rev. H., Harleston, Norfolk  
 Patter, Mr., Garrick Street, London  
 Patteson, Rev. F., Norwich  
 Patteson, Mrs., Cringleford, Norwich  
 Patteson, Miss ditto  
 Patteson, Rev. J., Spitalfields, London  
 Patteson, Mrs. J. ditto  
 Patteson, Mr. H. S., Thorpe, Norwich  
 Patteson, Mrs. H. S. ditto  
 Patterson, Rev. G., Broome, Suffolk  
 Payne, Rev. J. H., Colney, Norfolk  
 Pearse, Rev. R. W., Gaywood, Norfolk  
 Pearson, Rev. G. C., Challock, Kent  
 Pelham, Rev. A. T., Count, Shrewsbury  
 Pelham, Mr. H., the Palace, Norwich  
 Pellew, Mr. H. E., Athenæum Club, London  
 Penrice, Rev. C. B., Plumstead, Norfolk  
 Penrice, Mrs. C. B. ditto  
 Penrice, Miss, Witton House, Norwich  
 Penrice, Mrs. D., Norwich  
 Perowne, Rev. T. T., C. C. Coll., Camba.

Peter, Rev. R. G., Cavendish, Suffolk  
 Pettitward, Mr. R. J., Finborough, Suff.  
 Pfungst, Mr. J. L., London  
 Phayre, Rev. R., Raynham, Norfolk  
 Philipps, Rev. J. E., Warminster  
 Philipps, Mrs. ditto  
 Phillips, Mr. F. M., Swaffeld, Norfolk  
 Phillips, Mr. G., Norwich  
 Phillips, Miss ditto  
 Philpott, Rev. R. S., Chewton Mendip, Somerset  
 Phipps, Hon. and Rev. A. F., Euston, Suff.  
 Phipson, Mr. R. M., Norwich  
 Phipson, Mrs. R. M. ditto  
 Pierson, Rev. W. F., Settle, Yorkshire  
 Pilgrim, Mr., Norwich  
 Pilgrim, Mrs. ditto  
 Pilgrim, Miss ditto  
 Pilkington, Rev. Can., Stockton, Warwick  
 Pilling, Rev. J. R., Longham, Norfolk  
 Pilling, Mrs. ditto  
 Pinder, Mr. T. R., Norwich  
 Pinwell, Miss, Horley, Oxon  
 Pitman, Mr. S., Manor House, Somerset  
 Pitman, Miss, Norwich  
 Platt, Rev. T. D., Portsea, Hampshire  
 Platter, Rev. J. C., N. Barham, Norfolk  
 Plenderleath, Rev. W. C., Cherhill, Wilts  
 Plenderleath, Mrs. ditto  
 Plowman, Miss, Putney  
 Plume, Rev. W. H., Framingham Pigot, Norfolk  
 Poole, Rev. G. A., Welford, Northants  
 Poole, Rev. J. C., Clay Coton, Rugby  
 Pooley, Rev. J. G., Stonham Aspal, Suff.  
 Porter, Rev. A. G., Norwich  
 Porter, Miss, Ipswich  
 Potter, Rev. J., Fishley, Norfolk  
 Potter, Rev. W., Winesham, Suffolk  
 Potter, Mr. Thomas, Norwich  
 Potter, Miss ditto  
 Povah, Rev. J. V., Min. Can. S. Paul's, London  
 Povah, Mrs.  
 Powell, Mr. R., Norwich  
 Powell, Mrs. ditto  
 Pownall, Rev. A., Trowse, Norwich  
 Pownall, Mrs. ditto  
 Pownall, Rev. G. P., Hoxton, London  
 Powys, Rev. F. A., S. Giles', Oxford  
 Press, Mr. E., Norwich  
 Press, Mrs. E. ditto  
 Preston, Rev. H. E., Tasburgh, Norfolk  
 Preston, Mrs. ditto  
 Preston, Rev. T., Swaffham Priory, Suff.  
 Preston, Rev. S., Wymondham  
 Preston, Mr. S., Great Yarmouth  
 Prettyman, Rev. H. G. M., Lowich, Northamptonshire  
 Prettyman, Mrs. ditto  
 Previte, Rev. W., Withersfield, Suffolk  
 Price, Rev. G. F., Norwich  
 Price, Rev. J. E., Hapton, Norfolk  
 Priest, Mr. T., Norwich  
 Pryor, Mrs., Coltishall, Norfolk

Pulley, Mr. H., Bracondale, Norwich  
 Pulley, Mrs. H. ditto  
 Pymar, Mr. J., Norwich  
 Pymar, Mrs. ditto  
 Pynsent, Rev. F. A., Bawdeswell, Norf.  
 Pynsent, Mr. ditto

Rochester, The Lord Bishop of  
 Rackham, Rev. H. E., Witchford, Ely  
 Rackham, Rev. R. R., Barney, Norfolk  
 Radcliffe, Rev. J. R., Crick near Rugby  
 Radstock, The Dowager Lady  
 Raikes, Rev. F., Crownthorpe, Norfolk  
 Ram, Rev. A. J., West Ham, Essex  
 Ram, Lady Jane ditto  
 Ramsbotham, Rev. T., Walmersley, Lancashire

Randall, Rev. J. M. R., Langham, Norf.  
 Randall, Rev. R. W., Woolavington, Sussex  
 Ransom, Miss, Pakefield, Suffolk  
 Ravenhill, Rev. H. E., Buckland Newton, Dorset

Read, Mr. O. S., M.P., Plumstead, Norf.  
 Read, Mrs., O. S. ditto

Read, Mr. G., Barton Bendish, Norfolk

Reade, Mr. J. P., Stutton, Suffolk

Redgrave, Mr. J., The Close, Norwich

Redgrave, Mrs. ditto

Reeve, Mr. Simms, Norwich

Reeve, Mrs. Simms ditto

Renand, Rev. G., Silsoe, Beds.

Reynolds, Rev. H. R., W. Markham, Notts

Richards, Mr. S. E., Woodbridge, Suffolk

Richards, Mrs. ditto

Richards, Miss ditto

Richmond, Rev. W. A., Limpley Stoke, Bath

Rigg, Rev. R., Norwich

Rigg, Mrs. ditto

Riley, Miss, Stowmarket, Suffolk

Ripley, Rev. W. N., Earham Hall, Norw.

Ripley, Mrs. ditto

Rising, Mrs., Horsey, Norfolk

Rivett, Rev. A. W. L.

Robbins, Rev. W., Shropham, Norfolk

Robbins, Miss ditto

Roberts, Miss, Norwich

Robinson, Mr. H. S., Norwich

Robison, Mr. J., Norwich

Robison, Miss, Thorpe Lodge, Norwich

Rodwell, Rev. M., High Laver, Essex

Rogers, Mr. B. Buckley, Cromer, Norfolk

Rogers, Rev. W. R. C., Dowdeswell, Gloucester

Rogers, Mrs. ditto

Rolfe, Rev. E. N., Morningthorpe, Norf.

Rollo, Lord, Duncrub Castle, Perthshire

Rooke, Rev. T., Windsor

Ross, Mr. W. B., Ipswich

Rowe, Mr. R. Reynolds, Sec. to Church Congress, Cambridge

Rowlands, Rev. J., Grimston, Norfolk

Rugg, Miss E., Farncott St. Mary, Norfolk

Rugg, Miss M. A. ditto

Rust, Rev. C. T., Norwich

Ryle, Mrs. J. C., Stradbroke, Suffolk

Saint Asaph, The Lord Bishop of

Sadler, Rev. M. F., Bedford

Sadler, Mrs. S., Regent Street, London

Safford, Rev. J. O., Mettingham, Bungay

Safford, Rev. W. C., Stoven, Suffolk

Salt, Rev. F., Dilham, Norfolk

Sanctuary, Ven. Archdn. Powerstock, Dorset

Sanders, Rev. W. P., Holy Trinity, Gosport

Sandys Rev. J. S., S. Faith's, Norfolk

Sankey, Rev. W. T., Stony Stanton, Leicestershire

Sawbridge, Rev. E. H., Thelnetham, Suff.

Sawbridge, Rev. J. S. ditto

Sawbridge, Miss E. ditto

Scott, Rev. T., Chaplain to London Hosp.

Scott, Mr. J., Colney Hall, Norfolk

Scott, Miss ditto

Scott, Miss — ditto

Scott, Mr. S., Bungay

Scott, Mr. W. H., Aylsham, Norfolk

Scott, Mrs. W. H. ditto

Scott, Miss ditto

Scott, Mr. R., Norwich

Scott, Mrs. R. ditto

Scudamore, Rev. W. E., Ditchingham, Norfolk

Searby, Mr. W., Norwich

Searby, Mrs. ditto

Selwyn, Rev. E. J., Wokingham, Berks

Selwyn, Mrs. E. J. ditto

Seppings, Rev. D. W., Great Yarmouth

Seppings, Mrs. D. W. ditto

Seppings, Mr. G., Lowestoft

Seppings, Mr. T. J., South Creak, Norf.

Seppings, Mrs. T. J. ditto

Seppings, Miss ditto

Sewell, Rev. W. H., Yaxley, Suffolk

Sewell, Mr. P. E., Norwich

Sewell, Mrs. P. E. ditto

Seymour, Rev. Sir J. H. Culme, Bart., Berkhamstead St. Mary, Herts

Sharp, Rev. H. J., Swavesey, Cambridge

Sharp, Mr. M. R., North Grove, Highgate

Sharpe, Mr. W. L., Isle of Wight

Sharpe, Miss, North Walsham, Norfolk

Shaul, Miss, Heigham, Norwich

Shaw, Rev. Morton, Rougham, Suffolk

Shearing, Miss, Norwich

Sheepshanks, Rev. T., British Columbia

Sheppard, Rev. H. W., Emsworth, Hants

Sheppard, Mrs. ditto

Shickle, Mrs., Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich

Shirley, Rev. Jas., Frettenham, Norfolk

Shirley, Mr. H. H. ditto

Shirreff, Rev. R. St. John, Woodham Ferrers, Essex

Shole, Miss, London

Shortland, Rev. H. V., Twinstead, Essex

Shuldham, Rev. J., Woodnorton, Norfolk

Sidney, Rev. E., Little Cornard, Suffolk

Simpson, Mr. G. E., Norwich

Sims, Mr. T. H., Manchester

Sims, Miss, Herbert's Hall, Harlow

Skinner, Rev. Russell, Sweffing, Suffolk

Skinner, Mrs. Russell ditto

Skipper, Mr. J. S., Norwich  
 Skipper, Mr. William ditto  
 Slade, Rev. J. J., Netherton, Worcestersh.  
 Slater, Rev. J., Happisburgh, Norfolk  
 Slater, Mrs. ditto  
 Slater, Miss ditto  
 Slater, Rev. F., Wherstead, Suffolk  
 Slipper, Rev. Armine, Norwich  
 Slipper, Mrs. Armine ditto  
 Slipper, Rev. R. B., Coston, Norfolk  
 Slocock, Rev. O. E., Brighton  
 Smith, Rev. E. Digby, Norwich  
 Smith, Miss S. J. ditto  
 Smith, Rev. J., Brisley, Norfolk  
 Smith, Mrs. J. ditto  
 Smith, Rev. H., Bankfoot, Yorkshire  
 Smith, Rev. J. J., Loddon, Norfolk  
 Smith, Miss, Bracondale, Norwich  
 Smith, Rev. J. D. H., Norwich  
 Smyth, Rev. H. B., Houghton Regis, Beds.  
 Smythe, Rev. J., Worstead, Norfolk  
 Snell, Rev. A., Manningtree, Essex  
 Snell, Rev. C., Oulton, Suffolk  
 Snow, Rev. B., Purton, Lincolnshire  
 Soames, Rev. Clarence J. P., Streatham  
 Spence, Mrs., Norwich  
 Spencer, Rev. H., Field Dalling, Norfolk  
 Spender, Mr. E., London  
 Spittal, Rev. J., S. Andrew's, Leicester  
 Spittal, Mrs. J. ditto  
 Spurgeon, Rev. J. N., Twyford, Norfolk  
 Spurgeon, Miss ditto  
 Spurgeon, Miss E. ditto  
 Spurgeon, Miss — ditto  
 Stacy, Mr. H. W., Norwich  
 Stacy, Mrs. H. W. ditto  
 Stacy, Miss E. ditto  
 Stainton, Miss, The Close, Norwich  
 Stanton, Rev. T., Burbage, Wilts  
 Stark, Mrs. M. J., Norwich  
 Stark, Miss ditto  
 Stark, Miss J. ditto  
 Stark, Miss O. ditto  
 Stead, Mrs., Chelsea  
 Steadman, Mrs., Norwich  
 Steel, Mr., Norwich  
 Steel, Miss ditto  
 Steel, Miss C. ditto  
 Stevens, Mr. S. W., Berwick-on-Tweed  
 Steward, Rev. G. W., Caistor, Yarmouth  
 Steward, Rev. C. E., ditto  
 Steward, Mr. F. A., Norwich  
 Steward, Mrs. F. A. ditto  
 Steward, Mr. Charles, Ipswich  
 Steward, Mr. R., Great Yarmouth  
 Steward, Mr. E. S., Norwich  
 Steward, Mrs. E. S. ditto  
 Steward, Miss ditto  
 Steward, Miss R. ditto  
 Stevenson, Rev. G., Dickleburgh, Norfolk  
 Stevenson, Mr. H., Norwich  
 Stevenson, Mrs. H. ditto  
 Stock, Rev. W., Kelsale, Suffolk  
 Stone, Miss, Norwich  
 Stone, Miss E. S. ditto

Story, Capt. 17, Bryanston Sq., London  
 Stoughton, Mr. C., Bawdeswell, Norfolk  
 Stoughton, Mrs. ditto  
 Stoughton, Miss ditto  
 Stracey, Sir Henry, Bt., Rackheath Hall, Norfolk  
 Stracey, Rev. W. J., Buxton, Norfolk  
 Stracey, Mrs. W. J. ditto  
 Strait, Miss, Stowmarket  
 Suckling, Rev. M. S., Shipmeadow, Suff.  
 Sultzer, Mr. J., Norwich  
 Sultzer, Mrs. J. ditto  
 Sutton, Rev. A., West Tofts, Norfolk  
 Sutton, Mrs. A. ditto  
 Sutton, Rev. F. ditto  
 Sutton, Miss F., Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich  
 Swainson, Rev. Canon, Chichester  
 Sweet, Rev. J. B., Colkirk, Norfolk  
 Sweet, Mrs. J. B. ditto  
 Symonds, Rev. H., Norwich  
 Symonds, Mrs. H. ditto  
 Talbot, Hon. J. G., Edenbridge, Kent  
 Talbot, Hon. Mrs. J. G. ditto  
 Talbot, Hon. Mrs. J. C. ditto  
 Tatham, Rev. G. E., Ryburgh, Norfolk  
 Tatham, Mrs. ditto  
 Taylor, Rev. A., Paston, Norfolk  
 Taylor, Mrs. A. ditto  
 Taylor, Rev. C., Great Cressingham, Norf.  
 Taylor, Miss ditto  
 Taylor, Miss — ditto  
 Taylor, Miss — ditto  
 Taylor, Rev. T., Norwich  
 Taylor, Miss, Thorpe Hamlet, Norwich  
 Taylor, Mr. I. O., Norwich  
 Taylor, Miss ditto  
 Taylor, Miss A. ditto  
 Taylor, Miss R. ditto  
 Taylor, Mr. F. O. ditto  
 Taylor, Mr. J. R. G., Guildford, Surrey  
 Taylor, Mr. W. B., Norwich  
 Thomas, Rev. Hugh, Old Newton, Suffolk  
 Thomas, Rev. W. R., Peterborough  
 Thompson, Rev. C., Newcastle-upon-Tyne  
 Thompson, Mrs. C. ditto  
 Thompson, Rev. E., Christ's Coll., Camb.  
 Thompson, Rev. G., Leigh, Sherborne  
 Thompson, Lady, Frant, Tonbridge Wells  
 Thompson, Rev. J., East Dereham, Norf.  
 Thompson, Rev. J. H., Ipswich  
 Thompson, Rev. T. W., Tibbenham, Norf.  
 Thompson, Mr. H., Norwich  
 Thompson, Miss ditto  
 Thompson, Mr. R. ditto  
 Thomson, Rev. J., Barnham Broom, Norf.  
 Thomson, Rev. J., House of Charity, Soho, London  
 Thorley, Mr. J., King's Lynn  
 Thorns, Mr. R. E., Norwich  
 Thorns, Mrs. ditto  
 Thorns, Miss ditto  
 Thorold, Miss ditto  
 Thorold, Miss S. ditto  
 Thorpe, Rev. J., Shropham, Norfolk

- Thursby, Rev. W. F., Berghapton, Norf.  
 Thursby, Mrs. ditto  
 Thurtell, Mrs., Southtown, Gt. Yarmouth  
 Tidswell, Miss, Bixley, Norfolk  
 Tillard, Rev. J., Connington, Camb.  
 Tillett, Mr. J. H., Carrow, Norwich  
 Tillett, Miss ditto  
 Titlow, Rev. S., Norwich  
 Todd, Rev. H. L., Great Yarmouth  
 Toll, Miss, Norwich  
 Tomkins, Mr. D., Great Yarmouth  
 Tomlinson, Mr. J. T., Manchester  
 Townley, Mr. J., Norwich  
 Townley, Mrs. ditto  
 Townley, Mr. E. P., ditto  
 Towler, Mr. A. ditto  
 Townsend, Rev. C. G., Gretton, Chelmsford  
 Trafford, Miss, Hoxne, Suffolk  
 Trelawney Mrs., Wroxham House, Norf.  
 Trelawney, Miss ditto  
 Troughton, Rev. J. E., Aberhafesp, Mont-  
 gomery  
 Troughton, Mrs. ditto  
 True, Mr. S., jun., Norwich  
 Tuck, Rev. G. R., Wallington, Herts  
 Tuck, Mrs. Charles E., Norwich  
 Tuck, Mr. G. Hustler, Cambridge  
 Tuck, Miss, Blofield, Norfolk  
 Tuck, Mr. S. J., Norwich  
 Tunaley, Miss, Wymondham  
 Turnbull, Rev. T. S., Blofield, Norfolk  
 Turner, Rev. C., Norwich  
 Turner, Mrs. C. ditto  
 Turner, Rev. F. S., ditto  
 Turner, Rev. J. B., Barford, Norfolk  
 Turner, Rev. M., Cotton, Suffolk  
 Turner, Rev. J. D., Denton, Norfolk  
 Turner, Mr. W. N. H., Eaton, Norwich  
 Turnock, Rev. J., Ipswich  
  
 Upcher, Rev. Abbot, Kirby Cane, Norf.  
 Upcher, Rev. A. W., Wrenningham, Norf.  
 Upcher, Mr. H. R., Sheringham, Norfolk  
 Upcher, Mrs. H. R. ditto  
 Urquhart, Rev. E. V., Oxford  
  
 Valpy, Rev. F. E. J., Garveston, Norfolk  
 Valpy, Rev. T. R. ditto  
 Vaughan, Rev. C. L., S. Leonard's-on-Sea  
 Vaux, Rev. Bowyer, Great Yarmouth  
 Villiers, Rev. H. M., Adisham, Kent  
 Vincent, Rev. Fred., Slinfold, Sussex  
 Vincent, Mrs. Fred. ditto  
 Vincent, Rev. William, Postwick, Norfolk  
 Vincent, Lady Margaret ditto  
 Vincent, Rev. O. P., London  
 Vowler, Rev. S. N., Norwich  
 Vowler, Mrs. ditto  
 Vowler, Mr. John ditto  
  
 Wade, Rev. Nugent, S. Ann's, Soho, London  
 Wade, Rev. K., Catton, Norwich  
 Wade, Miss ditto  
 Waddington, Mr. H. S., Lowestoft  
 Waite, Mr. J. N., Bramerton, Norfolk  
  
 Waite, Mrs. J. N., Bramerton, Norfolk  
 Waldegrave, Hon. Elizabeth  
 Waldo, Rev. J. P., Elgin Road, Kensington  
 Walford, Mr. C., Foxborough Hall, Suff.  
 Walker, Rev. H., Ludham, Norfolk  
 Walker, Rev. John, Bradwell, Suffolk  
 Walker, Rev. W. H., Necton, Norfolk  
 Waller, Mr. T., Lakenham, Norwich  
 Waller, Mrs. ditto  
 Waller, Miss ditto  
 Waller, Miss E. ditto  
 Wallich, Rev. L. C., Gt. Poringland, Norfolk  
 Wallich, Mrs. ditto  
 Walpole, Hon. F., Rainthorpe Hall, Norf.  
 Walpole, Hon. Mrs. F. ditto  
 Wanklyn, Rev. H., Deopham, Norfolk  
 Ward, Rev. C., Ipswich  
 Ward, Mr. E. F., Salhouse Hall, Norfolk  
 Warnes, Miss, The Lower Close, Norwich  
 Warnes, Miss M. ditto  
 Watson, Mr. F. E., Surrey St., Norwich  
 Watson, Mrs. F. E. ditto  
 Watson, Miss ditto  
 Watson, Miss C. P. ditto  
 Watson, Mr. T. ditto  
 Watson, Miss, Heigham, Norwich  
 Watson, Miss H. ditto  
 Wayman, Miss, Great Thurlow, Suffolk  
 Webb, Rev. J. M., Swarkeston, Derby  
 Welch, Rev. W. F., Stradsett, Norfolk  
 Weldon, Rev. G. W., Cambridge  
 Wellingham, Miss, Thorpe Hamlet, Norw.  
 Wellingham, Miss E. ditto  
 Wells, Rev. William, Carbrooke, Norfolk  
 Wells, Mr. W., Norwich  
 West, Rev. T. R., S. Mary Magdalen,  
 Paddington  
 Westhorp, Rev. S. M., Sibton, Suffolk  
 Westhorp, Rev. S. B., Oby, Norfolk  
 Westhorp, Mrs. ditto  
 Weston, Rev. F., Charsfield, Suffolk  
 Weston, Mrs. F. ditto  
 Whalley, Rev. J. P., Wretham, Norf.  
 Wheeler, Rev. T., Diss, Norfolk  
 Whieldon, Rev. E., Cheadle, Staffordshire  
 Whistler, Miss, Norwich  
 Whitaker, Rev. G. A., Knoddishall, Suff.  
 White, Rev. A., Sapiston, Suffolk  
 White, Rev. H. M., Rotherham, Yorkshire  
 White, Rev. James, Sloley, Norfolk  
 White, Rev. R. H., Little Bardfield, Essex  
 White, Rev. R. M., Fairstead, Essex  
 White, Mr. R., Norwich  
 White, Miss, Framingham, Norfolk  
 White, Mrs., The Wilderness, Norwich.  
 White, Miss ditto  
 Wigan, Rev. Septimus, Fring, Norfolk  
 Wigan, Mrs. S. ditto  
 Wigson, Rev. W., Rushmore, Suffolk  
 Wigson, Mrs. ditto  
 Wild, Mr. Edward, Norwich  
 Wild, Mrs. E. ditto  
 Wiley, Mr. J. C., Sprowston, Norfolk  
 Wiley, Miss ditto  
 Wiley, Miss M. A. ditto

Wilkinson, Rev. F. P., Ruyton, Salop  
 Wilkinson, Rev. M. M. U., Reepham, Norf.  
 Wilkinson, Rev. T. B., E. Harling, Norf.  
 Wilkinson, Rev. T. E., Rickingham, Suff.  
 Wilkinson, Rev. Octavius, Sibton, Suffolk  
 Wilkinson, Mrs. ditto  
 Wilkinson, Miss, Walsham le Willows  
 Willett, Mr. Edward, Eaton Grove, Norw.  
 Willett, Mr. L. E. ditto  
 Willett, Mr. Henry, Carlton Lodge, Norw.  
 Willett, Mrs. Henry ditto  
 Willett, Miss Marian ditto  
 Willett, Miss Louisa, Eaton, Norwich  
 Willey, Rev. J., Fulneck  
 Williams, Rev. T. D., The Grange, Harlow  
 Williamson, Miss, Dromore, Cork  
 Willington, Rev. F. P., Rudham, Norfolk  
 Willington, Rev. H. E., Slane, Derbysh.  
 Willins, Miss, Norwich  
 Willis, Rev. A., New Brompton, Chatham  
 Wilson, Rev. Herbert, Fritton, Norfolk  
 Wilson, Mrs. Herbert ditto  
 Wilson, Rev. J., Newton, Isle of Ely  
 Wilson, Rev. R. F., Rounham, Southants  
 Wilson, Mrs. R. F. ditto  
 Wilson, Rev. T. D. H., Botesdale, Suff.  
 Wilson, Rev. W. G., Fornett St. Peter, Norf.  
 Wilson, Mrs. W. G. ditto  
 Wilson, Mrs. Col. ditto  
 Wilson, Miss ditto  
 Wimberley, Rev. C., Scole, Norfolk  
 Winkfield, Rev. R., Stoney Stratford  
 Winter, Rev. G. R., E. Bradenham, Norf.  
 Winter, Rev. G. W., Litcham, Norfolk  
 Winter, Mrs. ditto  
 Winter, Mr. James, Drayton Lodge, Norf.  
 Winter, Mr. J. J., The Lower Close, Norwich  
 Wise, Mr. H., Wymondham, Norfolk  
 Wodehouse, Rev. C., Alderford, Norfolk

Wodehouse, Mrs. C., Alderford, Norfolk  
 Wodehouse, Rev. C. G., Larling, Norfolk  
 Wodehouse, Mrs. C. G. ditto  
 Wodehouse, Rev. P. J., Nottingham  
 Wodehouse, Mr. A., Witton, Norfolk  
 Wood, Sir W. Page, Vice Chancellor,  
 Great George Street, Westminster  
 Wood, Lady ditto  
 Wood, Mr. C. S., Home Office, London  
 Woodrow, Mrs., Norwich  
 Woods, Miss, London  
 Woolcombe, Rev. E. C., Balliol Coll., Oxf.  
 Woolley, Rev. J., East Bergholt, Suffolk  
 Wray, Miss, Great Cressingham, Norfolk  
 Wright, Rev. Henry, Outwell, Norfolk  
 Wright, Mrs. ditto  
 Wright, Rev. J. C., Bacton, Norfolk  
 Wright, Mrs. ditto  
 Wright, Mr. R. J., Lower Close, Norwich  
 Wright, Mrs. R. J. ditto  
 Wright, Miss ditto  
 Wright, Miss E. ditto  
 Wright, Mrs., Upper Close, Norwich  
 Wright, Miss, Buxton, Norfolk  
 Wright, Miss E. ditto  
 Wright, Miss, Witchingham, Norfolk  
 Wyatt, Mr. E., Norwich  
 Wyatt, Mrs. E. ditto  
 Wylie, Rev. —

York, Hon. and Very Rev. The Dean of  
 Yates, Rev. E. T., Burgh Hall, Aylsham  
 Yelloly, Rev. J., Barsham, Suffolk  
 Yeoman, Mr. G. D., York  
 Young, Rev. W., D.C.L., Croxton, Cambs.  
 Youngs, Mr. John, Norwich  
 Youngs, Mr. Robert, ditto  
 Youngs, Mrs. Robert, ditto













